CHAPTER I

BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Introduction

Policy makers, policing agencies and researchers in the post-apartheid era have increasingly recognised that understanding the context of crime (the where and when of a criminal event) is key to understanding how crime can be controlled and prevented. Crime has generated considerable debate and research globally. While countries in the North and South America, Europe, Asia and Australasia have had a significant drop in crime rates and criminal activities, Africa is experiencing increasing crime rates (UNODC, 2005). South Africa is one of the countries in the world with the highest violent crime rates. Although the overwhelming majority of this violence (like in Brazil) happens in the poorer areas, crime remains a major concern for the entire population. South Africa’s problem is not necessarily the number of crime incidents, but the violence that forms a part of so many crime incidents (UNODC and CICP, 2002).

Crime in South Africa has become a major concern for the government. Agencies that are responsible for the security of lives and properties are making efforts to combat the increasing rate of crime. Researchers concentrated on the criminals as individuals or groups, crime hotspots and victims of criminal acts. Crime spots, crime trends and the spatiality of crime have been mapped in
different ways to give a pictorial view of dangerous and violent free places.

Examining the categories of crime in the Eastern Cape and South Africa, the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention survey showed that there was more violent crime (e.g., murder and sexual assault) than nonviolent crime (e.g., house robbery). In studying the state of crime in South Africa, particular cohorts of the demography need more attention. One of these cohorts is the juvenile, generally defined as persons under the age of 18 years (Lotke, 1997).

Given the population demographics in South Africa, the majority of the youth are black (79% of South African’s population is black) and a large percentage of these are involved in informal activities because of the high level of poverty and unemployment in the formal sector (http://www.indexmundi.com/south_africa/demographics_profile.html, 12-06-2007). Unfortunately, many of these youth get drawn into crime, opening a new debate on the mapping of crime hotspots.

Gangsterism is one of the most severe crime problems in South Africa, and the rate of involvement of youth in gangsterism is increasing. The influence of gangs and syndicates has spilled over into secondary schools. This has resulted in increased gang membership among learners and gang-related incidents on school grounds. Secondary schools have become hotspots for unsuspecting victims. Police reports have also shown increasing rates at which criminal activities take place on school grounds (Anonymous, 2008). Several reasons ranging from post-apartheid transition to unequal and ineffective policing have been advanced for the constantly increasing rate of criminal activities in
secondary schools and among youths in general (Ashby, 2005; Dixon, 2002 in Mugler, 2005). However, fundamental questions that remain relate to the surrounding environment in which the school is located and the schedule of the school’s events. This research intends to examine some characteristic factors around where schools are situated, and routine activities of the schools to identify the opportunities they create for criminal events to occur.

**Conceptual Framework**

A diversity of persons and interest groups studied crime and these groups/individuals have advanced different theoretical perspectives to contextualise the study of crime. These theoretical frameworks include risk governance theory (McGarrell and Zimmermann, 2008), theory of informal social control (Sampson and Laub, 2005), ecological analyses framework (Salzinger, Feldman, Stockhammer and Hood, 2002) and Geographical Information System (GIS) mapping and modeling of crime hotspots. In addition, researchers have used qualitative and quantitative approaches involving empirical studies approach in studying crime over the years. My study adopts the criminal opportunity theory (Wilcox, Land and Hunt, 2003) because it is the integration of two different theories that explains the community and individual effort to crime occurrence.

The conceptual framework that is adopted for this study is the criminal opportunity theory (Wilcox, Land and Hunt). This theory, embedded within the
postmodern approach (with emphasis on spatiality), studies how and why different events occur in space at a given period and at a given time. The most immediate geographic contexts are the neighbourhoods in which people live and the places where their lifestyles frequently situate them. These reflect variations in both individual-level resources and society-wide norms. Different activities, both routine and non-routine, in which these people engage, determine the wider geographic contexts (Wilcox et al.).

Criminal opportunity theory is the integration of two somewhat different theoretical perspectives (Wilcox et al., 2003):

1. Social control-disorganization theory, and
2. Routine activities theory.

Although the two schools of thought are closely related, there is an important distinction between them. Social control-disorganization theory focuses on the ability (or lack thereof) of residents of some geographic unit (neighbourhood) to come together to achieve a common goal, like reducing crime activities. Alternatively, routine activities theory focuses on the presence of opportunities for crime in an area, as shaped by residents’ daily activities. In addition, the two theories suggest different levels of analysis: social control theory considers community explanations for crime, while routine activities theory is often interpreted as focusing on the individual. Wilcox et al. (2003) reconciled the difference between the two perspectives and also integrated the two theories to provide a most robust theoretical explanation for geographical studies of crime. The number or rate of occurrence, location and distribution of criminal acts across social and physical space can best be explained in terms of criminal
opportunity contexts - the circumstances surrounding the convergence in time and place of motivated offenders, suitable targets and the absence of capable guardians (see Figure 1).

Based on this integrated criminal opportunity theory, this research studies the social, demographic and economic characteristics of the high school environment and the routine activities of the schools to elucidate the reason of high crime in selected schools in East London in the Eastern Cape of South Africa.

Figure 1. Criminal Opportunity Theory (Author)
Literature Review

The word ‘crime’ is an emotionally loaded and wide-ranging term. It can range from the selling of pirate copies of DVDs to rape, torture and eventual murder of a person (de Villiers, 2007). Violence has become so insidious in South Africa, that when you mention the word ‘crime’, people only think of armed robbery, murder, rape and other forms of crime where victims are left in pain and trauma.

In the United States of America, studies focusing on trends in the crime rate at the local and national level have received much focus, especially the unprecedented crime drop that occurred during the 1990s (Blumstein and Wallman, 2000 in Groff, 2005; Cook and Laub, 1998; 2001; McCord, Widom and Crowell, 2001). In South Africa, since the advent of political democracy in 1994, Gastrow (1998) and Kinnes (2000) have argued that crime has increased dramatically because of the lapse of tight state control in communities.

Trends in the crime rate in South Africa between October 2005 and March 2006 show public fear about the development of new crime waves (Louw, 2006). Examples of these new crime waves are violent robberies in the Western Cape and consistent shoot-outs between police and gangsters. More serious crime and highly organized crime rose by 7% in the Western Cape in the last three years (2004 – 2006) while general crime level peaked in 2002/03 before declining (de Villiers, 2007). The overall crime picture is the emergence of more serious crimes and highly organized crimes like cash-in-transit robbery, car hijacking and
car theft (Louw). In South Africa’s statistics for 2005/06, property crime occupies the majority of the crime offences recorded, followed by violent or interpersonal crimes like rape, assault and murder (Louw).

Kinnes (a researcher), in his address at the 1995 Western Cape anticrime workshop held in Cape Town, identified gangsterism as the most severe crime problem in the Province and in the Country at large (Spinks, 2001). During the late 1990s, qualitative research showed that gangs were becoming younger (Haefele, 1998 in van Wyk and Theron, 2005). The influence of gangs and syndicates had spilled over into the secondary schools and this resulted in both increased gang membership among learners and gang-related incidents on school grounds (Human Right Commission, 2000). While gangsterism seemed to be particularly problematic in the Western Cape compared to the other provinces in South Africa, it is argued that crime in general is typical of societies going through transition (Dixon, 2002 in Mugler, 2005). There is evidence that violence develops in children who do poorly in school, do not get along with peers, have abusive parents and attend schools that cannot control disruptive and violent behaviour (http://www.purdue.edu/UNS/x/2007a/070305Wachs Child.html, 15-06-2007). The alarming level of secondary school violence in South Africa mirrors a wider problem in a country with some of the world's highest rates of violent crime. Many blame the violence on inadequate policing (Mattes, 2006), a wide chasm between rich and poor (Van der Berg and Louw, 2003) and the traumatic legacy of apartheid (Spinks).
Educators warn that school-yard crime is contributing to the decline in education standards. McGregor (2006) contends that secondary school violence and the problems associated with it are now ranked amongst the top of the political agenda items for South Africa to address. While separate education based on race has been eliminated in the new South Africa, the impact of apartheid-era policies still lingers (McGregor, 2006), and the government has been accused of neglecting public schools, especially in poor townships (Thompson, 2006). Authorities have also struggled to offer quality education in rural areas, although school fees have been abolished in approximately a quarter of schools, especially those that are most needy. McGregor (2006) contends that police reports indicate that unruly behaviour and sexual violence plague underresourced schools in poor areas and elite private schools in major cities.

Most of the victims in high school violence are females. The Human Right Watch's investigations into sexual violence against girls in South African schools highlighted the extent of sexual abuse and harassment experienced on a daily basis (Naylor, 2002). Classmates and teachers continue to sexually abuse, sexually harass and assault girls at South African schools. For many South African girls, violence is an inevitable part of the school environment. Girls are also fondled, subjected to aggressive sexual advances and verbally degraded at school. Girls from all levels of society and among all ethnic groups are affected by sexual violence at school (South African Human Rights Commission, 2006). Recent studies reveal that most persons are more familiar with cases involving male-on-male violence, but girls too are becoming increasingly involved in criminal activities. Though, in general, the number of girls arrested for violent
crimes is on the rise, about half of their arrests are for nonviolent offences (Mallicoat, 2007).

Young females in the United States who often watch television were more likely to have thrown something at their spouses, to have responded to someone who made them mad by shoving, punching, beating or choking the person, to have committed some type of criminal act, and to have committed a moving traffic violation. Such females, for example, reported having punched, beaten or choked another person at more than four times the rate of other females (http://www.ojp.usdoj.gov/bjs/pub/pdf/wo.pdf, 19-06-2007).

An analysis of the demographic statistics of actors and victims of crime activities in South Africa and the rest of the world suggests that juveniles constitute a large percentage of them. Control over juvenile crime has been a major source of the crime drop in the United States of America (Males, Mike and Macallair, 1999). While juvenile arrests make up only a small proportion of all arrests, young offenders (under age 25) in the United States of America drove both the crime increase in the late 1980s and the subsequent reduction in crime during the 1990s. McCord et al. (2001) suggested that if juvenile crime was controlled and reduced, there will be a significant crime drop. To date, research conducted to explain the crime rise or drop by focusing on juveniles has concentrated on studying how delinquency develops in juveniles (McCord et al.), characteristics of juveniles involved in crime (Cook and Laub, 1998; 2001), or the impact of concurrent social and economic factors on delinquency (Blumstein and Wallman, 2000 in Groff, 2005). In the United States of America, policies that control the national and community-level social and economic factors that cause increases in
youth violence, such as the rise in drug prevalence and gun violence, as well as economic prosperity, have been linked to the crime drop (Blumstein and Wallman, 2000 in Groff, 2005; Cook and Laub, 2001).

Secondary schools in South Africa have become the hotspot for criminal activities even though schools are supposed to be safe and secured places for children to learn. Secondary schools recent growth in violence is becoming a source of concern for society and the government (http://www.saps.gov.za/crime_prevention/community/part2.pdf, 2007).

Many researchers have documented the rate and level of crime at the various geographic levels of analysis from the level of a nation, state, county, city, neighborhood and individual address (Groff, 2005). Another body of research has demonstrated the clustering of crime in ‘hotspots’. Other researchers in the field of “situational crime prevention” have confirmed the important role of place in studying and preventing crime (Brown, Perkins and Brown, 2004).

Many people have focused on longitudinal studies of the development of delinquency amongst juveniles and the macro-level patterns of juvenile crime. Recent empirical and theoretical developments indicate that the processes driving crime trends may be operating at the micro-level. Similarly, Weisburd (2002) used trajectory analysis to identify temporal changes in crime at street blocks over a fourteen-year period. She found that crime was concentrated at a relatively few places while the majority of places had little or no crime. In the case of youth crime, most of the criminal activities occur in secondary school
compounds. For Weisburd (2002) place is very important in understanding crime.

Biestekher and Erlank’s (2000 in Mnyaka, 2006) research in the Western Cape highlighted that the most common crimes and violence in secondary schools were vandalism, drugs, fighting, theft and gangsterism. Learners carried weapons, such as knives and guns to protect themselves; with stabbing, bullying, fighting and drug abuse taking place more often in the playground. Some learners felt victimized and powerless; others were afraid of guns and violence. The foregoing discussion illustrates the prevalence of crime in schools in South Africa and elsewhere, with negative impacts for the proper running and functioning of schools. Management teams at schools cannot implement school policies and procedures adequately if crime continues. Many studies about crime in South Africa have concentrated on individual offenders and criminal activities, and hardly any research has been conducted on places or hotspots where the criminal events occur. Secondary schools have become high-risk areas for their learners, staff and the community where they are located. Few studies have been conducted on factors that make the secondary school environments a crime hotspot. Also, few known researchers have looked at the spatiality of crime clusters in secondary schools in South Africa. However, there are models of crime that emerged from past studies in South Africa that have been used for the purpose of generalization. There is no known research in South Africa that tried to explain variations in crime activities within and around secondary schools. No literature has discussed the role of the social, economic, demographic and routine characteristics of the environment in which different secondary schools
are located in, for creating opportunities for criminal activities to occur. Few researchers have focused on the normal routine activities (both general and specific) of secondary schools that create opportunities for crime to occur.

The social, economic and demographic characteristics of the environment in which the secondary schools are located also needs to be considered when trying to investigate crime occurrences. There are also suggestions that the characteristics of the environment where schools are located also influence the internal activities of the school. Different theoretical frameworks have been used to study crime. Social disorganization theory and routine activities theory have also been used separately to study crime, but no known research has used the integration of the two theories to study crime in the high school environment. This research will lay emphasis on this perspective to study the differences in crime occurrence.

**Research Questions**

1. What are the routine activities of differently characterized secondary schools (in different neighbourhoods) and how do they lend themselves to opportunities for criminal events to take place?

2. What are the social, economic and demographic characteristics of the communities that the schools are located in, and how does these activities determine the external influence the neighbourhoods provide to either prevent or aid criminal activities in schools?
3. What are the social and environmental factors in secondary schools that make their environments conducive (or not conducive) for criminal activities to take place?

4. What are the roles of people in authority in various categories of secondary schools in combating criminal occurrences on secondary school grounds?

5. Does gender have any influence in the spatial variation and distribution of crime events in different schools?

Aim and Objectives of the Study

The aim of the research is to examine the demographic, social and economic characteristics of the neighbourhood in which schools are situated, and the routine activities of the schools to observe how they create opportunities for criminal events within them making them high crime hotspots.

To try to achieve this aim, a set of objectives was set for the study. The set objectives are:

1. To examine the routine activities of differently characterized secondary schools (in different neighbourhoods) and how they lend themselves to opportunities for criminal events to take place;

2. To study the social, economic and demographic characteristics of the communities that the schools are located in, in order to determine the
external influence the neighbourhoods provide to either prevent or aid
criminal activities in schools;
3. To establish the social and environmental factors in secondary schools
that make their environments conducive (or not conducive) for criminal
activities to take place;
4. To evaluate the role of people in authority in various categories of
secondary schools in combating criminal occurrences on secondary
school grounds and;
5. To assess the role of gender in the spatial variation and distribution of
crime events in different schools.

Research Methodology

To achieve the set objectives above, a preliminary predissertation survey was
carried out in East London in July 2007. The superintendent in charge of the
Buffalo City Law Enforcement Agency, Superintendent Errol Van Der Mewre, was
contacted and a meeting was set up. During the first meeting with the
Superintendent, he pointed out the areas and the schools that have high statistics
of criminal incidents. The Department of Education of the Eastern Cape Province
was also contacted for the details on schools administration. A database of the
details of the schools in East London and Eastern Cape was opened to me for
access. Based on the outcome of the discussions during the preliminary survey,
this research adopted the intensive case study research design that emphasizes
qualitative analysis, and chose East London as the case study area. This
indicates that qualitative research techniques were used in the collection and analysis of data.

Relational construction of knowledge between the researcher and the researched subjects about the aspect of crime characterizes qualitative methodologies in the study on crime. The emphasis is placed upon both developing empathy between the researcher and the researched. Flowerdew and Martin (2005) argue that the depth of insight that emerges from qualitative research can make the research process more factual. Qualitative methods have been found to be appropriate for exploring the mechanisms that underpin the high criminal activities within high school surroundings. Therefore, different views and explanations could be obtained, based on the insight emerging during the process of data collection and analysis.

The attraction of qualitative methods is the need to have an in-depth analysis of the sociological, economic, demographic and routine activities that takes place, and which makes secondary schools crime hot spots. Therefore, concerns to recognize and acknowledge the intersubjective values that underlie my research in contrast to the suggestion of value free methods are paramount; to identify and analyze the influence of the social, demographic, economic variables and routine activities of high school environment on the rate and variations of crime. Three secondary schools were selected based on the reports of the preliminary survey. The three schools were selected based on their difference in racial characteristics, sectorial location and they were some of the problem areas identified by the law enforcement agencies in East London.
The qualitative research techniques that I used are in-depth interviews and semi-structured questionnaires. Documentary and secondary data analyses on crime was sought from the Department of Education in a bid to identify spatial distribution of criminal activities and relate these to the social, demographic, routine and economic activities around secondary schools. Focus groups were formed amongst the learners of these schools to capture variations in their perceptions of criminal activities. The selection of the focus groups in these schools also varied. One of the school was random selection between males and females of different class and the other school was purposive (the principal coordinated the choice of focus group participants) between males and females of different race. The third school had two different focus groups. The two focus groups were based on race.

Due to the qualitative nature of the research, the discourse analysis method is used to interpret the data collected on the field. Discourse analysis, according to Kvale (2007) focuses on how true effects are created within discourses, which are neither true nor false. The focus of the discourse analyses is on how talk is constructed and what the social consequences are of the different discursive presentation (Kvale). This research, which used interviewing as the main method of collecting data, had the discourse analysis method applied to it. I used specific discoursive interviewing that focused on variation and diversity and an active participation of the interviewer in the discourse.
The data collection exercise was conducted in 2008. In two of the schools, six learners each were selected for a focus group discussion. Gender and race (in the mixed school) were considered when selecting these learners. They were all grade eleven learners. Grade eleven learners were chosen because they had been in the school long enough to have their perceptions about the school and area. The educators were also selected with consideration of race (where it mattered) and gender. Two senior educators were interviewed, and one senior administrative staff per school.

Due to difficulties encountered in accessing the third school, I had to arrange an informal interview with the learners of the school. With the learners of the school, two different focus groups were set up on different days due to the racial composition in the school. One of the educators of the third school was also interviewed. Within each neighbourhood which the schools are located, 10 people that live there were randomly selected and interviewed. The superintendent of the Buffalo City Municipality Law Enforcement Agency was also interviewed. The Agency is the organization that enforces the law within these neighbourhoods, and they cover East London, which includes these selected neighbourhoods. Finally, one of the Department of Education’s senior officials was interviewed.
Research Location

I have chosen East London as my case study area. The selected schools were located in three different areas in East London. In East London, I chose to study secondary schools located in the Baysville/ Southernwood area, Duncan Village area and Buffalo Flats area (Figure 3). I chose East London because according to the interview I had with the law enforcement officer, East London schools experience considerable crime in secondary schools. According to the statistics of arrests both within the school environment and within the neighbourhood that the schools are located, the three chosen neighbourhoods stood out. These neighbourhoods had the highest learner related crimes in the East London Metropolis.

East London is a city on the southeast coast of South Africa, situated in the Eastern Cape Province. The city (as shown in figure 2) is situated along the Indian Ocean coast, between the Buffalo River and the Nahoon River, and is the country's only river port. East London has a population of 250,000, with over 700,000 in the metropolitan area. East London is surrounded by townships. Mdantsane and Ghost Town are some of the townships that surround East London city.
There are different categories of secondary schools in East London, including the private schools, special schools, the former model-c schools and government (state) schools. Based on the preliminary pre-dissertation survey, there are variations in the type of criminal activities that occur in schools in East London. These variations were seen in schools based on their different location and type.
Significance of the Study

South Africa has been termed the crime capital of the world, and the increase in juvenile crime and gangsterism is one of the major concerns of the government. Staff and principals of secondary schools in East London lodge reports to law enforcement agencies that the learners are involved in various criminal activities. The principal of one of the secondary schools under investigation was commended for his participation in reducing crime amongst learners. He traced some of his school learners to a spot where they engage in the use of dagga. He
informed the law enforcers and they were rounded up (Daily Dispatch, 17 November, 2008).

This research will also gather information to assist the law enforcement officials to combat crime related to school learners. This research is also significant because there is the need to understand the role of microenvironments of crime hotspots (in this case, secondary schools) so that criminal activities can be controlled. This research will also contribute to the existing body of knowledge by studying the social, environmental, demographic and routine activities in various secondary school environments at a given time and relate it to the theory of criminal opportunities. This research will study the differences in activities occurring at the same time that create opportunities for criminal activities to take place in secondary school environments.

Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter one discussed the background of the study. This chapter also outlines the introduction, conceptual framework, literature review, research questions, aim and objectives of the study, research methodology and techniques, research location and the significance of the study. Chapter two focuses on the case study area. A detailed report of the economic, historical, social and demographic features of the case study area is presented. Chapter three discusses crime in context and focuses on types of crime, causes of crime and the impact of crime in societies in South Africa and Africa. Chapter four focuses on the research data presentation, discussion and analysis and the problems encountered during the
course of the study. Chapter five discusses the findings of the research and the conclusion of the study. This encompasses the summary of the findings and future research agenda.

The next chapter focuses on the study area.
Chapter II

CASE STUDY AREA

Introduction

This chapter discusses the history, characteristics of the case study area. These discussions inform the study by addressing social, economic and demographic characteristics of the area. This is based on secondary data sources from the Buffalo City Municipality’s Integrated Development Project (IDP, 2002), the Buffalo City Municipality’s official website, the East London city’s official website, the East London Industrial Development Zone (IDZ)’s official website and data collected at the Department of Education in East London.

East London is a city located on the southeastern coast of South Africa. East London is the second largest city in the Eastern Cape Province behind Port Elizabeth. East London is the country’s only river port. Surrounding townships and small towns like Reeston, West Bank, Quenera Duncan Village and Buffalo Flats, Mdantsane/Potsdam and Berlin interact with East London, and are regarded as part of the East London environment. There are also other rural settlements that are located around East London.
History

The city formed around the only river port in South Africa, and was formerly known as Port Rex (Room, 2006). The existing port, at the mouth of the Buffalo River, adjoining the Indian Ocean, has been operating since 1870. The construction of the railway lines on the east bank in 1876 added momentum to the development of the area.

The settlement on the West Bank was the nucleus of the town of East London. Port Rex was elevated to a city status in 1914. During the frontier wars between the British settlers and the local Xhosa inhabitants in the early- to mid-1800s, East London served as a supply port to service the military headquarters at nearby King Williams Town, about fifty to sixty kilometres away. A British fort, Fort Glamorgan, was built on the West Bank in 1847, and annexed to the Cape Colony that same year. This fort was one of a series of forts the British built.

With later development of the port came the settlement of German and Irish immigrants. The double-decker bridge over the Buffalo River was completed in 1935 and to this day, is the only bridge of its type in South Africa. Modern day attractions include the East London Museum housing the coelacanth, a prehistoric fish, thought to be extinct, discovered live there by anglers in 1938, and numerous memorial statues, including that of Steve Biko. The city is well known as a surfing Mecca, and its beaches are among the best in the country (http://www.eastlondon.org.za/beaches.html, 2008).

In 1961, areas in close proximity to East London were declared Bantu homelands, Ciskei to the south and Transkei to the north. East London, finding
herself almost surrounded, except to the north, became very unsettled during the apartheid era. In 2000, East London became part of the municipality of Buffalo City, which also of consist King Williams Town and Bhisho.

The period of international sanctions, which followed in the 1980, damaged the economy of East London's harbour. Enormous investment in recent years, by corporations such as Daimler Chrysler, has resulted in the harbour being developed to include a new car terminal.

Population of Buffalo City Municipality and East London

The total population of East London was 533,164 (PRU, Rhodes University, 2000 in IDP, 2002). In 1996, Statistics South Africa’s estimated the population of East London to be 357,193. Between 1996 and 1999, there was a sharp rise in the population growth with the population of East London increasing by 175,971 (PRU, Rhodes University, 2000 in IDP, 2002). This was due to the incorporation of the black townships that under apartheid were ‘outside’ East London, but later the boundary of East London was drawn to include these townships (post – 1994-1996). The population distribution in Buffalo City Municipality shows that 60% of the population resides in East London (see figure 4). The other urban centre that has a high population is King Williams Town with
20% of the Buffalo City Municipality total (Population Research Unit, Rhodes University, 2000). The 2008 review of the Buffalo City Municipality’s IDP also stated that approximately 64% of BCM’s population can be categorized as either children 26% (0-14 yrs) or youth 38% (15-34 yrs). Forty-one percent of the population of Buffalo City is 19 years of age and younger. Fifty-two percent of the population is aged between 20 and 59 years and 7% is aged between 60 and 80+ years (PRU, Rhodes University, 2000 in IDP, 2002). The 2008 review also stated that BCM is experiencing a number of youth-related problems, namely HIV and AIDS; gangsterism, vandalism and crime; teenage pregnancy; alcohol and substance abuse; and the non-completion of schooling (IDP, 2008).
East London is also divided into different sectors and each of these sectors has its population estimates. Mdantsane Township has the highest population of the East London sectors with 233,420. This population is 26.3% of the total population for East London. The next highest is the Duncan Village and Buffalo Flats sector with the population of 136,407. This population is about 15.4% of East London’s total population. East London central, northeast and northwest have a population of 77,185, which is about 8.9% of the total population of East London. Reeston, West Bank, Quenera and Berlin have the rest of East London’s population that is about 86,155 (9.7% of total East London population).

Table 1. Population Estimate for East London/Buffalo City Municipality in 1999
Source: IDP (2002)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>STATS SA 1996</th>
<th>SETPLAN ESTIMATE 1999</th>
<th>BUFFALO CITY ESTIMATE 1999</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East London</td>
<td>357,193</td>
<td>597,774</td>
<td>533,164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>King Williams Town</td>
<td>99,509</td>
<td>174,000</td>
<td>174,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural</td>
<td>223,732</td>
<td>151,645</td>
<td>180,836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>680,434</strong></td>
<td><strong>923,419</strong></td>
<td><strong>888,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The demographic data that PRU Rhodes University (2000 in IDP, 2002) gathered on informal settlements in the city indicate that women outnumber men as a portion of the total population (see Figure 5). The greatest sex ratio imbalance is in the 20 - 30 year age cohort, which women dominate. However, detailed analysis shows that there are more males in Duncan Village (mostly migrant workers and job seekers). There are more females in Beacon Bay and Gonubie,
supporting the findings that the majority of residents in Nompumelelo and MzaMomhle are women in domestic employment in these suburban areas.

Figure 5. Buffalo City Municipality Estimated Gender Split (1999)
Source: PRU Rhodes University, (2000)

The estimated birth rate from 1996 to 2008 is higher than the estimate death rate. This means that the young population of BCM will increase. Eighty-two percent of the BCM population is African (black) while about ten percent are whites (see Figure 6). Six percent of the population in BCM is coloured while approximately two percent (see Figure 6) are Asians and unspecified (Statistics SA, 1996 in IDP, 2002).
Figure 6. Buffalo City Municipality Population, by Race
Source: Statistics SA (1996)

The East London Industrial Development Zone and Economy

East London is the second largest industrial centre (after Nelson Mandela Metropolitan Area) in the Eastern Cape. The motor industry is the dominant employer. The second largest employer in Buffalo City and East London is the government (provincial, district and local). A major Daimler Chrysler plant is located near the harbour, and manufactures Mercedes-Benz vehicles for the local market, as well as for export to the United Kingdom, Australia and Japan. Other industries include, clothing, textiles, household consumer goods and food processing, while agricultural production includes livestock, horticulture,
pineapples, citrus, timber, mohair and wool. East London, because of its strategic location to the national and world markets poses several advantages for exporting. The city’s location not only provides for industrialists’ increasing demand for export facilities in South Africa, but also supplies them with easy access to markets in the Americas, Europe, Australia and the Far East. Indications are that the port of East London can potentially serve 200-million people in the Indian Ocean littoral (Buffalo City Municipality IDP, 2002).

From the 1960s until 1994, the apartheid government created tax and wage incentives to attract industries in the former black independent states, including the Ciskei. Investments therefore flowed into the surrounding areas such as Fort Jackson and Dimbaza, leaving East London in relative isolation. Under apartheid, the militant union activity of the time was not conducive to good labour relations. Infrastructure deteriorated and the port activity wound down (Buffalo City Municipality IDP, 2002).

In the postapartheid period, the East London Industrial Development Zone (IDZ) was established to encourage investment in East London on the West Bank, close to both the port and airport. One thousand five hundred hectares of land was also made available, and the site is one of four duty-free development areas in South Africa (http://www.elidz.co.za/, 07-02-2008).

The site of the East London Industrial Development Zone (IDZ) is on the West Bank of the Buffalo River, between the port and the airport. The IDZ commenced its first investments in 2002. The IDZ is a Customs Secured Area (CSA) of 250 hectares, which is adjacent to the Industrial Services Area of 110 hectares,
developed in 2003 for investors. One thousand five hundred hectares were available for new industry, of which the Buffalo City Municipality owned 570 hectares.

The East London port has an existing container terminal of 93 000 teu (twenty-foot equivalent unit) which is nearing its capacity, a bulk loading facility for grain, and facilities for general cargo and petroleum. The port can handle 35 000 dwt (deadweight tonnage) vessels, but Portnet is trying to expand the port to accommodate 60 000 to 80 000 dwt vessels. Feasibility studies have been completed to expand the container terminal up to 856 000 teu. A R10-million investment to deepen the draught of the harbour to ease access for larger vessels was announced in May 2002. The port holds the only dedicated car export terminal in South Africa, with 2 800 bays. Expansion of the terminal is under discussion, with possible capacity increase to 10 000 bays (http://www.elidz.co.za/, 15 February 2008).

East London has good transport links with the rest of South Africa. The N2 highway that connects Cape Town and Durban by-passes the city, while the N6 highway joins East London with the inland city of Bloemfontein. The East London Airport, 10km from the city centre, has daily flights to all major South African cities. In South Africa’s economy, the East London – King William’s Town area including the industrialized townships of Berlin and Dimbaza is regarded as an emerging metropolitan corridor. In the national context, this corridor is one of the poorest and economically least-developed metropolitan areas in South Africa, with relatively low salaries and skills and with high unemployment rates.
There were active negotiations to upgrade the East London – Gauteng railway and its electrification. After the completion of this upgrade, East London will become the port of choice for automotive exports in South Africa. The East London IDZ is set to benefit from the improvement of this line, as well as from the upgrading and rehabilitation of the East London to Umtata railway line, which will provide access to the rich forests and natural resources of the Transkei.

Within the Eastern Cape context, the East London – King William’s Town – Dimbaza is the second most important contributor to the Provincial Gross Geographic Products (GGP), after Nelson Mandela metropolitan area (Buffalo City Municipality IDP, 2002). In Buffalo City Municipality (BCM), the primary regional node that is the present focus of regional services, commerce and industry is East London. King Williams Town is a secondary regional service node. The industrial activities in East London, which are commercial and service based, are located on the West Bank and the outlying areas of East London Central Business District (CBD). The commercial sectors with a number of enterprises are moving out of the East London CBD and are replaced by small and medium enterprises. Despite the decline in the textile industries due to overseas competition with the government’s signing of the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT), other industries are beginning to grow. The sectors within East London with the highest growth potential are manufacturing, trade, transport, communication, and financial and business services (Buffalo City Municipality IDP, 2002).

In 1994, the estimate of the labour force for the East London and King Williams Town area was 285,000 people (Buffalo City Municipality IDP, 2002). Fifty-six
percent of the labour was formally employed while twenty-nine percent were unemployed. Fifteen percent of the population was actively involved in the informal sector. Outside of the labour force, an estimate of 70,000 people in East London and King Williams Town are involved in subsistence activities. Given the rapid rate of urbanization and population growth, these numbers have increased significantly. Buffalo City suffers from very high rates of unemployment (BCM, 2002).

According to the Quality of Life survey carried out in 2001, the differences in East London’s unemployment rate exist on the basis of gender and race. Among African and Asian unemployed people, about 20% have been unemployed for up to three years. Only six percent of white unemployed people fall into this category. Generally, social networks are very important in helping people to look for work, and this is particularly important for African people. One of the main reasons for the high unemployment rate is the lack of skills and qualification (academic and professional). In 2004, it was estimated that 52.3% of the population of BCM were economically active while 47.7% were not economically active (BCM, 2008).

Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) has also put a big burden on the economy of Buffalo City and most especially, East London. The large pool of able working class people are infected with HIV/AIDS and this is putting a big strain on production. Unemployment, lack of resources, poverty, HIV/AIDS and lack of skills in
communities are problems that face the economic development of East London area and prevent it from growing (BCM, 2008).

The construction of the East London IDZ gave opportunities for black empowerment and Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMME) development. The East London IDZ procurement policy involved black-owned companies and small business in construction, equipping and servicing the IDZ (BCM, 2002).

In recent years, some development projects have commenced in the Buffalo City Municipality to improve economic activities in the area. There are plans to improve the central business district of East London. There are also plans and projects to develop the Sleeper Site, Signal Hill and the Marina Glen Tourism facility. The revitalization of the Amalinda showground sports facility, the development of the Duncan Village township tours and the upgrade of the Douglas Smith Corridor are also projects that are planned for the improvement of tourism and the economic sector of East London. In Mdantsane, the Central Business District improvement, township tours project and the Highway Node Development projects hope to improve the economic and tourism activities (BCM, 2002).

Impact of HIV/AIDS in East London

One of the major problems that South Africa is facing at large is the increasing spread of HIV and AIDS. In the Eastern Cape, statistics show that 20.2% of
pregnant women in the Province were positive. About thirty-two point four percent of these infected women were between the ages of 20 and 24. In the Buffalo City Municipality, 16 percent of pregnant women were found to be HIV-positive (BCM, 2002).

Buffalo City has made efforts to fight the emerging epidemic, but has faced different problems during this process. One of the problems is that HIV testing at Primary Health Care clinics is unreliable (IDP, 2002). Without a reliable testing process, it would be difficult to have good statistics. In addition, the supply of antiretroviral therapy for the prevention of mother-to-child transmission of HIV is only available at pilot clinics. This makes it difficult for accessibility, especially for people in the rural areas. Tuberculosis and other opportunistic diseases associated with HIV infections are also difficult to treat because the drugs for such diseases are not readily available. Human and other resources in terms of skilled staff that can cope with the HIV epidemic is also lacking in the area. The counseling services are inadequate due to large workloads at clinics and home-based care services are inadequate (BCM, 2002).

This epidemic has affected Buffalo City Municipality (BCM) in terms of social and economic impact. The economy of BCM is most affected by HIV/AIDS because of increasing absenteeism and loss of key personnel. When a staff is lost, the financial implications of additional recruitment, selection and training of new staff places a burden on the economy, if the occurrence is persistent. There would be also an increase in the need for special leave (e.g., sick leave, family leave) and this will affect the rate of production. There is also an increased burden on the
occupational health sector because the workload increases as more people are infected. This will, in turn, affect the quality of service, as it would drop (BCM, 2002).

The social impact of HIV and the AIDS epidemic in BCM could be linked also to the economic impact. Increased cost due to cost of medication and loss of income due to illness and or death of the breadwinner could lead to poverty in the affected family. The increasing existence of sibling households that results from the loss of both parents could lead to child prostitution and crime involvement. Lack of stable income, caused by the loss of the family’s breadwinner could also lead to lack of shelter, food, ability to get good treatment in hospitals and other basic needs. Orphans are increasing and socio-economic problem are beginning to emerge in the community. HIV and AIDS are also having an impact on service provision in Buffalo City Municipality. There is an increased load on health services because of the need to provide a comprehensive package of primary health care for HIV/AIDS. There is also increased demand for staff for health service because of the loss of human resources to AIDS, the economic and the social impact of HIV and AIDS in East London indirectly influences crime. Most orphans grow up without parental guardianship, which leaves them vulnerable to being lured into criminal activities or being the victim (BCM, 2002).

Policing and Housing Issues

The Quality of Life Survey carried out in Buffalo City in 2001 states that over 30% of the people surveyed have been the victims of crime against property, 14% had
suffered violent crime, with people living in informal housing areas more likely to be victims of such crime (IDP, 2008). Buffalo City Municipality, over the recent years, has experienced a number of youth-related problems. Gangsterism, crime and drugs are some of the major problems associated with the youth. HIV and AIDS, teenage pregnancy and alcohol abuse are other related problems. Law enforcement agencies like the South African Police Services (SAPS), the BCM Traffic Department and the City Police Corps (East London) have been cooperating with one another to combat the increasing crime in BCM. Urban areas like East London and King Williams Town have good accessibility to police stations and other law enforcement agencies. This is very much unlike the rural areas where the police stations are few, far apart and not always on public transport routes. Unavailability of infrastructure like telephones in many rural areas also compounds the problem of crime control. There have been questions raised about the level of the law enforcement service in the BCM area, which is far from adequate (BCM, 2002).

Several reasons could result in inefficient law enforcement service. The lack of available funding in respect of safety and security is one of the main reasons. The lack of adequate personnel also contributes to the inefficient services that the law enforcement agencies render. Women are also more vulnerable to crime than men. Youth crime is also on the increase and the secondary school environments are increasingly becoming crime hotspots (McGregor, 2006).

Housing provision is another big issue in BCM. Due to high levels of unemployment and relatively low average wage levels, a significant number of
people cannot solely provide for their own housing needs. According to the Quality of Life Survey, in 2001 about 80 percent of households living in BCM earned less than R3, 500 per month. It is further estimated that more than 50% of families earn between nothing and R1, 500 per month. The trends also clearly demonstrate that women are generally poorer with limited access to resources than men. Women are given limited roles to play in terms of housing provision and development. For a number of reasons including the nonpayment of housing loans and service payment boycotts, many lenders are reluctant to make loans available to low-income families. As a result, many low-income families are unable to access housing loans (BCM, 2002).

Buffalo City Municipality Infrastructure

The infrastructure in BCM includes water, electricity, accessible roads, public transportation, sanitation and telephone. Water in East London and its environs is in short supply. The informal and rural areas around East London receive inadequate water supply. The Quality of Life Study in 2001 indicates that the majority of the rural areas (72.3 percent) and informal areas (89.5 percent) rely on standpipes for their potable water supply (BCM, 2002).

The supply of electricity in BCM is becoming increasingly inadequate given the increase in the rate of power outage. This may be as a result of increase in the demand as population grows in the area, and budget constraint which force the
Electricity Department to cut down on maintenance and replacement or upgrading of equipment. There is a notable difference in the access to electricity in relation to settlement type (BCM, 2002).

According to the Quality of Life Survey carried out in BCM in 2001, almost 90 percent of homes in the informal areas have no electricity, while about the same percentage on the formal areas have it. In traditional areas, nearly 80% of households have access to electricity, with almost all of this being prepaid. Seventy-five percent of all households use electricity for lighting, which is quite a lot higher than the number of households using electricity for cooking. There is a problem with accessibility to good roads in the rural areas of Buffalo City. The road network and public transportation network that links the rural and urban communities is also inadequate. There is a lack of mobility and this affects the economic activities of Buffalo City (BCM, 2002).

In East London and environs, there are 340 schools (tertiary institutions not included). School type includes pre-primary schools, primary schools and secondary schools. There are public and private primary and secondary schools. Schools in the Eastern Cape (and South Africa) are divided into clusters. East London schools belong to the cluster C category. The cluster is further subdivided into circuits. There are ten circuits in East London. Out of the three hundred and forty schools in the East London cluster, there are 89 secondary schools. Out of the 89 secondary schools in the East London cluster, nine are independent schools owned by private individuals while the rest (80) are public
schools. A total number of 73,165 staff members work in all the schools in the Eastern Cape (Personal communications, Mrs. M, Department of Education, Eastern Cape, South Africa, 25-09-2007).

In the Eastern Cape in 2007, about 1,984,816 pupils registered in various schools. The figures show that as the grades are higher, fewer pupils register. In terms of gender, more males registered in lower grades than female. In higher grades, there are more females registered. The total figure for the Eastern Cape shows that there are more females (996,431) in schools than males (988,385), although the margin of the difference is not great (Department of Education, 2007).

Conclusion

East London is the economic hub of Buffalo City Municipality. There are a diverse number of economic and social activities that takes place in East London. Although the cultural diversity in East London is in an advanced process of integration, there is still a good level of segregation in the way neighbourhood space is utilized. East London’s poverty rate is high and the young population feels the strain of poverty the most. The economic strength of employed residents in East London is also weakened by the effects of HIV/AIDS infection. Crime generally and amongst youths in East London according to the law enforcement agents in Buffalo City Municipality is said to be still high, but has
Chapter III

AN OVERVIEW OF CRIME

Introduction

Crime has generated considerable debate and research globally. A normative definition views crime as deviant behaviour that violates prevailing norms, specifically cultural standards prescribing how humans ought to behave. This definition of crime considers the complex realities surrounding the concept of crime and how changing social, political, psychological and economic conditions affect the current definitions of crime (Clifton, 1990). These structural realities are fluid and often contentious. As cultures change and the political environment shifts, behaviour may be criminalized or decriminalized, and will directly affect the statistical crime rates, determine the allocation of resources for the enforcement of laws against crime, and influence public opinion (http://www.sweat.org.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=55&Itemid=28, 2008). In addition, changes in the way that crime data are collected and/or calculated affect public perceptions on the extent of any given "crime problem" (de Villiers, 2007). To better explain what crime is, Agnew (2001) and de Villiers (2007) defined three broad types of crime.
Economic crime

This type of crime ranges from fraud, corruption, bribery, unlawful use of assets, pilfering of inventory (euphemistically called shrinkage) and money laundering to the copying and selling of pirated material. This type of crime is called ‘white collar’ crime because people in business suits, who are in managerial positions, perpetrate it. It is mostly ‘victimless’ in the sense that government organization and civil society are hurt. For most organisations, such as the Institute of Municipal Finance Officers in South Africa (IMFO), this type of crime represents a major challenge as it detrimentally affects the functioning and performance of municipalities throughout South Africa and the rest of the world. Economic crime is a major impediment to development in developing countries (de Villiers, 2007).

Violent crime

Incidents like robbery, hijacking and holding people to ransom, murder, rape and serious bodily harm are identified in this type of crime. Due to the horror and trauma involved in this type of crime it is abhorred in all countries. Although individual trauma is mainly at stake, it obviously affects the operation of organisations as well (Fajnzylber, Lederman and Loayza, 2002).

Non-violent crime

Non-violent crime includes incidents like house breaking, theft, pilfering, shoplifting, prostitution and abuse of drugs or alcohol. Many of these crimes can
become violent or serious when the perpetrator is confronted or the initial situation changes. One may be inclined to be only concerned about this type of crime and to see, for instance, non-violent crime such as prostitution and abuse of drugs or drunken driving as being ‘not so serious’. There are interlinkages, and what starts as bad habits and even nonethical behaviour can turn into something as serious as murder or a road death. This indicates that within social and economic systems, what does not seem to indicate a serious aberration can in fact become very harmful to society. While, for example, there is an exemplary constitution in South Africa that addresses the issues of crime and fine laws, the key problem of crime control remains that of effectively policing the laws and ensuring that criminals are effectively caught, prosecuted and punished (Mattes, 2006).

Causes of Crime

In trying to explain the causes of crime, Baker (1998) pointed out that there are a few basic facts about crime which are important to an understanding of its causes. The most basic of the factors are age and gender. According to Siegel (2004), males are more likely to commit crime than females, at least where serious crime is concerned. Siegel (2004) also established that the ratio of male to female participation in crime varies by offence and one recent United States of America study found ratios of about 3.5:1 arrests for criminal activities. Crime, however, is preeminently a preoccupation of the young, whether male or female. Estimates of the average age of onset of involvement in crime vary from study to study. Most estimates range between 12 and 16 years but it is possible to predict
involvement in crime at much younger ages than this (http://www.sociology.org.uk/pblsdca.pdf, 2008). The prevalence of involvement in crime typically rises from late adolescence, reaches a peak in the late teenage years and then begins to decline (Weatherburn, 2001).

Another factor is the family (Runkle, 2007). According to Tresidder and Markham (2005), inadequate parenting is among the strongest predictors of juvenile involvement in crime. Certain kinds of parenting behaviours or family environment increases the risk of juvenile involvement in crime. The parenting factors known to be related to delinquency can be usefully grouped into four categories (Weatherburn, 2001). In the first category are factors associated with parental neglect (e.g., large family size, poor parental supervision, inadequate parent-child interaction). In the second category are factors associated with parental conflict and discipline (e.g., abuse or nagging; harsh, erratic or inconsistent discipline). In the third are factors associated with deviant (parental) behaviours and attitudes (e.g., parental criminality, parental violence or tolerance of violence). In the fourth are those associated with family disruption (e.g., chronic spousal conflict or marriage break-up). Strong relationships have been found between factors in all four of these categories and juvenile involvement in crime.

In general, factors associated with neglect are among the strongest predictors, factors associated with deviant parental attitudes and values and family conflict
are of intermediate strength and factors associated with family disruption are the weakest predictors (Tresidder and Markham, 2005). Children of families with several risk factors, whether from the same or different categories, are more likely to become involved in crime than the children of families with just one or two risk factors (Weatherburn, 2001).

The Encyclopedia of Childhood and Adolescence (2008) maintained that having a low intelligence quotient (IQ) directly increases the risk of involvement in crime because it limits a person’s ability to appreciate the consequences of their actions. ‘Others argue that the association between low IQ and involvement in crime stems from the fact that those with a low IQ generally do more poorly at school’ (Nagin and Land, 1993). Poor school performance is known to be a strong predictor of involvement in crime and children with lower academic performances are more likely to offend, more likely to offend frequently, more likely to commit more serious offences and more likely to persist in crime (Petrocelli and Petrocelli, 2005; Weatherburn, 2001). Studies examining the joint effect of IQ and school performance on crime, however, usually find that it is school performance which ceases to be significant (Weatherburn, 2001). This means that poor school performance is only associated with delinquency because those who do poorly at school are generally less intelligent.

Truancy remains associated with juvenile involvement in crime, even when controlling for school performance (McCord, Wisdom and Crowell, 2001). One reason for thinking that truancy maybe an important proximate cause of juvenile
involvement in crime is that juveniles who truant are exposed to a range of
criminal opportunities they would not encounter (or be able to take advantage of)
while under the supervision and surveillance of school authorities (de Villiers,
2007).

Another factor that causes criminal behaviour in juveniles is the influence of
delinquent peers. Young people who associate with delinquent peers are much
more likely to get involved in crime (Esbensen, 2000). Recent research suggests
that family factors and delinquent peer influence interact in their effects on
delinquency. Most studies examining the joint effect of family factors and
delinquent peer influence find that family factors appear to exert little or no
influence on the risk of involvement in crime in the presence of controls for
delinquent peer influence. Juveniles most likely form strong attachments to
delinquent peers when parental controls or parental attachments are weak (Warr,
1993 in Weatherburn, 2001). This suggests that parental factors and association
with delinquent peers may be a cause of young people’s involvement in crime.
Juveniles who also mix with delinquent peers are more at risk of involvement in
crime simply because delinquents communicate deviant attitudes and values.
Delinquents are important sources of information about various opportunities of
committing and/or profiting from crime (Bruinsma, 1992 in Weatherburn, 2001).

Poverty and unemployment must also be considered in the cause of crime. Most
studies that examined the relationship between poverty, unemployment and
crime have studied crime rates in areas marked by poverty and unemployment
rather than rates of participation in crime by individuals who are poor and/or unemployed (World Youth Report, 2003). Studies which have examined the experiences of particular individuals generally find that individuals at the lower end of the socio-economic status scale are more likely to participate in crime (Larzelere and Patterson 1990, in Weatherburn, 2001). There are some notable exceptions to this rule but, generally speaking, they involve crime which is relatively minor in nature. Longitudinal studies tend to find that low socio-economic status individuals are more likely to become involved in crime. A similar pattern of findings has been obtained in relation to longitudinal studies of unemployment (Weatherburn).

Poverty and unemployment are also usually thought to cause crime because they motivate people to offend as a means of overcoming their disadvantage (Chevigny, 2003; Weatherburn, 2001). Poor parents are more at risk of inadequate parenting practices, like neglect, poor supervision and inconsistent, erratic discipline, which puts juveniles at the risk of early exposure to crime. It is possible, then, that social and economic stress act as important influences on crime (Weatherburn).

Substance abuse is also another cause of crime amongst juveniles. Alcohol consumption in certain circumstances directly increases the risk of criminal violence. Alcohol has been shown in behavioural experiments to increase aggression, although other attributes such as personality traits also aid it (Fulwiler, Eckstine and Kalsy, 2005). Alcohol-related violent offences are associated more with heavy drinking than light drinkers or non-drinkers (Cagney
and Palmer, 2007). The influence of illicit drugs on crime attracts more media attention than the influence of alcohol but crime influenced by alcohol is actually more complex. Many people who commit crime also consume illicit drugs. Unlike alcohol, however, there is little evidence that drugs such as heroin, cocaine and marijuana exert any direct pharmacological effect on an individual’s propensity to engage in crime (Copeland, Gerber and Swift, 2004).

The onset of involvement in crime usually precedes illicit drug consumption. This has led some to argue that illicit drug taking and crime are just different manifestations of deviant behaviour rather than being causally related (Weatherburn, 2001; White and Gorman, 2000). The fact that many early family pioneers to the involvement in crime are identical with those which precede illicit drug use lends credence to this view. In fact illicit drug consumption almost certainly does cause crime but not by driving large numbers of law-abiding people into crime. Nicholas (2007), in his paper for the Australasian Centre for Policing research, argued that personal traits such as temperament, environmental background such as coming from a neighbourhood characterized by poverty and disadvantages and the “situational downcards” (i.e., criminals and illicit drug users are drawn to similar social environments in which there is a cross-over of deviant behaviours) of illicit drug users influence their involvement in criminal activities.

Juveniles involved in crime generally show attitudes and values favourable to law-breaking. The role of attitudes and values as factors in the commission of crime, however, is not always so obvious. The issue of gender based crime is an
example. Many factors account for the high level of violence against women by men. One contributing factor, however, is probably the high level of public tolerance on the issue of violence against women. Despite the fact that domestic violence is a criminal offence, nearly twenty percent of the Australian population, in one survey, reported that they could see circumstances when such violence would be acceptable (http://www.aifs.gov.au/acssa/pubs/newsletter/n12.html, 2008). In Canada, there has been a dramatic increase in youth violence involving females (Aulakh, 2008). It would not be surprising if tolerance of violence by an individual lowers the threshold for their involvement in violent behaviour.

Public tolerance of law breaking, however, is almost certainly not confined to domestic violence. There is evidence that it is a contributing factor to insurance fraud (KPMG, 1997) and the receipt of stolen goods (Allen, 2000). Tax evasion and drink-driving are two other areas where it may figure as an influence on crime.

According to Weatherburn (2001), looking at the causes of crime would be incomplete without looking at the communities where criminal events are frequent. Crime-prone communities also have factors that give them their characteristics. It is harder to measure and monitor the factors that lead to crime-prone communities than it is to monitor the factors which lead to crime-prone individuals. The causes of crime-prone neighbourhoods or communities are not well understood unlike those concerning individual involvement in crime. It is generally assumed that crime-prone places are simply those where large
numbers of crime-prone individuals reside. Questions are often raised of why large numbers of crime-prone individuals reside in particular neighbourhoods. The suggestion that areas are rendered crime-prone because crime-prone individuals reside there is to some extent true. Sometimes neighbourhoods are rendered crime-prone simply because they contain attractive commercial or residential targets or criminal opportunities which attract both resident and nonresident offenders (Wilcox et al., 2003).

Income inequality has also been found to render areas crime-prone. While poverty and unemployment increase the risk of individuals becoming involved in crime, the effect of income inequality on crime requires further comment since it is a characteristic of areas rather than of people (Nilsson, 2004). High levels of income inequality exist in an area when there are large differences in household income among residents of the area. Income inequality can exist at a neighbourhood level or at a state or provincial level or national level. Three different but not inconsistent explanations for the effect of income inequality on crime are highlighted. On one account, income inequality motivates individuals to offend because it creates a sense of relative deprivation amongst those who are poor (Doyle, Ahmed and Horn, 1999 in Weatherburn, 2001). According to a second explanation, inequality causes crime in an area because it brings those motivated to offend in close spatial contact with attractive targets for criminal related activities (Sampson and Lauritsen, 1990 in Weatherburn, 2001).

According to a third explanation, the effect of inequality on crime stems from the fact that high levels of inequality result in poverty becoming concentrated in
certain areas. Children from poor households are at higher risk of involvement in crime, thus the spatial concentration of poverty brings actual and potential offenders into more frequent contact with each other. This increases the rate of involvement in crime (Weatherburn and Lind, 2001). The explanation of the effect of inequality on crime may vary according to whether inequality exists at a neighbourhood level or at a regional or national level.

Economic and social disadvantages are not the only factors that make areas crime-prone. Opportunities and incentives for committing crime also attract criminal activities. A host of factors can create opportunities or incentives for crime. These include negligent and sloppy security, inequity in law enforcement, high levels of alcohol consumption, drug trade, attractive commercial or residential targets and easy opportunities for selling or disposing of stolen goods (Tilley, 2002).

Another issue that makes a community crime prone is ‘informal social control’. This term refers to the capability of a community or neighbourhood to police itself. An example of informal social control is when residents of a neighbourhood are willing to confront juveniles engaging in anti-social activities, report truancy to school authorities or play an active role in supervising teenagers’ social activity. Areas with reduced levels of informal social control have been found to have higher rates of crime and violence (Atkinson and Flint, 2004, in Johnston and Mooney, 2005). Some argue that factors such as high levels of population mobility (i.e., population turnover) and the spatial concentration of disadvantage are known to make an area crime-prone. Another reason for a crime-prone area
is social exclusion of particular races or social groups from civic life (Cullen, Wright and Blevins, 2006).

Kane (2005) attributed crime problems in particular locations to uneven and or insufficient law enforcement. Few studies have attempted to determine the direction of the causal relationship between arrest rates and crime. The researches generally find that the higher level of police activity, the lower the crime rate (Adams, Rohe and Arcury, 2005; Machin and Meghir, 2000; Marvell and Moody, 1996, in Weatherburn, 2001). The scale of the effect, however, appears to vary depending upon a range of factors. Proactive policing (e.g., targeting repeat offenders) appears more likely to reduce crime than reactive policing (e.g., gathering information about the crime). High rates of arrest appear to be more effective in small to medium sized cities than in large cities. High arrest rates also appear to be more effective where there is a plentiful supply of legitimate work than where there is not (Nagin, 1998).

Furthermore, while the relationship between unemployment and crime trends is far from settled, there is evidence to suggest that increases in unemployment temporarily elevate rates of property crime. Unemployment appears to increase crime rates, especially on property crime (Baron, 2008; Edmark, 2005). The overall levels of violent crime are closely related to levels of alcohol consumption (Parry and Dewing, 2006). While most research examining the relationship between the weather and crime is far from definitive there is consistent evidence of a link between daily temperature and sexual assault rates (McLean, 2007).
Drug use is another issue that influences crime. The age structure of the population is one of the overlooked long term influence of drug use on crime. In a population where the age range of most drug users is within 14 – 25 years, it would show that over time, there would be increase in crime rate. The availability of firearms, increase in the rate of family breakdown and a growth in the rate of children to adult, higher level of geographic mobility and higher rate of female participation in the labour force are also factors that could influence the long term effects of crime (Levitt, 1999; Smith, 2007), although this has been subjected to a lot of debate.

Crime in Africa

African Common Position on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice has identified crime as one of the major obstacles to development (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2005). Africa is a large and diverse continent. However, while there are several countries with moderately high national incomes, the majority of Africans across the continent are very poor (UNDP, 2006). According to the African Union Commission, over 40% of the population of sub-Saharan Africa lives below the poverty threshold of US$1 per day. Limitations in government’s ability have meant that official data on crime in Africa are sparse, and independent research has also been limited. Nevertheless, all available indicators suggest that the continent does have a very serious crime problem (UNODC, 2005).

Crime rarely occurs in isolation, and is one of a range of co-factors associated
with underdevelopment. High levels of income inequality, rapid urbanization, a high share of unemployed youth in the population, poorly resourced criminal justice systems, and the proliferation of firearms are all strongly associated with crime. The investment levels in Africa have declined and this can be attributed to the perception that the rule of law does not prevail in Africa (Hernández-Catá, 2001). Crime destroys human and social capital and has a greater impact on the lives of citizens of poorer countries. South African former president Thabo Mbeki in 2001 argued, citing the 2000 UNDP Human Development report, "poverty is not only expressed in shortage of food, shelter and clothing. It is also expressed in high levels of crime, including violence among the poor themselves, especially against women and children, in many instances accompanied by substance abuse" (http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/mbeki/2001/tm0215.html, 2008).

Many studies use cities and countries as their frame of reference when studying the impact of inequalities on crime, but in an increasingly globalized world, these references are not limited by municipalities or international boundaries anymore. With the globalization of the Western media, poor people everywhere are exposed to the lifestyles of the rich and famous. They are also exposed to the consumer ethic, which is seen as the creed of global style. Ironically, democracy and the open market system can place considerable stress on disadvantaged youth. With the removal of the formal barriers to advancement, poor people may feel the burden for material progression has shifted to their responsibility. Failure to advance can be perceived as a personal failure, rather than a societal one. The pressure to achieve material success by any means possible can be intense for young people (UNODC, 2005).
Tanzanian President Benjamin Mkapa in 2004 addressed the causes of crime as co-Chair of the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalization. He said crime was made worse by the cultural aspect of globalization, which engenders desire for the beckoning western lifestyle portrayed in the electronic and print media. The desire to acquire wealth despite unemployment may also fuel enterprise crime and ultimately, organized crime. Neumayer (2005) argued that inequality may also breed violent crime, as expressive “frustration violence” (p. 101) is vented against vulnerable targets. Inability to provide for dependants can be a tremendous source of frustration, especially when others appear to be more successful. The rage that this engenders can have tragic consequences.

The Impact of Costs of Violent Crime on Society

The impact crime has on victims is more personal than societal. The effect of a single incident of victimisation normally ripples outward through households and affects whole communities. Fear of crime also influences development at the grass roots. If development is the process of building societies that work, crime acts as a kind of ‘anti-development’, destroying the trust relations on which society is based (UNODC, 2005). World Bank research suggests that social capital is essential for development (Knack and Keefer, 1997) and that crime can destroy social capital (Moser and Holland, 1997). In essence, crime is a major source of subjugation in developing societies that directly hinders the efforts of individuals to grow. In Latin America and the Caribbean, one analysis found that the “net accumulation of human capital” had been cut in half in the past 15 years
because of crime and violence (Londono, 1997 in UNODC, 2007). Fear of crime also restricts mobility, which interferes with social and economic interaction, as well as education. Even more concretely, crime may prevent the installation or maintenance of infrastructure, as criminal groups depend on the disempowerment of local communities (Londono, 1997 in UNODC, 2007). There is also a social relations breakdown, as people try to minimize their exposure to possible victimization.

Violent crime can have a large impact in Africa as government support for controlling them is limited. The World Health Organisation released a report in 2004 on the economic effects of interpersonal violence that sought to document and enumerate the economic impact that exposure to violence has on individuals as well as the impact of violence on the rest of the economy (Waters, Rajkotia, Basu, Rehwinkel and Butchart, 2004). The report argued that there were several ways in which the experience of violent crime resulted in victims incurring direct and indirect financial losses. These costs include the loss of productivity associated with death or injury, the costs of medical care and legal services, as well as the non-monetary losses such as the lost investment in human capital, and the impact of the psychological harm inflicted on the victim (Waters et al.). The cumulative impact of violent crime also has implications for the state. Given Africa’s many health challenges, it can scarcely afford the additional burden imposed by intentionally inflicted injuries (Waters et al.).
Crime in South Africa

Crime is one of the major problems in South Africa. The United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems is one of the few sources of data on government-reported levels of crime worldwide. Academic analysts have used the United Nations Survey of Crime Trends in a series of studies that has been carried out. The survey has been conducted seven times, beginning with the period 1970-1975. The Seventh United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and Operations of Criminal Justice Systems, was carried out covering the period 1998-2000. The Survey consists of 518 variables, covering all manner of information, from figures on reported crime to the numbers of police officers, prosecutors, magistrates, judges and correctional officials working in a country (http://www.nplc.lt/stat/int/7sc.pdf, 2008). The database is becoming increasingly valuable to international and national policy-makers in the field of criminal justice. The Survey is unique in terms of the number of participating countries, the number of times it has been conducted and the number of variables that are surveyed.

According to the survey for the period 1998-2000 that the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC, 2002) compiled, South Africa was ranked second for assault and murder per capita, in addition to being ranked second for rape and first for rapes per capita (UNODC, 2002). Total crime per capita is 10th out of the 60 countries in the dataset. Other data rank South Africa second in the world for murders per capita and first for assaults and rapes (UNODC, 2002). As
of 1998, South Africa led the world, although by a smaller margin, in reported murders and robberies (Schönteich and Louw, 2001).

Institute for Security Studies, in a 2001 report, concluded that South Africa has high but manageable levels of property crime but an extraordinary high level of violent crime (Schönteich and Louw, 2001). It is South Africa’s high level of violent crime that positions the country apart from other crime-ridden societies. From 2001-2006, the murder and crime rate has stabilized according to official police data (Gie and Haskins, 2007). Crime has had a pronounced effect on society: Many wealthier South Africans moved into gated communities, abandoning the central business districts of some cities for the relative security of the suburbs. This has hereby changed the way South African cities are structured. This effect is most pronounced in Johannesburg, although the trend is noticeable in other cities as well. Many emigrants from South Africa also state that crime was a big factor in their decision to leave (http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=13&art_id=vn20061006042605750C824575, 2008).

Crime against commercial farmers has continued to be a major problem in the country (UNODC, 2002). South Africa also has a bad record for vehicle hijackings when compared to industrialized countries largely associated with the lower rate of car ownership. This in turn affects the decisions that companies (e.g., insurance companies) make. An example is the case of the South African insurance company, Hollard Insurance, which stopped insuring Volkswagen Citi
Golfs for a while (2008) because they are one of the most frequently hijacked vehicles in South Africa (http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=vn20071024035941577C493360, 2008).

According to government statistics, violent crimes such as murder and (reported) robberies have decreased in recent years (http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?set_id=1&click_id=3045&art_id=vn20071106033542483C943656, 2008). The rape and hijacking rates, however, showed no signs of such a slowdown. Hijackings and cash-in-transit robberies particularly have been shown to be on the increase. The situation with rape has become so bad that the country has been labeled as the rape capital of the world (http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/News/0,,2-7-1442_1838495,00.html, 2008).

The government recently had a widely publicized gun amnesty programme to reduce the number of weapons in circulation. It also adopted the National Crime Prevention Strategy in 1996, which aimed to prevent crime through reinforcing community structures and helping individuals back into work (http://www.ipt.co.za/crimeprevention.asp.). The government has been criticized for doing too little to stop crime. Some question the effectiveness of the South African Police Service (http://www.news24.com/News24/South_Africa/News/0,,2-7-1442_1986525,00.html).

The major criticism of the government came when the Minister of Safety and Security in 2006 was in Burundi promoting peace and democracy while there was a spate of crime in Gauteng. This spate included the murder of an alarming number of people, including members of the South African Police Service killed...
while on duty. The criticism preceded an announcement by the minister that the
government would put effort into quelling the alarming increase of crime by 30
December 2006. In one province alone, 19 police officers lost their lives in the
first 7 months of 2006 (http://www.iol.co.za

The former Minister of Safety and Security, Charles Nqakula, caused outrage
among South Africans in June 2006 when he responded to opposition MPs in
parliament, who were not satisfied that enough was being done to counter crime,
saying that MPs who complain about the country’s crime rate, should stop
whining and leave the country
(http://www.capeargus.co.za/index.php?fSectionId=460&fArticleId=3274298,
2008). The South African Police Services (SAPS) crime report that dealt with
national serious crime figures and ratios for the first semester of the 2007/2008
Financial Year (that is the period 1 April - 30 September 2007) stated that the
national crime situation is facilitated by grouping the twenty-one serious crime
tendencies into five broad categories (www.saps.gov.za, 09-09-2008).

The first category is contact crime. This is termed as crime against persons. It is
further sub-categorized into eight, which are murder, attempted murder, rape,
assault GBH (assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm), common
assault, indecent assault, aggravated robbery and other robbery. This category,
according to the SAPS report, accounts for 32.5 percent of South Africa’s record
of serious crime. These crimes involve physical contact between the victims and
perpetrators and such contact is usually of a violent nature. Over the last two
years, the trend of the rate of occurrence shows that it has reduced by about ten percent. The target that was set by the INTERPOL member countries, which South Africa is a member, is an annual reduction of crime by seven to ten percent (www.saps.gov.za, 09-09-2008).

Table 2. Fluctuations in contact Crime Levels in South Africa
(Source: Crime Information Management, South African Police Services, 2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contact crime (crimes against the person)</th>
<th>2006/2007</th>
<th>2007/2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Murder</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>-4.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape</td>
<td>-6.0%</td>
<td>-8.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent assault</td>
<td>-7.1%</td>
<td>-2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attempted murder</td>
<td>-3.0%</td>
<td>-7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault with the intent to inflict grievous</td>
<td>-4.9%</td>
<td>-4.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common assault</td>
<td>-8.7%</td>
<td>-6.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery with aggravating circumstances</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>-7.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common robbery</td>
<td>-5.8%</td>
<td>-9.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second category is the contact related crime (see Table 3). This type of crime covers arson and malicious damage to property. These crimes are closely associated with all kinds of assault and inter-group (or even intra-group) violent conflict (e.g., taxi-related violence or clan feuds). According to the SAPS report, the incidence of arson has increased by 6.6 percent while malicious damage to property has decreased by 5.4 percent.
The third category is the property related crimes. The SAPS reports show that South Africa experiences relatively lower level of property-related crime than many other INTERPOL member countries. The significant difference could be assessed in the substantial decrease in theft from motor vehicle (car vandalism) and motor vehicle theft by thirteen percent and ten percent, respectively. Burglaries at residential premises have also reduced in the last two years (2006-2008) by 5.6 percent (see Table 4).

Table 4. Fluctuations in Property-related Crime Levels in South Africa  
(Source: Crime Information Management, South African Police Services, 2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burglary at residential premises</td>
<td>-5.9%</td>
<td>-5.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary at business premises</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft of motor vehicle and motorcycle</td>
<td>-0.7%</td>
<td>-7.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theft out of or from motor vehicle</td>
<td>-11.8%</td>
<td>-10.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stock-theft</td>
<td>-0.8%</td>
<td>-1.2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fourth category, according to the SAPS report is other crimes (see Table 5). These types account for 24.8 percent of South Africa’s total crime. These types of crimes include theft out of or from motor vehicles, and housebreaking at both residential and non-residential premises. This category also includes commercial
crime and shoplifting. This category of crime, during 2006/2007, had the largest reported rate with 415,163 registered cases. Theft had about nineteen percent of these cases. The SAPS in the past did various analyses and indicated that the item most frequently taken during cases of other theft are cellular phones, money, jewellery and garden tools. Commercial crime covers all kinds of fraud, forgery and uttering, misappropriation and embezzlement. Internal (within the company) investigations are often conducted in the case of commercial crime so most of them are not reported.

Shoplifting is said to have occurred when a perpetrator removes an article that is for sale from a shelf and gets past the cashier without making payment. In most cases, surveillance camera and security enable the arrest and hands them over to the police, who open case dockets and thus add cases of shoplifting to the statistics. In this category of crime (other serious crime) according to the SAPS, all theft not mentioned elsewhere decreased by 5.7 percent. Commercial crime and shoplifting increased by 4.8 percent and 1.3 percent respectively (see Table 5).

Table 5. Fluctuations in other Serious Crime Levels in South Africa (Source: Crime Information Management, South African Police Services, 2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All theft not mentioned elsewhere</td>
<td>-5.1%</td>
<td>-5.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial crime</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>4.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoplifting</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The last category, according to the SAPS is crimes heavily dependent on police actions for detection. This category includes illegal possession of firearms, drug-related crimes (these cover both the use, possession of and dealing in drugs), and driving under the influence of alcohol (see Table 6). Members of the public do not usually report these crimes to the police. These crimes statistics usually become available because of police action such as roadblocks and searches.

Drug-related reports could also come as information from the public at times. This category is sensitive because an increase in these crimes may indicate that the police are more active, whereas a decrease may indicate reduced police activities. Other explanations may also exist. Decrease in these crimes may result from a change in strategy among perpetrators (e.g., gun runners and drug peddlers to avoid roadblocks). Crimes heavily dependent on police action for detection (see Table 6) are also indicators of the availability or presence of some of the generators of crime (particularly social/contact crimes).

Research and docket analysis, as well as time and spatial analysis over the past decade, clearly indicate a link between alcohol and drugs on the one hand, and crime on the other, in South Africa. People under the influence of drugs and alcohol may become aggressive and/or start arguments, which could turn into physical confrontations resulting in assault, rape, attempted murder or murder. Drugs and even alcohol can further be quite expensive. For people who become addicted, it may become a very expensive habit. Addicts may consequently be driven to property-related crime and even robbery to get hold of the money needed to buy drugs (www.saps.gov.za, 09-09-2008).
Illegal possession of firearms decreased by 6.9 percent, while drug-related crime increased by 4.0 percent. In the past few years more significant increases were achieved in combating both these crimes, which make increases more difficult to achieve at present (2007/2008) (www.saps.gov.za, 09-09-2008). The 25.4 percent increase in the ratio of driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs is in all probability a result of much more stringent law enforcement by both Metro Police services and the SAPS between 1 April and 30 September 2007 (www.saps.gov.za, 09-09-2008).

Table 6. Fluctuations in Crime Heavily Dependent on Police Action for Detection Levels in South Africa
(Source: Crime Information Management, South African Police Services, 2008)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Illegal possession of firearms and drug-related crime</td>
<td>5.6%</td>
<td>-6.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug-related crime</td>
<td>8.2%</td>
<td>3.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Driving under the influence of alcohol or drugs</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
<td>25.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Youth Involvement in Crime

Youth involvement in crime has been and is still a social problem across many countries, South Africa included. It is a problem of national concern that shakes the very fabric of the society. Youth could be the perpetrators or the victims in crime. What makes it a national concern is that the youth of today are the leaders of the future and as part of the youth’s society, one should be concerned about their increasing risky behaviour. According to Burton (2006), what
distinguishes the crime in South Africa from crime in other countries is the violent nature of much of the crime. He also pointed out that it is less commonly known that South Africa’s youth (young people aged 12 – 22) are generally victimized at twice the adult rate, and at rates even higher for violent crimes. He further argued that young South Africans are used to experiencing crime and victimization. That could have a marked impact on how the country’s youth are socialized, and develop their identities. They tend to see criminality as a societal norm.

On the part of the government, it was clear that the 1998 White Paper on Safety and Security, which set the policy framework for an interlocking, approach to law enforcement and social crime prevention was, from the date of its Cabinet approval, almost wholly ignored – in favour of a high-density and tough policing and sentencing approach. This meant that the key social and situational crime prevention policy provisions contained in these policy documents (intended specifically to address the developmental issues related to the culture of violence) have not been implemented. Where there has been an attempt at implementation, it is not anywhere near the scope and scale envisaged by those who drafted and approved the policy (Burton).

Schönteich and Louw (2001) explained reasons for high crime in South Africa and amongst the reasons is the increasing youthful population. They argued that there is a strong relationship between age and crime. Conviction figures show that young males are considerably more at risk of being convicted for a wide range of crimes than older males, or females of any age group. Males aged 18 to
20, for example, were more than three times as likely of being convicted of robbery, than males aged over 20. Substances like alcohol and drugs use are high in this (18-20) demographic cohort of South Africa’s population (Princeloo, Ladikos and Neser, 2004) and may account for the high rate of their involvement in crime. Studies have shown that there is a direct relationship between the level of alcohol and drug usage and crime (Lane, 2006; Princeloo et al., 2004; de Villier, 2007; Weatherburn, 2001).

The perception of crime in disadvantaged communities also influences the rate of crime in many economically disadvantaged neighbourhoods; there is a general perception that crime is a way of survival. Research done in the Northern Cape showed that there was a general lack of commitment to fight crime in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. Rather, they have natural support systems to help one another in times of crisis. The communities would rather deal with the after-effects of crime than preventing it. This was partly as a result of the social characteristics of the community, which runs as a child headed or woman-headed family (Strydom, van der Berg and Herbst, 2006).

The Effects of Crime in South Africa

The devastating effect of crime in South Africa is now beginning to be recognized (de Villiers, 2007). There are a number of areas where the effects are becoming increasingly evident. First is trauma. Hospitalisation of victims of crime represents a huge cost to the persons involved, as well as to the country. In the case of poor families who cannot afford insurance, the physical losses in
themselves leave them traumatised. Furthermore, in cases of serious bodily harm, the victims, their families and their friends are left traumatised to such an extent that they start reconsidering the benefits and costs of staying in the country (de Villiers).

The second one is the effect on employees in the South African Police Service. In order to survive, police officers have become tough, very defensive and at times even aggressive. When police officers are killed, the general feeling is often that they could have acted more aggressively and so have saved themselves. Obviously, this work environment takes its toll in terms of stress and mental effects (de Villiers).

The third effect is increased official security procedure. Concerning ‘white collar’ crime, the after effects of crime are usually an increase in security measures and improvement of detection systems. This means that very specific policies and instructions must be followed and that decision-making is centralized and pulled up to higher levels in an organization. The result is increased bureaucracy and cost, and decreased productivity (de Villiers).

Another effect of violent crime in South Africa is decreased productivity. Productivity or the ratio of output to input in any organization is a direct result of people focusing on what they are doing, and working smarter rather than harder. When people’s minds and their time are taken up by negative factors, such as combating crime in the workplace and in their homes, productivity must suffer (de Villiers).
Loss of national income is another effect of crime in South Africa. According to market research by the tourism industry, an estimated 125,000 less tourists visited South Africa in 2006 due to crime; this caused a loss of approximately 8,000 jobs in this industry, and when one thinks of other industries the total effect of crime can be considerable (de Villiers).

Insurance costs on properties, especially on vehicles, have risen dramatically because of hijacking and theft. People with low income are not able to afford these insurance schemes and are left at the mercy of the criminals. Criminals who are incarcerated in prisons and correctional centres are increasingly becoming expensive to maintain. The cost of keeping criminals behind bars is very high; unfortunately in a country with so much poverty, many people may find jails more attractive than life on the streets (de Villiers).

High cost of personal protection is another effect of crime. Most households in South Africa need to spend a significant part of monthly income on items such as physical deterrents around properties, reaction forces and insurance. Emigration and the brain drain is one of the problems that South Africa is facing now. Highly skilled people in any country are the first to leave when they do not feel safe anymore and find employment easily in other countries (de Villiers, 2007). In trying to understand crime and its effects in South Africa, de Villier (2007) suggested some pillars of crime that are closely interlinked to try to analyze why it has been escalating so much.
The first pillar is the past. Although apartheid had many negative effects in South Africa (Barbarin and Richter, 2001), many still blame the past for the current social problems.

The Present Situation

The Constitution has entrenched many rights, but few obligations. For most citizens the rights of criminals seem to be more valued than those of law-abiding citizens. The argument goes that the death penalty is not an effective deterrent to murder, but one wonders whether this is true on a continent where the law of the jungle and survival of the fittest still largely applies (http://www.aclu.org/capital-punishment/case-against-death-penalty).

Values

The social structure of South Africa has undergone huge changes during the past two to three decades. Due to urbanisation, HIV/AIDS and the pressures of survival, the children in a vast number of families are without school or parental care for a large part of the day, and they become easy targets for criminal activities. Parents often abdicate their educational and developmental tasks and leave it to the school and other parties. Television adds to the problem because it dulls the child’s senses to violence, such as shooting, and trivializes many wrong-doings (Browne and Hamilton-Giachritsis, 2005). Criminals have turned South Africa’s new democracy, and the protection guaranteed by the Constitution, to their own advantage. One gets the idea that very often crime
seems to pay because the chances of being caught and convicted are relatively low and the penalties not necessarily commensurate with the crime (de Villiers, 2007).

Poverty

Poverty as a major cause of crime has generated a lot of debate. The large gap between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have nots’ can cause resentment and affect people’s perceptions and aspirations positively or negatively. There have been arguments among scholars. Some are convinced that poverty is not a major cause of the present high crime rate and that violent crimes can still be attributed to poverty. Nevertheless, Rupert (An Afrikaner-South African billionaire entrepreneur, businessman and conservationist), indicated that one cannot sleep peacefully when you know that your neighbour is hungry (de Villiers, 2007). Job creation and an encouragement of entrepreneurship were suggested as essential in lowering the crime rate (de Villiers).

Youth involvement in crime in South Africa and the rest of the world is an important issue and was discussed in this chapter. Types of crime, causes of crime and the impact of crime in the society were also discussed with focus on crime in Africa and South Africa. With crime discussed in a broader perspective, the need to study youth involvement in crime at a micro-level became important. Studying youth involvement in secondary schools in South Africa was necessary because the secondary school is a conglomeration of young population in a
single place. There are many schools located in different neighbourhoods that have different characteristics.

Conclusion

The definition of crime as a deviant behavior that violate prevailing norms considered the complex reality that surrounds and also the contribution of the dynamics of social (family, age gender, peer-group), political (policies regarding crime control, unemployment and poverty alleviation), psychological (substance abuse, IQ, Truancy) and economic (poverty and unemployment, level of income, impact of HIV/AIDS on the GDP) conditions to its current definition. The trend of crime in African and South Africa over the last three years (2006-2008) show that more disadvantaged neighbourhoods in cities and towns were becoming crime-prone. The high schools in South Africa draw most of their learner from their immediate environs and activities in these environs directly influence the high schools.

Crime-prone communities have a host of characteristics that attracts crime-prone individuals. One of the major characteristics includes sloppy security, inequity in law enforcement on the part of community guardianship (these are guardians of the law, and the residents expect a certain level of security from them). Communities with reduced informal control also have higher rates of crime and violence. Once there is lack of capable guardianship in a community, and there are attractive incentives that act as a pull-factor to crime perpetrators, the community will experience higher level of criminal activities.
Chapter IV

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

Introduction

This section presents an analysis of data gathered at the research site through the application of various research techniques such as focus group discussions and interviews with various stakeholders, and through direct observation of selected schools in different neighbourhoods. It also discusses the differences in the characteristics of selected neighbourhoods in East London with relation to crime amongst youth in high schools.

Study Informants

A combination of respondents participated in this research varying from government officials, law enforcement agents, schools' senior administrative staffs, educators, learners and residents of the neighbourhood that the schools are located in. The government officials represented the Department of Education. The Law Enforcement Agency of the Traffic Division and the South African Police Services represented the law enforcers. School principals and in some cases the deputy-principal represented the senior administrative staff of secondary schools and male and female educators were involved. The
educators picked the learners for focus group discussions in two of the selected schools. In each school, six learners were selected for a focus group discussion. Gender and race (in the racially mixed school) were considered when selecting these learners. They were all grade eleven learners. Grade eleven learners were chosen because they had been in the school long enough to have established views about the school and area. The educators were also selected with due consideration for race and gender.

Characteristics of the Schools in the Selected Neighbourhoods

Baysville is a middle-income residential neighbourhood, with middle-aged residents (see Plate 1). The dominant race group that resides in this neighbourhood is white. It is a quiet neighbourhood and has little or no economic activities, and social activities are minimal.

School and college students dominate the second neighbourhood, which is Southernwood that surrounds the selected high school. It is also a residential area (see Plate 2), but more services and economic activities. The population living in Southernwood area is greater than that in the Baysville area. Social interaction is high because of the young population that dominates the place. There are taverns in the area that are very busy during the day and night.
The school has a mixed population of students from all races, with both males and females. The school in this neighbourhood has boarding house facilities. The boarding house facilities provided in this school are for both male and female learners that come from outside East London. These learners that come from
outside East London constitute about fifteen percent of the total population of the school (Personal Communication, School Principal, Baysville, 07-10-2008).

Plate 3. Selected School in Baysville

The Department of Education appointed the teaching staff in the school on a full time basis. This school is one of the few ‘special’ schools in South Africa. It is special because a percentage of its student population comprises persons with special needs. The special nature of the school attracts students from all over South Africa to the school.

The second school in the study is located in Duncan Village (see Plate 4), a residential community where low-income and very low income earners reside (see Plate 5). Most economic activities in the area are service based and small-
scale business. The community consists of two dominant race groups: blacks\(^1\) and coloureds.

![Plate 4. Selected School in Duncan Village](image)

The residential location of the different race groups still portrays segregation. Although the two dominant race groups are staying in the same neighbourhood, they are not mixed. There are still visible signs of sub-communities within the same neighbourhood. The infrastructure in this neighbourhood is poor compared to the other parts of East London.

\(^1\) Black South African of African origin.
Most social activities in Duncan Village are dependent on the central part of East London. There are local taverns in this neighbourhood that create avenues for social gathering especially during the weekends. The learners in the selected area are blacks. The school is located close to the residential area, and there are bushes surrounding the school at the back. Most of the students in this school are drawn largely from the community. The Department of Education employed the staff of the school on a full-time basis.

The third school is located in Buffalo Flats (see Plate 6), a neighbourhood where the dominant race group is coloured. Most residents in this community are low-income. The economic activities in this community are dependent on the linkage with the Central Business District of East London. The social activities (which involved going to clubs and other forms of recreational activities) in the community, although dependent on moving to ‘town’, are also very visible in the area.
The coloured race group dominates the school (see Plate 7) that is located in this community. Most of their staff members are also coloured. Within each of the selected neighbourhoods, ten people that live there were interviewed.
The Government Department

The Department of Education is not considerably involved in issues relating to crime occurrences in secondary schools. The Department of Education has a section that addresses criminal issues in secondary schools by setting up investigative panels. Unfortunately, they do not have policies that prevent criminal issues in secondary schools. The Department only gets involved after crime incidents. The government departments in the Eastern Cape do not work together to fight crime. Each department seems to stick to its duties and it is difficult to work together to ensure safety in schools (Personal Communication, Department of Education Respondent, Ms M, 07-11-2007).

Response from the Law Enforcement Agency

The Superintendent of the Law Enforcement division of the traffic, when interviewed, discussed the crime pattern and situation in the selected neighbourhood in East London. He discussed the crime pattern, youth involvement, and what they have done as law enforcers to control criminal incidents in the Duncan Village, Baysville/Southernwood and Buffalo Flats area of East London, South Africa.

Duncan Village

In Duncan Village, what is happening is that we know crime is like a disease, which needs to be fought. It is an issue that we have to get all
the role players involved because the South African Police Services (SAPS) and Law Enforcement Agency (LEA) cannot take out crime by ourselves. We have to get all the role players involved which include business people, the communities and churches, schools, youth leaders, and school committees. All these people and the police (SAPS and LEA) are very important in fighting these crimes (Personal Communication, LEA Respondent, E.V.M., 17-06-2008).

The LEA in conjunction with the SAPS went into the community at the ground level (grassroots level) because to the LEA, crime affects everybody in the community. They encouraged the community to start a Community Policing Forum (CPF). The Community Policing Forum’s function would solely be interacting with the police. According to the LEA respondent, if there is a crime occurrence, the CPF’s duty is to notify the SAPS or the LEA so that they can take swift action on the scene of the crime. If the accused or suspect is still on the crime scene, the LEA then takes over by arresting the suspects. The Community-Policing Forum would generally act as the law enforcement’s watch dog. The duty of the CPF is not to take matters into their hands, but to inform the SAPS or the LEA of an ongoing crime. After the arrest, the CPF also helps in gathering information about the crime so that the LEA can open the case with the local policing authority of the area.

According to the LEA, the CPF has been very helpful because it has reduced the occurrences of crime in selected areas.
Duncan Village and its surrounding areas are high crime hotspots; the policing forum in the community has been very helpful in the significant reduction in crime over the last six months (to October 2008), especially contact crime. We also worked with the pub owners and the Liquor Board as part of the Forum because many people have become perpetrators and victims under the influence of alcohol. The criminals also target people who are drunk because they could not defend themselves when attacked (Personal Communication, LEA Respondent, E.V.M., 17-06-2008).

Rape (contact crime) is also a common crime in Duncan Village. The LEA commended the CPF for having done a great job over the last six months to one year (to October 2008) by reducing the rate of occurrences of the dominant type of crime in Duncan Village, which is contact crime.

Southernwood and Baysville

Most of the crime that was recorded often in Southernwood was theft of vehicles, and the use and sales of illegal drugs. Contact crime is also high in the Southernwood area. According to the LEA respondent, the reason for the high rate of violent crime amongst youths in Southernwood was that there were many students staying in the area. A large percentage of the population is between 12-27 years of age and is studying. There are also two or three pubs in the area. “Many concerned community members wrote to us complaining about the pubs whereby they open late until four or five o’clock in the morning. The reason for
pubs opening late is out of our hands as law enforcement officers” (Personal Communication, LEA Respondent, E.V.M., 17-06-2008). Another great concern in the Southernwood area, according to the LEA respondent, was the rate at which the minors were getting into drugs and alcohol. Amongst these youth, fighting, stabbing and raping were also on the increase in the area, and the law enforcement officers were working in conjunction with the community to fight the increase. Drug cases that were recorded amongst the youth were high in the last six months, but the community and the law enforcement agencies are doing their best to reduce these occurrences. The LEA and SAPS are currently (2008) trying to introduce a bill and a bye-law that will control the time at which taverns open and close.

As law enforcers, we have gone to the council (Liquor Board), they are looking into the issue carefully, and then we hope they would agree to the new bill. Now, what we as law enforcers do is that we just go there on weekends to see if there is trouble (Personal Communication, LEA Respondent, E. V.M., 2008).

Buffalo Flats

In Buffalo Flats, particularly around the historical coloured schools, most of the residents grew up in a neighbourhood where violence and gangsterism were the order of the day. The youth in the neighbourhood grew up in a place where there is great liquor consumption. Most crime in Buffalo Flats was directly related to
alcohol. There was a lot of theft, fighting, raping and stabbing in the area

The school in Buffalo Flats was a more controlled environment. The school
community was more aware of the dangers around them. The school authority
and the school governing body were always controlling things and they ensured a
proper safe learning environment for learners. Government schools were quite
safe, but things get out of hand occasionally. The government schools, according
to the LEA, were not too strict in enforcing their school regulations. Former
model-c schools were quite strict with their laws and they were more controlled
by the school governing body.

The LEA respondent discussed the role of gender in crime and agreed that
gender played a big role in crime in all the selected areas of study because more
girls were getting involved in criminal activities. There were also concerns that
more women in Buffalo Flats carry weapons now and they often used it to fight,
just as men do. Amongst the youth, the rate at which young women were getting
involved in crime has increased. Many women were now used to transport
drugs. “This is because they have the ability to keep the drugs in ‘unbelievable
places’ and they know that they are less often being searched” (Personal

What we as law enforcers now do is that when we go on our
operations, we do not look at gender. We see everybody as the same.
We, on our side, also go with equal numbers of male and female law
enforcers so that we could carry thorough searches amongst the learners irrespective of their gender. Some of these girls are rough and they demand to be handled too, so we have more trained female personnel in the law enforcement agencies. But I will tell you that there are more girls involved directly or indirectly in crime now in these areas (Personal Communication, LEA Respondent, E. V.M., 17-06-2008).

The LEA and the SAPS arranged community meetings in all the selected neighbourhoods to advise them about combating crime. There were also awareness campaigns and debates that schools organized with the aid of the law enforcers to sensitize the communities about their roles in ensuring a safer environment.

Response from Residents of the Selected Neighbourhoods

In the Baysville/Southernwood, Duncan Village and Buffalo Flats neighbourhoods, robbing was a major concern of all the respondents. They also pointed out that cell phones and money were the most targeted items that are stolen. There are also many property crimes in the Baysville neighbourhood, because of the presence of the middle-income earners that live near the low-income earners. There were few cases of sexual harassment over the last six months (May-October, 2008). In Duncan Village, there were fewer complaints of rape cases in the neighbourhood. Rape cases were not much according to Duncan Village residents, but they also believed that rape was underreported.
Although there are numerous cases of rape cases in a year, they are not as many as they used to be.

One of the respondents in Buffalo Flats stated, “... every crime that relates with gangsterism, you will find here: Sale and the use of hard drugs and alcohol, illegal possession of arms, fighting and sexual abuse and molestation. All these activities lead to violence, and many times murder” (Personal Communication, Respondent B, Buffalo Flats, 02-10-2008). A worrying thing about these activities is that they are being normalized in this part of the society. Another of the respondent in Buffalo Flats says, “… you see a father instilling it to his son by telling him he has to rise up to the occasion to be a man. These people are supposed to be instilling morals to the younger generation” (Personal Communication, Respondent D, Buffalo Flats, 02-10-2008). Domestic violence has become normal in Buffalo Flats. One of the respondents was also quoted as: “the younger ones now see violence as a way of asserting authority as a man” (Personal Communication, Respondent D, Buffalo Flats, 03-10-2008).

In all the selected neighbourhoods, all the respondents agreed that the police and other law enforcement agencies were trying their best to curb crime in the area. Recently the police started the Community Policing Forum in these areas. They also usually patrol the areas more than before. In spite of their commendable efforts, one of the respondents in Buffalo Flats admitted that the rate of crime here was still high.

In Buffalo Flats, it was a more difficult job for the police. The crime perpetrators use the younger people to perpetrate crimes. If the younger people are arrested,
it was very difficult for the police to extract information from them. According to respondent C, the reason for the difficulties in getting information from youths involved in crime was that the juveniles become vulnerable to gang related attacks if they give information about their gang. Another reason according to Respondent D in Buffalo Flats is that the juvenile perpetrators are made to believe that they would not go to jail if arrested. This gives them confidence not to give information to the LEA.

Concerning the influence and safety of the secondary schools in these neighbourhoods, all the respondents in all three selected neighbourhoods agreed that they are quite safe, but with concerns over how high school learners are now used by criminals to perpetrate their illegal acts.

Well, the schools around our community are safe, but not safer than the other part of the community. Many of these young boys and girls are into drugs and they still fight in schools too. The major supply of these drugs is from the neighbourhood to the school. You see those kids using drugs and boozing. Alcohol is a very big problem in our community. There seems to be no hard enforcement on age restrictions with the use of alcohol. You see many of these high school learners drunk in the night or weekends. It is difficult to explain (Personal Communication, Respondent F, Southernwood, 07-10-2008)

The residents in all the selected neighbourhoods believe that the government is not doing enough to reduce crime in their communities. According to the
respondents, government should first control the volume of alcohol sales. The
government must also develop sterner penalties for anyone who commits crime,
be it youths or adults. Some are even clamoring for the death penalty to be
introduced. Many also think government should create more jobs for the youth.
According to one of the respondents in Duncan Village, people lack commitment
to the community policing forum’s objectives. The participation level and the
dedication level were also low.

Response from Senior School Administrators

According to the school head of the selected school in the
Baysville/Southernwood area, the school does not directly interact with their
surrounding neighbourhood much. The indirect interaction comes from the
learners. About fifteen percent of their learners are drawn from all over the
country. This is because of the nature of the school, a special school. There are
few schools of this type in South Africa. The school principal commented on the
school’s physical structures concerning safety of learners. The administrator
pointed out the measures that they took to ensure safety of learners in the school
environment. “We have security guards that watch over the school all round, and
we also have cameras installed in every part of the school compound. As you
can see, we have good fences around our school compound” (Personal
Communication, School Principal, Baysville, 07-10-2008). Talking about the
criminal incidents amongst the learners, the school head played down any major
incidents and admitted that there is an increase in the use of dagga amongst the
learners. “The learners also fight violently amongst each other. Fighting has reduced within the school compound because they are now aware that there are many cameras around” (Personal Communication, School Principal, Baysville, 07-10-2008).

When criminal incidents occur within the school compound, an internal disciplinary body investigates the issue. Parents of the perpetrator are informed in all the cases, and so too are the police when necessary. Like many other schools in East London, they formed a good partnership with the law enforcement agencies and the people in the community to fight against crime.

In Duncan Village, the deputy-principal discussed how their school interacts with the immediate environment. The response was that they have a community-policing forum that helps when something happens. According to the deputy-principal, the school and the neighbourhood interacted together and deliberated on criminal issues that concerned the area. The physical condition of the school according to the deputy-principal was a source of concern. The school has very poor physical structures that do not protect them from external influence in terms of safety. The vice principal also added that the school facilities were constantly being vandalized. She concluded that the school location exposes it to all sorts of vandalism.

The deputy-principal made it clear that there are standard guidelines that the school follows when it came to handling criminal cases within the school
premises and refers to the difficulties with dealing with young learners. In the vice-principal’s words,

... matters like this do not really go beyond the school premises. Internally, we have a disciplinary committee that is made up of teachers and senior staff members. The disciplinary committee investigates criminal incidents amongst learners. If it warrants suspension, we do not involve the Department of Education. But if it will require an expulsion, then we have to inform the Department of Education (Personal Communication, School Deputy-principal M. M., Duncan Village, 13-10-2008).

The senior administrator in Baysville and Duncan Village schools are quick to acknowledge the importance of preventative measures to reduce criminal occurrences. What the schools’ authorities do is to invite the police at intervals to undertake a random check on the learners. The police also drive to school during and after school hours to check on criminal activities around the area. The deputy-principal of the school in Duncan Village expressed her disappointment over the lack of cooperation of the parents. According to the deputy-principal,

The school authority tries to work with the parents of the learners but our parents are not cooperative. Whenever their attention is needed at school, we have to make several attempts to get them to come. Some of these parents, when they eventually show up, they are so drunk you cannot even speak to them. So you will find out that most of these learners’ activities are carried over from home (Personal Communication, School Deputy-principal M. M., 13-10-2008).
Another problem amongst the learners in the selected school in Duncan Village, according to the deputy-principal of the school, is that most of them are single teenage parents. Most of the learners live in poverty. They cannot often feed themselves. The school authorities try to keep their academic standards. The deputy-principal also expressed her concerns over the loss of potentially good students to poverty.

Response from the Educators

The educators admitted that gender plays a role in how they command respect from the learners. In the selected school in Baysville/ Southernwood area, all their educators are white and the learners in the school are racially diverse. The male educator echoed the same response as the female educator.

According to him:

I think they have a lot of respect for the ladies as well as the men. They see the women as softer and more easily approached, so they tend to lean more on their side than male educators. There are a few pupils who do not like to take orders from female educators, especially the younger female educators (Personal Communication, Respondent D. V., Baysville, 07-10-2008).

The educators interact more with the learners from the selected school in Baysville. In general, the school has a good relationship in terms of mentorship and guidance between the educators and pupils. According to both educators, most criminal activities that have occurred in the school involve stealing cell
phones and stealing the school’s property and fighting. “In terms of violent crime, we have had some cases in the recent past where students fight and use weapons. Common weapons used are knives. Other incidents involved the use of iron bars that often result in bleeding” (Personal Communication, Respondent, Educator A, Baysville, 07-10-2008).

The school has a good internal control system where the pupils monitor one another. When there were criminal incidents, the students often reported to the school authority in time so that appropriate actions were taken against the offender and the victim. The male educator responded:

There has been a lot of fighting lately (October 2008). In addition, cases of dagga usage have dramatically increased in school. Alcohol usage is another emerging concern and many more youths are becoming addicted to alcohol. There is a lot of interaction with the neighbourhood at the Southernwood end, where there are many illegal drug activities. The criminals in the neighbourhood are selling the drugs to the learners and the rate is increasing. Most of the problems that the learners are getting into, originate from home. The family and social situation of the learners at home also contribute to criminal acts. My view is that the rate of single-headed family increase in society and the demand for parents to work so that they can put food on the table are taking parents’ attention away from their responsibilities to their children. This in turn leaves the children without proper guidance. As children are growing up, they would want to try so many things and it is
the negative things that attract them the most (Personal Communication, Respondent D. V., Baysville, 07-10-2008).

Both the educators expressed their concern at the rate of increase at which female learners are getting involved in illegal activities. According to the female educator, “Yes! There are some incidents that we never had before amongst females, incidents like theft. It is rapidly increasing amongst females. Fighting also has increased amongst females” (Personal Communication, Educator A, Baysville, 07-10-2008). Most of the criminal incidents within the school environment have involved perpetrators acting alone, although they try to look for approval or encouragement from friends. There is an increasing rate of boys-on-boys and girls-on-girls crimes but there are few cases of boy-on-girl crime in school.

The safety of the environment that the school is located was discussed and, the educators stated that they were generally, except for the vacant land behind the school, in a good environment. According to the male educator:

Fifteen percent of our pupils come from outside East London. Most of the fifteen percent come from the Eastern Cape Province. We are actually in a good environment and I think the influence of the environment might be positive. The school is next to another high school, which means that we have access to good transport facilities. There is a piece of ground neighbouring our school that is a municipal ground, which unfortunately has a negative influence on our school. There are people living next to this ground that gives the school
concern. They hide in the bushes around the school and they rob our boys of their cell phones and molest our girls. In order to address this, girls that have to walk along these routes normally walk in groups. That is the only complaint that I have about the environment (Personal Communication, Educator A, Baysville, 07-10-2008).

Most routine activities of the school do not expose learners to any danger, but the few school routine time schedules does expose learners to dangers especially when the learners are coming to school and during break time when learners are leaving school. These are the times that learners are not under anyone’s guidance. This is when the learners are exposed to the dangers that the environment could possess. Suggesting what could be done to reduce learner-related crime incidents at school, the female educator called for the more active involvement of parents in the affairs of their children in schools. This would ease the work of the educators in school. Parents should also inquire more about their children’s behaviours in school.

There are increasing incidents of girls carrying knives or small dangerous weapons in school. They claim that they are using it to protect themselves, especially from the criminals that lurk around the school area that molest them.

The selected school in Duncan Village is a black dominated school. All their teaching and administrative staff is black. The issue of gender in the role of being a capable guardian in the school environment interested the respondents. The educators feel that gender does not play any role in the level of respect that
they get from the learners. One of the respondents pointed out that, “They respect us, not because we are females or males. They respect us because we are their educators, although there are some of them who are just rude to everyone” (Personal Communication, Educator B, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008).

Based on the rate of reports at the school, the female learners are more vulnerable. The female learners report more incidents to the school authority. The males bully them. They are also the ones mostly at the receiving end of robbery cases and molestations. The female learners also still feel oppressed, so the cases that are reported to the school authority are a fraction of what actually happens. Female learners in Duncan Village were beginning to get involved in crime and violent activities to a greater extent than in previous years. However, the feeling of the two educators is that the boys are just using the female learners. “They use them to carry drugs and they also use them to act as bait for rivals” (Personal Communication, Educator A, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008). The sudden increase of young women getting involved in crime could be attributed to poverty, greed and an increase in the desire for material things. Absence of parental care for the female child too could be said to have fuelled female involvement in crime.

The only new strategy that the selected schools in Baysville and Buffalo Flats adopted to try to reduce learner-related crime was to involve the learners in the Community Policing Forum that was formed to help the law enforcers in terms of informing and alerting the police about crime. The learners also assume some responsibilities in the society by participating in events. The selected schools
also organize debates, and awareness programmes for the learners so that they could get more information and feel the need to make the school environment a safer place to study. According to the interviewed female educator in Duncan Village, the neighbourhood has a negative influence on learners because there are a lot of guns and drugs. In Duncan Village, the educator pointed out the issue of gangsterism as a major concern in the neighbourhood.

The male educator in the selected school in Duncan Village further added that the parents should take more responsibility for their children. “They should not leave it to the teachers alone. They should instill moral values in their children. Some of these children lack morals” (Personal Communication, Respondent, Educator C, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008). They stressed the fact that the moral upbringing of a child is the basis of a good society. “I think our parents should rise up to their responsibilities in raising a child. It is very difficult to change a character when it is fully developed” (Personal Communication, Educator D, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008), stressed the female respondent from the school in Duncan Village.

In Buffalo Flats, the female educator noted that the issue of gender does not matter when it comes to learners respecting their educators. She also pointed out that there is a good relationship with the learners, although some of them become rude at times. According to her, “they could be rude to any educator, male or female” (Personal Communication, Educator E, Buffalo Flats, 25-10-2008). According to the educator in Buffalo Flats, the types of criminal incidents that have occurred there in the last one year (2007-2008) include the theft of cell
phones and school property, drugs and alcohol and fighting with dangerous weapons. According to the educator, female were not increasingly involved in criminal activities. The criminal incidents in the selected school in Buffalo Flats were often gang related. There were more incidents of perpetrators acting in a group.

According to the educator, the neighbourhood of Buffalo Flats has a lot of influence on the schools’ activities, especially in terms of criminal occurrences within the school environment. The tavern within the neighbourhood is a place that our learners have access to, even during school hours. There were also times when criminals (wearing school uniforms) enter the school premises to rob and molest learners. The educator also pointed out that the school’s routine activities like the break times are when the learners are most vulnerable to perpetrators from outside the school premises, but the perpetrators within the school premises are not deterred by the school routine. Police involvement in criminal activities in the selected school in Buffalo Flats was rare according to the educator. The reason for that was that the head of the school always wanted to address issues like crime internally. His idea about crime in high school is that it is part of the growing up experience for learners. She admitted that the principal is too lenient.
Focus Group Discussions with the Learners

In discussing the cause of violence and criminal activities within the high school and the surrounding environment, the focus group participants in the selected schools in Baysville, Southernwood and Duncan Village area admitted that they picked the ‘habit’ from the family. According to one of the respondents in the focus group in the selected school in Duncan Village:

First, I think it starts at home. We pick up most of our habits from our parents. When we see them perform all these acts, we grow up thinking it is the right thing to do. What the child himself thinks is also important but it is mostly where we come from that matters. I also think who you are friends with also matters. You see your friends do things that they think is right and then you follow suit. Most of the time, our parents are not around to monitor what we are doing, so we tend to do some things unchallenged. In most cases, friends approve the negative things that we do (Personal Communication, Respondent, Focus group participant A, Baysville, 07-10-2008).

The school in Baysville, to the focus group participants in the selected school in Baysville, had a good influence on learners’ behaviours. The location of the school in the Baysville-Southernwood neighbourhood has some negative impact on learners’ behaviours according to the focus group participants in the selected school in Baysville. The focus group participant also noted that Southernwood was a more dangerous environment than Baysville. The Duncan Village
neighbourhood also influenced negatively learner behaviours in the selected school there.

The focus group in the selected school in Baysville discussed the safety of the school within the Baysville/Southernwood neighbourhood. The members of the group said that the school was safer than the surrounding and they felt safe within its (school) environment. Generally, they believe that not everywhere is safe. Within the school, there have been cases where students brought weapons to school. They argued thereafter that there was not much difference in the crime level amongst other schools in East London. Crime is a common occurrence. The inside of the school is well secured, with cameras and securities (Personal communication, Focus group A, Baysville, 07-10-2008). One of the focus group respondents said,

The outside influences the school a whole lot. As you know, alcohol is not sold to youths below the age of eighteen. Some of our learners have some older people around the neighbourhood that they pay some cash to help them get liquor and dagga (Personal communication, Focus group participant C, Baysville, 07-10-2008).

The focus group at Baysville discussed the increasing female involvement in crime. The female learners admitted that there was an increase of crime amongst female learners. All of the female learners in the focus group discussions noted that they have become more aggressive because of the ‘bottled up’ emotions brought from home. Whenever the females get the chance to ‘let out the steam’ in them, they often go violent. Fighting is one of the
common occurrences on the school premises and the respondents felt that these acts were part of growing up.

There was a massive argument when the issue on boys-on-boys, girls-on-girls and boy-on-girl crime was discussed. The males claimed that there were more boys-on-boys and girls-on-girls incidents while the females claimed that there were more boys-on-girls incidents. However, the focus group participants in the selected school in Baysville-Southernwood area expressed their satisfaction on the school’s effort in maintaining a good security system.

The educators also get involved with incidents by correcting and counselling us. We respect our teachers a lot. We feel bad when we disappoint them. Some of them talk to us as if they are our parents. It goes a long way most times (Personal communication, Focus group participant D, Baysville, 07-10-2008).

The focus group at Baysville still expressed its concern with the rate of increase in some of the criminal activities in the school environment. They pointed out theft, dagga, alcohol and smoking as the major problems in the school. They attributed these occurrences to the interaction of the learners with the Southernwood part of the neighbourhood. They also believe that learners grow out of these criminal acts. According to one of the learners in the focus group, “there is this thing about them that you are not a man, if you do not carry a knife” (Personal communication, Focus group participant B, Baysville, 07-10-2008).
The routine activities of learners in and out of school make them vulnerable and, provided the opportunity for the perpetrators of crime to engage in criminal activities. The focus group noted that their parents do not follow up on their activities in the school. This makes the learners in the focus group believe that whatever they do at times was not wrong. According to one of the focus group participants, “Our sense of judgment is not often guided; thereby making us think our actions are justified” (Personal communication, Focus group participant E, Baysville, 07-10-2008).

The male respondents of the school in Baysville also added that at times, amidst their daily activities, they are vulnerable and they go out to look for trouble.

Amidst our routine in school, there are times that we are vulnerable to violent acts. Mostly, its break time and closing time. That, of course, is for the innocent victims. Some of us go to look for trouble; going to look for liquor and dagga is not being a victim, we are the ones looking for the trouble (Personal communication, Focus group participant E, Baysville, 2008).

At the selected school in Duncan Village, which is an all black school six learners were interviewed in a focus group discussion. The focus group consisted of four boys and two girls. The focus group discussed the cause of violent and criminal activities within the high school. Almost all the respondents linked the causes of crime back to their background, the influence of friends and the school environment.
It is the way the person grew up. You can trace it back to our background and our home. Influence from friends around in our homes and right at school could also be a reason for us learners to engage in criminal behaviours. The environment that the schools were situated in also influences the vulnerability and/or safety of the school learners from crime. Our school is in a dangerous environment. It is located at a dead end of a close. There are bushes all around us and we have a weak fence. Although we lock ourselves in the school compound, we have porous fences that allow direct influences from outside (Personal communication, Focus group participant A, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008).

Most of the crime that occurs outside the school environment in the selected schools in Duncan Village involves robbery (of valuables). There are few cases of sexual assault and other minor incidents. These occurrences happen within and outside the school premises in Duncan Village. The next big issue is the use of drugs within and outside the school premises. The sales and use of dagga and cocaine are very common amongst the learners and it does not seem to reduce. “People do not really fight in the school compound. What they do is that they fight outside the school compound. Most of them carry knives” (Personal communication, Focus group participant C, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008).
In the selected school in Duncan Village, females are rarely linked to crime. According to one focus group respondent:

From my experience here, there are very rare occasions where you get a female that is arrested for a particular crime. Females also tend to fight amongst themselves, there are few incidents where males and females fight. These are rare occurrences though. The only place that the criminals use the young females is in the transportation of drugs. This may also be because of the want for material things for them. Another reason is that females wanted to please their boyfriends. This puts pressure on the female and they get involved in some of these illegal activities (Personal communication, Focus group participant D, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008)

The focus group also discussed the measures that the school authority engages in, in the protection of its learners. They acknowledged the effort the school authority makes. “The school is trying its best to protect us, although the authorities are also victims of these activities. In their own capacity, they try their best; at times when we are all robbed together, we often feel more helpless” (Personal communication, Focus group participant A, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008). They also stated that generally, criminal activities have reduced drastically in Duncan Village over the last six months. “We see more of police patrol here. But criminal incidents still occur once in a while” (Personal communication, Focus group participant F, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008).
There are activities that go around that gives me concern. They smoke dagga even inside the classrooms when the teachers are not there. They brag about it. To the perpetrators, they feel they are ‘a man’ if they do these things (Personal communication, Focus group participant F, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008).

When asked if they would report them to the authorities, they laughed and said ‘No! You want me to be severely beaten’ (Personal communication, Focus group participant E, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008).

Similar to the other selected neighbourhoods, the routine activities of learners in the selected school in Duncan Village make them vulnerable to criminal occurrences. One of the participants responded

Our routine, like every other school, gives us breaks twice before the day ends. These times are the most vulnerable time for us. We always have to go outside the school premises to get something to eat. These criminals know these times. To them, if you are going to get something to eat, you definitely have money. Extortion during break time happens often. There are more incidents of this nature during the break time than when you are going home. They know that most of us do not have money when we are going home. Many of us live here within the neighbourhood (Personal communication, Focus group participant E, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008).
In Buffalo Flats, an alternative arrangement was made to conduct interviews amongst the learners in the selected school. It was quite difficult to access the school in this area. Two focus groups had to be organized in this neighbourhood. The first consisted of three learners that were of the coloured race group. Six learners from the selected school in Buffalo Flats, who stayed in Mdastane, formed the second focus group discussion. One educator from the school was also present. The focus group participants in Buffalo Flats (both the groups) discussed the rate of high crime in the selected school and voiced their concern about the high rate of robbery (by school learners and people from outside), the use of drugs and violent fights (use of weapons). In this school, delinquency is quite common (Personal communication, Focus group participant A, Buffalo Flats, 21-10-2008).

The issue of race comes to the forefront in this school. The school consists of predominantly coloured learners. The black learners are a minority. Segregation amongst the learners still existed in this school, admitted all the learners in both focus groups in Buffalo Flats. According to one of the black respondents, “the coloured feel that it’s their neighbourhood, so whatever they do the blacks should not complain” (Personal communication, Focus group participant D, Buffalo Flats, 25-10-2008). Another of the black respondent said, “… most of the time, every contact with the coloured results in a fight. We cannot ask a coloured lady out, it will start a war between us in the school” (Personal communication, Focus group participant F, Buffalo Flats, 25-10-2008). The safety of the school premises and the porosity of the school-yard to outside influence were of concern to both the coloured and the black learners in the focus groups. One of the coloured
participants in the focus group said he felt safer in the school environment. The members in the focus group from Mdantsane stated that, as blacks, they do not feel safe outside the school. They also admitted that they (not only the black learners) are the ones who allow the school to be porous from outside influence by giving their non-school friends their school uniform to wear and also to pull down the fence so that they could go out of the school premises during school hours.

One contradiction from what the educator and the learners said became evident when the issue of gender in criminal activities within the school’s premises was discussed. The educator said that female learners are not involved in criminal activities at all. The learners in both focus groups spoke of the increasing involvement of female learners in crime in the selected school. Females, according to both the focus group, were more involved in pornography shooting and having sex in classrooms during school hours. Females also escaped to town during school hours to consume alcohol. They come back to school and misbehave. The use of dagga amongst female learners in the school is also increasing, according to the learners in both focus groups.

The focus group also discussed the principal’s involvement in making the school safe. Both focus groups contended that the administrators were doing nothing to make the school safe. In fact, the respondents in the focus group from Mdantsane claimed that the school head was too soft for the school. The learners preferred to be reported to the school head than some of the teachers. One of the respondents said, “… and our school principal’s car parking space is
where learners converge during school hours to smoke dagga” (Personal communication, Focus group participant G, Buffalo Flats, 25-10-2008).

Respondents from the focus groups pointed out three issues. Firstly, the focus group from Mdantsane pointed out the aggressive nature of the coloured learners in the selected school in Buffalo Flats as the major cause of criminal behaviour amongst learners in their school. The coloured focus group also defended the accusation against them by stating that the black learners were very disrespectful. The second issue was the ‘leniency’ of the school principal. The educator also supported this. The third issue was the cultural difference between the blacks (Xhosa) and the coloureds. The Xhosa youth (male) go through the process of circumcision as a symbol of entry into manhood, while the coloureds do not believe in it. This caused a lot of disrespect, which in turn generated many fights among the learners. These fights often led to racial violence. The school administration did little to curb this. This provided good ground for crime to occur because there was the complete absence of ‘capable guardianship’ in school. Lastly, one of the learners shared his experience of a conversation he had once when there was unrest in the school between the black learners and the coloured learners in the selected school in Buffalo Flats. He said to his friend, “I wish they could close the school today because of this unrest”. Then the friend replied, “No, they should not close this school, we should burn it down” (Personal communication, Focus group participant D, Buffalo Flats, 21-10-2008).
Conclusion

This chapter discussed the empirical work done on the field. Semi-structured interviews and focus group discussions (conducted on the research field) generated field data that were discussed. Also government officials and law enforcers were interviewed in order to assess their level of guardianship. The selection of the schools was very difficult. Many of the schools selected were not ready to grant access for the research to take place. Efforts were made to persuade the heads of these schools. The reason that the head of these schools gave was that they are trying to protect their image. Some schools admitted that there was need for the research to take place, but found the issues to be a sensitive one since their school had been “battered” by the press on the issue of crime incidents. The study was eventually conducted in three schools. The third school refused to allow the research to be conducted. Learners and one educator had to be interviewed outside the school premises.

The empirical work showed that there was a major difference in the types of crimes that occur in the three selected neighbourhood. The Baysville area experienced more of property crime and house-breaking than the two other neighbourhoods studied. Residents of the Baysville area had a daily pattern of moving out of the area to their place of work in the morning and coming back in the evening, hence leaving the opportunity for their properties to be vulnerable. Despite the fact that there were security measures which are more sophisticated, compared to the other two neighbourhoods of study, there were still reports of breakage into the residents. The close proximity of Baysville to Southernwood
also influenced the level of crime in Baysville because (according to one of the Baysville residents) of the high crime situation in Southernwood (Personal communications, Respondent B, Baysville, 2008). The selected school that is located in Baysville was also influenced by the socio-economic and safety characteristics of the Baysville and Southernwood neighbourhood. The learners in the high school were victims of crime. Most criminal occurrences were outside the school compound because the school is equipped with technological security equipments (e.g., security cameras). The learners that were perpetrators have been influenced (e.g., dagga, alcohol) by the residents of the Southernwood area (according to the focus group discussion in the selected school in Baysville).

Unlike Baysville, the types of crime in Duncan Village were robbery, crime associated with alcohol (except rape). The Duncan Village neighbourhood dwellers were low-income earners and could not afford sophisticated security systems. The security services provided by law enforcement agencies in East London and the Community Policing Forum were all that they relied on for safety. The disorganization of the neighbourhood made it relatively easy for crime perpetrators to converge there, making Duncan Village a high crime hotspot. The crime level in the neighbourhood also influenced the selected school in the neighbourhood. The infrastructures of the school in Duncan Village, which was dilapidating, made the school premises vulnerable to crime incidents.

Crime pattern in Buffalo Flats neighbourhood suggested that there were gang-related activities in the area. Buffalo Flats residents were mostly low-income and middle-income earners. Crime associated with gangs, drug-use and alcohol
were dominant here. The Community Policing Forum in Buffalo Flats experienced difficulties because many of the residents lacked commitment to the forum. The involvement of youth in crime was more in Buffalo Flats than the other two selected area. The neighbourhood influenced the selected school in Buffalo Flats (learners dealing with drugs, alcohol and being involved with gangs). Some learners were concerned over the administration of the school.

The learners’ opinions were however divided, because other learners in the second focus group did not have issues with the way the school was being administered. The divided opinion had a race pattern to it. The focus group that were of the coloured race group did not have any issues with the level of administration (which was deemed lenient on crime issues), while the other focus group in the study (comprising of black race group) voiced their concerns over the leniency of the school administration on issues of crime in the school premises. The IsiXhosa culture of ‘going to the bush’ as against the coloured culture also influenced the crime level in the school premises in the selected schools in Buffalo Flats (clashes between the two cultures often resulted in violence).
Chapter V

FINDING AND DISCUSSION

Introduction

This chapter discusses the research findings and relates them to the information on youth crime in the conceptual framework and the literature. The chapter covers the issues around juvenile crime in high schools and the influence that the environment has on it.

The Schools' Routine

The routine activities of the schools in every neighbourhood do not differ because there is a standard time set by the Department of Education for activities within the secondary schools. There is very little variation in the school activities in the different schools. The environments in which the schools were located have varied interactions with the school, depending on the characteristics of different neighbourhoods. In East London, there were still a number of racially segregated neighbourhoods, even after the repeal of the 1950 Group Areas Act. The school routine, which involved two breaks and a definite closing period, showed that the selected schools were not in charge of learners’ safety in these periods. Criminal opportunities presented themselves more during the break time and the closing periods of all the selected school. In this period (closing period), the school authorities in the selected places of study, lost their watch over the learners, and
this thereby presented opportunities for the presence of the perpetrators of crime and the victims to be in the same place while they (school authorities) were absent.

The Demographic Characteristics of Selected Neighbourhoods

The demographic characteristics of the selected areas in this study showed a large proportion of young population. The Southernwood area showed a young, school-going and socially active population. The average age range of the population in this area is about 14 – 26 years. Meanwhile, the Baysville residential area had an older working class population than at Southernwood. Many residents in the Southernwood area were studying in colleges. The Duncan Village area showed a large young population, but unlike Southernwood, the percentage of this young population going to schools or colleges is quite small. There were many teenage parents in the Duncan Village who were attending secondary schools. Buffalo Flats, like Duncan Village, was an area where the population of the area comprised of more young and dependent people. According to the law enforcement source, most criminal activities in these areas have been traced to this young and dependent population. Young people in the selected areas were more involved in illegal activities like drug use and sales, theft, contact crimes and gang violence. This was a worry for the law enforcement agents because of the difficulties that were involved in arresting a teenager. One major finding here was that many teenagers who got involved in crime did not actually know the gravity and consequences of their offences. There was a ‘missing’ connection between teenagers and adults in society. To a
teenager or the youth, committing crime was either an exciting experience or part of ‘growing up’. Teenagers felt that ‘growing up’ is a stage towards maturity and when they grow up, they grow out of it. Many of the young population in the selected neighbourhoods were independent of their guardians because of poverty. Out of idleness and lack of mentorship, they engaged in illegal activities as a means of survival. The young populations described above were on the increase, thereby increasing youth involvement in crime. The schools in the selected areas had young learners from different backgrounds. The coming together of the youths generated many activities, including illegal activities. The more youth that had the potential to become crime perpetrators and victims in an area, the more crime could occur in the area.

The Social Activities of Selected Neighbourhoods

The social activities of Southernwood and Duncan Village showed dependence on a few local pubs in their area and the urban social facilities in the central area of East London. Other forms of social activities centred on religious and traditional activities. The Buffalo Flats residents also depended on the urban social facilities in the central part of East London. One unique feature of the social characteristics of the residents of the research locations in East London that was evident from this research was that social interaction was still segregated. All the residents in the selected areas depended on the central part of East London for social activities, but their choice of where to socialize was still segregated. One could deduce that selected communities of East London are multiracial in nature, but not mixed.
The family, as the first social institution that a child is born into has an obligation to instill acceptable values in the growing child and teach what is right and what is wrong. This was absent in the major part of the selected areas. Many of the families were child-headed (young parents) and single parent headed households according to the respondents in the selected schools. If parental guidance is absent to the child, he or she would not be properly prepared for the next social institution, which is the peer group. Youth were attracted to the ‘adrenalin rush’ or ‘mischief’ associated with crime and violence, influenced by friends. Peer pressure also encouraged the youth to engage in criminal activities when they perceive that their peers were getting away with it.

One of the findings in the research locations was that there was a lack of parental guidance to the large young population, thereby increasing the risk of having a socially disorganized society. One of the main features of a socially disorganized community is a high crime rate. Some of the reasons for the absence of parental guidance were linked to the increase in the number of HIV/AIDS related deaths. The current social characteristics of the selected neighbourhoods showed a lack of capable guardianship on the part of the family, which exposed the teenagers into making wrong decisions like indulging in criminal activities. The law enforcement agencies were not the only institution that helped reduce crime. The school is the second institution that a growing child goes through. In the case of the selected neighbourhoods, this is where many of the young population converged.
The culture of crime and violence in South African society was identified as a major contributing factor that has been instilled as learned behaviour. Children from violent communities are also more likely to be victimized and to have developed a sense of helplessness in resisting the negative forces that surround them. They were forced to accept whatever comes their way. One of the respondents in Duncan Village, when asked what she would do if attacked said, “I would allow them to do whatever they want to do if I cannot run!” (Personal communication, Focus group participant F, Duncan Village, 13-10-2008).

The Economic Characteristics of Selected Neighbourhoods

Like the social characteristics of the selected neighbourhoods, the economic activities in the selected areas were dependent on the East London business districts. Within the selected neighbourhoods, the main economic activities were small scale services. Unemployment was high in these areas, except for Baysville. This was because of the high percentage of young and dependent population in the selected neighbourhoods. The effect was more pronounced in disadvantaged neighbourhoods (like Duncan Village). People who reside in disadvantaged neighbourhoods perceive crime as a way of survival. Educators in Duncan Village described situations where children came to school hungry or without adequate clothing. Stealing was thus a way of supplementing personal income. The lack of resources and facilities in disadvantaged communities was a factor that contributed to the youth and learners’ involvement in gangsterism, drug and alcohol abuse.
Other Notable Factors that Influence Crime in Selected Neighbourhoods

Gangsterism directly influenced the level of crime and violence within schools in the selected areas of study. Gangsters intimidated, harassed or assaulted pupils and coerced them into criminal or violent activities. The educators in the selected schools identified the weak implementation of corporal punishment and lack of adequate sanctions for youth crime as a contributing factor for the high rate of youth involvement in crime.

The differences in race and culture in some neighbourhoods also influenced the way learners interact with one another. The culture of circumcision amongst the Xhosa communities influenced their interaction with their coloured counterparts. Cultural differences generated tension amongst the different races where they coexisted together. These tensions thereby led to violent and criminal behaviours. Culture, which links to race, was one of the issues that generated controversies, especially during the focus group discussions amongst the learners in Buffalo Flats. These controversies spurred racial issues that were delicate to discuss. Communities in Buffalo Flats that were still racially segregated got into racial violence occasionally because of cultural differences. This was also evident in the schools located in such neighbourhood.

Young persons who were not at school, intimidated and harassed pupils on their way to or from school. Many pupils also had friends who were not in school and were encouraged to play truant or drop out themselves. The respondents in the more disadvantaged neighbourhoods perceived the availability of drugs and
weapons as a major factor for the high rate of crime in the school environments. Syndicates exploited youth in schools as potential consumers and drug pushers and in some cases used the school as an operational base.

Domestic problems and the lack of parental guidance were earlier identified as a key factor in the high crime rate in the selected schools. Most learner respondents felt that parents did not have time to supervise them, and were unconcerned about their children’s education. Parents also inadvertently encouraged their children to steal, by accepting goods or money from them without any questions. Also, the patriarchal social structure in the society reflected the vulnerability of the ‘girl child’. Boys and young men see women abused and mistreated in their homes and communities and internalized a subservient role for women. This was reinforced by high levels of sexual harassment that was ignored or tolerated within the school itself. Most female respondents, especially in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods, expressed their fear for reporting a criminal incident because they felt they are the ‘weaker sex’, and the males will ‘hunt them’ if they did.

The empirical work showed that many of the learners in the selected schools in East London were victimized within their own homes and were more likely to be victims and/or perpetrators of crime and violence in school. They come to school hurt or angered by their home circumstances and acted out their feelings in an aggressive or violent way. In the selected school in Duncan Village many of the respondents, according to the senior staff administrator interviewed, were from
abusive homes and were likely to model their destructive behaviour on their parents.

Infrastructure in the Selected Schools

The infrastructure in the selected schools was quite unique to the different neighbourhoods. Selected schools in Duncan Village and Buffalo Flats have limited security features (e.g., CCTV cameras and security alert service) that protect the school from external criminal influence and internal crime. The selected school in Baysville that had better security and infrastructure facilities showed more preventative measures in fighting crime than the schools with limited security facilities. The selected schools in Duncan Village and Buffalo Flats depended more on law enforcement agencies for resolving crime occurrences and have little or no preventative measures in place. In relation to this research, adequate infrastructure and facilities would organize and influence activities within space thereby creating a socially organized environment. When there is a socially organized environment in place, it would be difficult for perpetrators and victims of crime to be in one place without the presence of a form of capable guardian. It is important to note here that one of the selected schools had good security facilities, but the learners destroyed them to make the school vulnerable to crime.
Role of People in Authority in Combating Crime

People in authority include the provincial government Department of Education and the law enforcement agencies. These are important parts of society, and the law enforcers act as guardians of society. The role of the law enforcers is to protect its citizens, including children and school pupils from external and internal influence. The Department of Education has an internal system that addresses the issue of crime amongst learners in secondary schools. They also have a set of guidelines for principals of schools to follow and it incorporates dealing with criminal occurrences. However, the Education Department also feels hampered by the juvenile justice system of South Africa which is not cohesive and is weak (Pinnock, Skelton and Shapiro, 1994).

The school authorities often handle their cases internally. The law enforcers decided to involve the community in combating crime by forming a community-policing forum. The forum is a self-policing forum that involves economic, social, educational and religious leaders, schoolchildren and the law enforcement agency. The community-policing forum’s main duty is to act as the informant for the law enforcers.

The formation of this forum has improved security in the selected neighbourhoods in East London, but it had also opened a new challenge for the law enforcers. One of the major findings was that although the community-policing forum was a good idea, there was general lack of commitment from the residents of the selected neighbourhoods towards it. Despite the effort of the law
enforcement agencies to educate and make residents of the selected
neighbourhoods aware of the benefits of participation, they were still reluctant to
participate fully in the activities of the forum. The few who gave their full
commitment were in danger, especially in the Buffalo Flats area, where gangs
were dominant.

For the law enforcers, as much as they try to curb the growth of crime, they still
faced the difficulty of shortage of staff and equipments. Although, recent reports
from the Superintendent of the Buffalo City Municipality Law Enforcement Agency
in East London showed a significant reduction in some criminal activities, he also
expressed his concern over the involvement of youth in crime. Gangs and
perpetrators of crime were getting younger. This means that the ‘still debated’
juvenile justice system is not helping the law enforcers in addressing youth
involvement in crime. The law enforcers tried to go around it by involving the
communities in their forum activities. Unfortunately, the community was reluctant
to give up known crime perpetrators. One other way the law enforcers went
around youth involvement in crime was by involving the youth from high school in
the community forum. Unfortunately, fear and the patriarchal system of the
selected communities hampered the participation of female youth members in the
forum. In as much as the females wanted to help, they felt that their contribution
would be undervalued and would expose them to being victims of crime.
The research findings indicated that there are differences in the type of criminal activities that males and females get involved in. Male learners in selected schools were more involved in criminal activities like assault, drugs, theft and vandalism while female learners in the selected schools were more involved in drugs, prostitution and assault. More female learners aided males and gangs in carrying out criminal activities. Many of the females aided other males either out of fear or out of ‘love’. In the selected secondary schools in East London, there was rapid increase in reported female crime-related cases. There was an increase of young female learners involvement in fighting, disruption of peace, theft, drugs and gangsterism are on the increase. Despite this increase, one finding seemed to stand out. There was a significant reduction in gender-based violence or criminal occurrences in the selected schools. Within the selected schools, male-to-female assault, bullying and other incidents have decreased; although the number of cases of females being assaulted outside the school environment was still high. Another finding was that gang-related violence that had dominated the school environment of the school in Baysville had also decreased. This was because of the improved infrastructure and security systems that the school adopted. Despite the feeling of patriarchy that the young female learners experienced, more of the female learners were voicing their concerns on crime than previously. This was not the case in the schools in disadvantaged areas. Female learners in the schools in Duncan Village found it difficult to voice their concerns. This was because of fear and victimization. They still felt unprotected and vulnerable. The need for material things and the fear of
being a victim made them get involved in criminal activities. To the young learners in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods, involvement in crime was a form of financial and security for them. From the study, a map of East London that depicted the crime pattern that occurs around the city emerged (see Figure 7).

Figure 7. Crime Pattern in Three of East London Neighbourhoods (2008)

Conclusion

This chapter discussed the findings of the empirical data that were collected in the field. The chapter also discussed the social, demographic and economic characteristics of the selected neighbourhoods, and how they influenced crime in...
the schools that the research was carried out in. This chapter explains the role of
the community in which the selected schools were located in, and the conjunction
of crime perpetrators and crime victims without the presence of capable
guardianship.
Crime and violence in schools clearly threaten the well-being of a society. The environments with which the schools were located play an important role in the safety and security of young schoolchildren in society. Poverty, unemployment, community violence and organized crime were the most salient factors contributing to the problem within communities. The organization of society depends on the residents of the community. The responsibilities of the community dwellers in ensuring an organized society were important because crime benefits from a socially disorganized society. The crime perpetrators always look for favourable conditions to commit their illegal acts.

A socially disorganized environment makes conditions favourable to attract crime perpetrators to victims. The atmosphere is conducive when there is no capable guardian that could act as a check to illegal events. In the case of secondary schools, the learners are the perpetrators and the victims, while the educators and the administrative staff are the capable guardians. In the wider society, anyone in the community could be a perpetrator and a victim, while the law enforcers are also the capable guardians. Duncan Village in East London showed signs of a disorganized society due to the segregation in the housing, class, race and endemic violence.
Patriarchy was a common social characteristics in every neighbourhood where the selected schools were located and still portrayed the female gender as the ‘victim’. The female learners were increasingly becoming perpetrators of crime. The notable commonalities in the neighbourhoods that the selected schools are located in were that there was not an adequate presence of capable guardians. In the selected secondary schools, there was the presence of capable guardian, but the rate of the conjunction of the presence of perpetrators and the presence of victims were high. A school principal in one of the selected school was praised for his heroic act when he tracked down some of his learners who were engaging in illegal drugs activities (Daily Dispatch, 17-11-2008). The ‘heroic act’ is one example of the efforts of the administrative authorities to reduce criminal incidents in one of the selected high schools. Although the administrative authorities in two of the selected schools have tried all they could to reduce the incidents of crime, school authorities in the third school covered up the illegal activities in the name of ‘protecting the image of the school’.

People in the communities, where the selected schools were located, that were most affected by high criminal occurrences showed less commitment to reducing crime. The overall expectations of the residents of the selected neighbourhoods were that the law enforcement agencies have a duty to protect citizens. They (law enforcement agencies) are actually dependent on information that residents of the selected community supplied.

The government was not giving enough attention to policies that empower teachers to become more effective managers of behaviour. There was need for
changes in class management techniques and the instructional methods. Some of the respondents in the selected neighbourhood advocated for the reintroduction of the corporal punishment system.

Secondary schools are very important in the fight against youth crime because a large number of youth (including the vulnerable and the potential criminal) could be shaped and molded into law abiding citizens. The selected schools had a great potential to create a healing environment for learners with the potential of being violent. Apart from the parents of the learners, the educators were accessible and could play an important role in learners’ early assessment and intervention. The homes where the learners come from were also important.

Crime surges amongst learners in secondary school were often rooted within the home and the families. According to the learners, the parents were not actively involved in crime and violence prevention efforts. In the selected neighbourhoods, the empirical work showed that there was no effective communication and cooperation between parents and educators in the interests of the child as Weatherburn emphasized. Parents should however recognize their responsibility by becoming actively involved in their children’s education (for example, by assisting or supervising homework).

In the light of my empirical work, my study supports the conceptual framework, which is the criminal opportunity theory. The community-policing forum that is formed to address crime in the selected area of study fits into the social-organization theory. This theory explains how community organizes (or disorganizes) itself to secure their environment. The organizational structure of
the communities where the selected schools were located helped the law
enforcer to police a community more efficiently. The selected schools’ daily
routine and activities fit into the routine-activity theory, a theory that explained the
vulnerability of a victim in term of his or her daily routine. On the part of the
perpetrators, the routine activities of a potential victim allowed them
(perpetrators) to plan attacks. The absence of capable guardianship facilitated
the carrying out of successful criminal activities on victims.

In the case of the secondary schools in the selected areas, the absence of
education policies that deal with juveniles that engage in criminal activities was a
major factor that promoted high criminal occurrences. In a particular case, the
senior administrator of one of the selected school chose to ignore these criminal
activities that go on in the school environment, thereby providing the environment
for school learners to engage in more crime (this is one of the findings from the
focus group discussion with the learners of the school).

This study fell short of fully analyzing the safety policies that concern children,
legislation that is still being debated about handling juvenile crime and the justice
system, and the influence of globalization on crime in secondary schools in the
East London metropolis. Future researchers could look into the area of policy-
making and management of the juvenile justice system. Although my research
briefly discussed the role of the Department of Education and other government
departments that are involved in schools, there is need for further research on the
perception and attitude of the government officials in trying to combat juvenile
crime. The law enforcement agency was trying its best to reduce crime, but there
was need to evaluate the forum’s activities and the individuals involved to assess how well the community policing forums in the selected neighbourhoods are doing.

During this research, numerous problems were encountered. Many schools applauded the research but refused to grant access for the research to be conducted. The few schools that granted access for the research had educators in close proximity to the learners’ focus group discussion. Many of the learners could not express themselves freely. There were also difficulties in gaining access to some information in the schools because of administrative bureaucracy. Events (examination preparation) in the selected schools also hampered the timing of the research. The research was conducted towards the end of the year when examinations were written.

Information from people living in the neighbourhoods was easily accessible as the selected communities were willing to help. Accessibility to one of the neighbourhoods proved difficult for the researcher because of the problem of language and the thought of being an undercover agent for the police. Finally, the research conducted in the selected neighbourhoods in East London showed that the demographic characteristics (including the high percentage of young and dependent population), created a pool of vulnerable people. The social and economic characteristics of the selected neighbourhood created avenue for perpetrators to flourish. The routine activities of schools in these neighbourhoods created an opportunity for perpetrators and victims to be in the same spot with the guardian being absent.
APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE SECURITY PERSONNEL IN EAST LONDON

1. What are the major criminal occurrences that you have recorded in these areas (Baysville, Southernwood, Duncan Village and Buffalo Flats) over the last 3 years? Is there any change in the trend (is it going up or down)? Please explain.

2. What is the frequency of occurrence in these areas?

3. Is there any unique characteristics that differentiates these areas from each other (from a security official's point of view)

4. Schools in Baysville, Duncan Village and Buffalo Flats have called the law enforcers for incidents in the past. Could you explain the nature of the calls? How often do you receive these calls?

5. Is there any cooperation from schools authority and law enforcers within these neighbourhoods? What kind of criminal activities are mostly reported in these different areas? Please explain

6. What is the level at which gender play a role in these activities

7. Do you normally receive distress calls from the surroundings of these schools? If so, what is the nature of crime that you have been called for and what is the frequency of the rates of the police having to go there?
APPENDIX B
INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR SENIOR STAFF MEMBERS OF
THE SELECTED SCHOOLS

1. Can you give me a little detail on your daily activities in the school
   (activities for students and staffs) Please explain your daily activities in the
   school.

2. Does the school interact (organize programmes or do community work)
   with the immediate environment? Please explain.

3. Are the students at your school drawn from the immediate
   neighbourhood? What is the percentage of the students who live outside
   the school neighbourhood?

4. Can you highlight any recent development in terms of infrastructures (if
   any) in the school?

5. Have there been any criminal incidents amongst the learners at your
   school since the beginning of this academic year?

6. Do you have an internal system that handles such incidents? Please
   explain how your school deals with such occurrences.

7. Is it a departmental requirement that the school reports incidents of
   criminal occurrences to the law enforcement agents? Does the school
   follow this requirement?

8. Do you have any preventative measures in place to limit criminal activities
   and occurrences at school? Please explain.

9. What disciplinary measures does your school normally resort to with pupils
   involved in criminal acts?
APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR EDUCATORS OF
THE SELECTED SCHOOLS

1. Do pupils respect a male educator more than a female educator? (Is there a different way that the gender of the educator influences handling learners)? Can you give reasons for your answers?

2. Would you regard the relationship between staff members and pupils at this school as a good one? Do pupils, for example, seek advice and counsel from the educators?

3. As a teacher, have you had any experience of criminal behaviour amongst the learners at school?

4. What types of crime are most frequent amongst learners?

5. Do you think that female incidents of crime amongst learners have increased?

6. What is the nature of these incidents: are the perpetrators of crime incidents usually acting alone or in a group?

7. Is the nature of crime at school taking place more across sex? (Boys on girls type of crime; boys on boys type of crime; girls on girls type of crime).

8. What are your views on the neighbouring influence on the potential for criminal activities within the school?

9. Do you think that the routine activities of the school could have any effect on pupils in the school by making them victims or offenders in criminal issues?
10. What possible new strategies can your school adopt or implement to reduce the learner-related crime incidents at school?
APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR RESIDENTS OF THE NEIGHBOURHOODS OF THE SELECTED SCHOOLS

1. What economic activities and social activities occur in your areas?
2. What criminal activities do you find in these areas (according to your knowledge)?
3. How would you describe the security system and how law enforcement agencies respond to distress calls in your area?
4. What do you feel about the police services proximity?
5. What influence is the school around your neighbourhood having on the community- is it a safe zone or not?
6. What do you think should be done to reduce criminal activities (if any) and other occurrences in your area?
1. What do you think is the cause of violence and criminal activities within the high school and the surrounding environment? Do you feel safer when you are in school than when you are in the neighbourhood in which you live? Give reasons.

2. More females are being linked to crime in secondary schools; do you think that is true? If so, what reasons could you attribute that.

3. Do you think the school administrators are doing everything to make schools safe?

4. How do you feel about the neighbourhood in which the school is situated; are there activities that give you concern about your safety, about the possibility of crime incidents? How do you think those activities affect the activities in the school?

5. Your routine (daily) activities, is there a way it influences criminal activities (in any way)?
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