CENTRE FOR JUSTICE
AND CRIME PREVENTION

CELEBRATING
10 YEARS

CJCP
CENTRE FOR JUSTICE
AND CRIME PREVENTION
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Forward

In 1996, the South African Government approved the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS), marking a fundamental shift in government’s approach to dealing with crime in the country. The NCPS, followed by the White Paper on Safety and Security in 1998, provided a new lens through which crime and violence prevention was to be addressed: one that recognised that in order to prevent crime, a developmental approach was required. Such an approach would require the commitment of the Social Cluster of Government Departments – Education, Social Development, Health, Housing – as well as the law enforcement and justice sectors. Yet, despite the development of a solid policy and legislative base from which to deal with crime and violence, there has remained a wide disjuncture between the policy and its implementation. Indeed, the prevention of crime appears mostly as an add-on to the implementation of development policy, where it appears at all. The developmental agenda of crime prevention was to a large extent simply abandoned.

It was in this vacuum that the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP) was established. At its inception, the CJCP was envisaged to bring together rigorous high quality research, the testing of research and what works within the South African environment through demonstration projects, and building of capacity of both the public sector and civil society, to revitalise the social and developmental crime prevention agenda.

With core funding (and later project support) from the Open Society Foundation of South Africa, the CJCP strategically focused on violence against children and young people as its entry point into the social crime prevention agenda. The Research Programme launched its research agenda through a national youth victimisation survey, the first of its kind in the country. The study was designed to collect data on young people’s experiences of violence, and its relationship with the socio-economic conditions in which they live, thus providing evidence of the importance of intervening in their lives to break inter-generational cycles of, and pathways to, crime and violence. This study marked the beginning of a series of large, national, child and youth-focused surveys and studies, collecting data on their experiences of crime, of school violence, and of exposure to other forms of violence. Over the last ten years, the CJCP has collected data from over 52,000 children and adolescents on a range of measures relating to crime and violence,
and holds arguably the largest archive of data relating to children and youth violence in the country. Its reach, though, has not just been national; in 2008 the CJCP extended its work into a number of neighbouring countries including Ethiopia, South Sudan, Namibia, Mozambique, the DRC, and Kenya.

This research is used by national and international research institutions, think tanks, UN agencies and universities. But, more importantly, it has been used to influence advocacy strategies by the CJCP and other advocacy organisations. Through this research, the work of the CJCP has positively influenced the development of various national policies, and has been referenced in numerous Government Plans of Action, Strategies and reports. Internationally, the CJCP’s research has been cited and referred to in global reports, including UNICEF’s 2014 global statistical report on Violence Against Children, Hidden in Plain Sight, and in book chapters on best practice in preventing youth violence. One of the most significant successes in influencing government policy has been the development, adoption and roll-out of the National School Safety Framework in partnership with the National Department of Basic Education – a framework proposed in the recommendations of the first National School Violence Study in 2008. Other practical examples include the contribution to and influencing of the Children’s and ICT’s Strategy, approved in 2015 by the Minister of Communication, and the incorporation of substantial research findings into the draft Plan of Action on Violence Against Women and Children developed by the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Violence Against Women and Children. As significant was the commissioning of research into young people’s perceptions and experience of police services and efficiencies in Khayelitsha, by the Khayelitsha Commission of Enquiry into Allegations of Police Inefficiency and a Breakdown in the Relations Between the Community and the Police in Khayelitsha.

Through this ongoing research, the CJCP has worked with various academic institutions to build the capacity of government officials from a range of departments on how to incorporate safety into many of their core activities and mandates. It has worked with over 25 different local government structures to identify safety concerns and priorities through safety audits, and to develop local safety plans. Through the demonstration projects, first in the Northern Cape and then the Western Cape, the organisation has translated its research into evidence-based practice, offering a range of interventions supporting parents and caregivers, schools, communities, service providers, and children themselves,
all working towards safer, non-violent individual, homes, and communities. This intervention work has provided the basis for a scaled, five year child and youth resilience demonstration project in the Eastern Cape, to run between 2015 and 2020, a project that allows the organisations to bring all of its work together into a single site, and to draw in the work of strategic national and international partners, to produce tangible evidence of what works in preventing crime and violence in a local South African environment. These results can then be scaled up and replicated at a provincial, and national level. The project also provides the valuable opportunity to demonstrate the safety outcomes that can and will be achieved should the mandated services of a range of departments be provided and delivered through high-quality programmes. It is further designed to strengthen the research-policy-implementation link, as it is conceptualized and designed within the broader emerging provincial safety strategy.

Yet in many ways, the work of the CJCP is only just beginning. Fifteen years on from the original White Paper on Safety and Security, through the Consortium on Crime and Violence Prevention partnership with the African Police Civilian Oversight Forum (APCOF), the CJCP is working with APCOF on a new White Paper for the Civilian Secretariat of Police. The major challenge yet remains, however, as to how best to work both with government, and with civil society advocacy and implementing partners, to ensure that policies are implemented, as intended. It is questions such as this that will drive the work of the CJCP into the next ten years, and will influence how it locates itself going forward, in relation to all the partners and stakeholder with whom the organisations works to ensure a safe and caring society, as envisaged in the National Development Plan.

I leave the CJCP having served as chairman of the board for the entire period of its existence. In this I have been supported by an active board and dedicated staff ably led by its executive director, Patrick Burton. I wish the organisation all the very best as its charts its path into the future.

Azhar Cachalia
Chairperson of the Board 2005-2010
Who Is The CJCP?

The National Development Plan states that “safety should be measured by the extent to which the most vulnerable in society feel and are safe from crime [and violence] and the conditions that breed it”.

For ten years, the CJCP has been working in South Africa to realise safety as a common good for all people within its borders. The 1996 National Crime Prevention Strategy, followed shortly thereafter by the White Paper on Safety and Security, clearly articulated a developmental approach to crime reduction and prevention, one that recognised that safety was a function of both social and criminal justice sector performance. These documents clearly defined the roles and responsibilities of the social cluster of government departments - health, social development, education, and housing – in supporting the criminal justice system in preventing and reducing crime. Yet, despite approval by Cabinet, the recommendations and policy approaches espoused in these documents were largely abandoned by 2009, in favour of a more punitive, hard-line policing, “tough on crime” approach.

It was within this context that the CJCP was established in 2005. Established to develop, inform and promote developmental, evidence-based crime prevention, with a specific focus on those populations deemed vulnerable to victimisation and offending, the CJCP brings together the three usually distinct sets of activities required to develop and implement targeted policies and strategies: research, training and capacity building, and the testing of research translated into practice. Building on a strong applied research base, the organisation has been able, and continues, to conduct rigorous, high quality applied research; translate this into demonstration projects to then test the research within specific settings, and building on this, to develop capacity within both civil society and the public sector, to plan, implement and monitor evidence-based policies and interventions.

Its entry point into this work was strategic. In 2005 there was little to no data on the experiences of children and young people of crime and violence, despite international literature that suggests that children and youth are at disproportionate risk of violence, and the development implications of these experiences on healthy educational, psycho-social and emotional, and developmental outcomes. This entry point was also strongly informed by a
“pathways” lens on crime prevention: one that tracks the trajectories of children at risk through incrementally adverse circumstances, from individual, home and family contexts, through to young adulthood, and the combination of factors that increase the likelihood of each individual coming into contact with the criminal justice system. Through this initial focus on children and young people, the CJCP has been ideally positioned to contribute to a substantial body of empirical research to inform advocacy strategies, and to engage proactively with various government departments on how best to integrate crime and violence prevention, and safety, outcomes, into their own mandates. At the same time, through the large scale epidemiological studies undertaken, the CJCP is also able to identify not only gaps both in knowledge, and in service delivery, but also emerging and new forms of violence, and new manifestations of crime.

It is within this context the CJCP, through its mission and its comprehensive and unique package of research, training and demonstration work, continues to strive towards the vision of safety articulated in the National Development Plan 2013: "In 2030, people living in South Africa feel safe at home, at school, and at work, and they enjoy a community life free of fear. Women walk freely in the streets and children play safely outside.” National Development Plan, Vision 2030
Vision

The CJCP aspires to improving the quality of life by building secure and safer communities through the recognition and realisation of community safety as a common good.

Mission

The CJCP is dedicated to developing, informing and promoting innovative evidence-based crime prevention focussed on groups identified as being vulnerable to victimisation or offending. The CJCP does this by:

- Conducting rigorous research into issues of relevance to policy-makers, public service officials, development partners and crime prevention practitioners.
- Facilitating the implementation of crime prevention projects
- Providing accredited sector-specific training in crime prevention for policy-makers, public sector officials and NGO practitioners
- Advocating and lobbying for a crime prevention agenda that supports effective service delivery
Victimisation of our Youth

Given the demographics of the South African population – with over 50% of the population categorized as youth – it is hardly surprising that young people are strongly associated, both in the data and in public discourse, with crime, and in particular, violent crime (REF). International literature shows that children and youth are both at greater risk of victimisation to crime, and to engage in violence, than those over 25 years of age (REF).

As argued by Eric Pelser, then Executive Director of the CJCP, the risk factors identified in largely Eurocentric academic literature are faced not just by a small percentage of geographically-bound subpopulations, but by the majority of the South African population, placing them at substantially increased risk of violence. Yet at the time of the establishment of the CJCP, there was no data on the extent to which children and young people experienced violence, or of the risks that they faced on a daily basis. Crime statistics, which provided one indication of experience of reported crime, were not (and remain) disaggregated sufficiently by age to allow for targeted strategies and interventions that could address the daily risks that young people faced. It was in this vacuum that the CJCP conceptualised its first flagship research study, the 2006 National Youth Victimisation Study (NYVS).
The study explored the victimisation experiences of 4409 South African youth between the ages of 12 and 22 years by means of a structured survey questionnaire. The aim of the study was to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of the crimes committed against youth in South Africa.

The objectives were two-fold: first, to assess the extent of victimisation experiences of young people; and second, to assess the nature and correlates of these experiences. Participants were asked a series of questions pertaining to their exposure to, and experiences of, violence in their homes, at school and within their broader communities. The types of crimes explored in the study included general violent crimes as well as property crimes.

In a paper prepared by then Executive Director Eric Pelser in 2007, he argued the need for a targeted youth crime prevention strategy, one that included, at minimum, five key elements:

1. A coherent and sustained family behavioural support programme that focuses on dysfunctional and violent households, particularly those headed by single mothers;
2. A dedicated and comprehensive early childhood development programme that provides support to households;
3. A sustained effort to improve the management and quality of schools so that they function more positively as places of positive learning socialisation;
4. For young offenders, upgraded and sustained diversion programmes and a monitoring system for young offenders; and
5. For young offenders who have been incarcerated, a systematic exit and reintegration programme.

These recommendations are reflected in much of the subsequent work of the CJCP over the last ten years, with a focus on both primary (evidence-based prevention interventions that target the entire population) and secondary (prevention interventions that target those deemed at-risk/high risk populations, for example those coming from single-caregiver households, abusive or violent households, or those falling outside the formal education system) prevention components.

Information was also obtained about their perceptions of their communities, home environments, involvement in social activities, as well as their knowledge of support structures.

A total of 4409 young people between the ages of 12 and 22 years were interviewed at a household level. The sample was stratified by province and race. A response rate of 93% was achieved. The data was benchmarked and weighted by age and gender using the 2001 Statistics South Africa Census data.

In the period between September 2004 and September 2005 over 4.3 million, or 41.5%, of South African children and youth between the ages of 12 and 22 years were victims of crime or violence, as measured in the first National Youth Victimisation Survey. The youth victimisation data is directly comparable to the 2003 NVCS conducted by the Institute for Security Studies. A comparison between the victimisation rates show that young people in South Africa are twice as likely as adults to be victims of at least one crime. One in ten young people had experienced more than one crime over a 12 month period. (46%) males reporting victimisation, compared to 37% of young females. In total, just under 900 000 young people in KwaZulu-Natal fell prey to crime and violence,
as opposed to 36 000 in the Northern Cape. While in terms of raw numbers more young people in KwaZulu-Natal fall victim to crime, those living in North West Province, followed by Mpumalanga and the Western Cape, are most likely to be victimised vis-à-vis the size of the population of young people living in these provinces.

One in five (21.8%) youth surveyed had witnessed domestic disputes between members of their family. Physical violence was commonly employed as a means of resolving conflict and effecting discipline within the homes of these participants. One-fifth (19.5%) of the sample were resident in poverty-stricken homes in which they seldom had enough to eat.

Adult members in the participants’ families were often involved in drug related crimes (8.3% used drugs and 2.1% sold drugs) and other activities that could get them in trouble with the law (10.5%).

Drugs and alcohol were easily accessible in the communities in which these respondents lived. One in five respondents personally knew people in their residential areas who sell (21%) and buy (28%) drugs.

On the whole, more than two-thirds (68.6%) of the participants had witnessed someone being hurt or attacked in their communities. The victims (57.5%) as well as the perpetrators (74.2%) involved in these incidents of violence within their communities were largely known to the young people surveyed in the study. One in five (20.5%) participants felt unsafe in their communities. Similarly, one in ten (11.5%) reported feeling fearful at school, while 8.4% were fearful at home.
Enhancing Youth Resilience

The risk factors for crime and violence relating to youth have been studied and documented extensively in both academic and professional literature over the years. These risk factors have informed the design and implementation of various social crime prevention and safety policies, youth policies, intervention projects and diversion programmes. Through this research CJCP designed a demonstration youth project focusing on resilience to crime and violence amongst young people within high risk environments. Using international literature as its departure point, the project was designed to focus on specific factors, identified as pivotal through CJCP research.

The complex relationship which exists between the various factors necessitated a comprehensive approach to targeting each resiliency factor within a particular environment, in order to achieve meaningful and sustainable impact. Reactive programmes that run in isolation of sustained and proactive interventions have little chance of creating positive change in young people – it was from this departure point that CJCP designed and implemented its Groblershoop Youth Resilience Project.

The purpose of the Youth Resilience project was to build resilience among young people within family, school and community environments, as well as providing support for the individual, focusing on prevention and early intervention, as opposed to being a reactive response to anti-social behaviour.

At the individual level, activities served to strengthen and expand existing diversion services to young offenders. The initiative aimed to enhance key resilience factors (self-esteem, confidence, empathy and self-control) and
teach how to be a responsible citizen. Healthy sexual identities and responsible health behaviour were also prioritised and promoted. After-school and holiday programmes were implemented, providing youth with constructive and enjoyable activities, leadership training workshops, courses and camps were facilitated, and a mentoring programme for at-risk youth was established.

At the family level the project focused on improving family communication and parenting skills through family communication and parenting skills (including parent-child events and conflict resolution training). These family-level interventions supported vulnerable families through the improvement of life skills and parenting skills in order to enhance the quality of life for children in the family. Community level interventions were designed to build social cohesion by strengthening community organisations and structures. Activities on this level included rights-based awareness workshops for community organisations and training for young people in community crime prevention (through identifying potential dangers, unsafe areas and safe spaces), encouraging them to reclaim community spaces and take ownership of making their communities safe. On a school level a number of initiatives focused on reinforcing the positive role that schools play in communities, especially for youth.

The project activities within the Groblershoop project were tailored to meet the specific needs of the community within the context of the town. These included after-school programmes, life-skills training, counselling, youth participation programmes, youth leadership and resilience programmes, wilderness and adventure therapy, adolescent family support programmes, community mentor
programmes, community crime prevention and safety programmes, home-based supervision, pretrial community service programmes, restorative justice programmes (family group conferences), anger management programmes and substance abuse programmes. These programmes addressed the community-specific risk and resilience factors at various stages of youth development.

Reflecting back on this project model, future crime prevention programmes such as these should recognise that local partnerships are crucial to the successful attainments of project goals. In fact the very inception of this project was characterised by collaboration, highlighting its importance. The practices and outcomes of this project may be used to increase the sustainability of future programmes such as this one, helping to shape innovative initiatives which provide support, opportunities and guidance for youth on their path to becoming happy and productive adults, building safer communities in South Africa.

Building on the lessons learned in the Youth Resiliency project, and the findings from the resiliency study, the CJCP, with support from the Western Cape Department of Social Development, established a pilot project that aimed at building the resiliency of children and youth through family preservation in two sites in the Western Cape, marking the beginning of the Family Preservation Project.
Youth Risk And Resilience

A number of CJCP research papers have focused on the relationship between youth and crime, primarily focusing on victimisation rates and risk factors affecting youth. The research paper that forms the focus of this section explored the factors which make youth more resilient towards crime and criminal behaviour.

Of particular concern for policy makers, the police and social crime prevention practitioners is the fact that young people are significantly more likely than adults to be either victims of crime or offenders. Youth criminal and antisocial behaviour is generally viewed as a consequence of the interaction of a range of factors stemming from the individual, as well as the different social contexts in which he or she lives. What is less well understood is why certain young people remain resilient to crime despite being raised in environments fraught with the risk factors for offending. In an attempt to fill this gap in understanding, particularly within the South African context, the CJCP designed and undertook a youth resiliency study.

The primary objective of the study was to identify why young people from high-risk environments – the same environments from which the majority of young offenders originate – refrain from engaging in criminal or violent behaviour, and to prioritise those factors that can be shown through sound statistical analysis to be the most significant in determining positive behavioural outcomes.

The study used as its departure point a set of established risk factors drawn from international literature, which have been identified as the most influential in identifying those young people who might be predisposed to turn to crime. These risk factors are spread across a range of individual characteristics, family characteristics, and school and community factors. The selection of risk factors is influenced by the acknowledgement that risk factors are contextually specific,
and may be indefinite across different communities or populations. Similarly, resilience factors are likely to be multidimensional, context specific and constructed with a plurality of behaviours.

The study juxtaposed two sets of samples, namely: an offending sample (comprising young offenders, their parents/primary caregivers and siblings); and a non-offending sample (comprising young nonoffenders, their parents/primary caregivers and siblings). In both sets of samples each respondent’s life history, community context, family and peer networks, access to resources and services, level of education, life opportunities and employment possibilities were explored.

This research presents each of the key resilience factors identified through advanced statistical analysis and comparison between the offending and non-offending sets of samples. Nine key factors were identified from the range of risk factors that served to enhance the resilience of young people to engage in crime, namely:

- Education
- Gender
- Non-violent family environment
- Non-exposure to criminal role models
- Substance abstinence
- Interaction with non-delinquent peers
- Victimisation
- Neighbourhood factors
- Attitudes intolerant of violence and antisocial behaviour.

Many intervention strategies aimed at reducing and preventing youth delinquency have had little impact on the levels of youth violence and crime
at South African schools. What is required are more detailed analyses of the reasons why many young South Africans are able to desist from becoming involved in delinquent and criminal behaviour despite being subjected to an array of factors that are known to heighten their susceptibility to offending. This knowledge will be useful in informing crime prevention strategies that are geared toward developing resilience in youth and in this way diminish young people’s involvement in criminal activity.

Focusing on the school as a context for fostering youth resilience to crime will not only benefit children academically but will also have a ricochet effect on the other factors that have been found to increase youths’ vulnerability to crime. The study also points to the need to reduce the levels of violence exposure within South African families since non-violent home environments buffer children against the onset of delinquent and antisocial involvement. Much of the violence within families stems from an inability to resolve conflicts constructively. These findings point to the need for targeted interventions aimed at raising awareness about appropriate conflict-resolution techniques.

Alternative methods of discipline are also required, particularly aimed at families since the latter constitute the primary role-models for children and youth.

Resilience factors interact with each other to increase young people’s resilience to criminal behaviour. Thus, increasing protection in one domain will often impact resilience in other aspects of young people’s lives. For example, if attempts are made to enhance the school environment as a context for fostering youth resilience to crime, this will have a diminishing effect on youths’ tendency to engage with deviant peers, use and abuse alcohol and other illegal substances, as well as reduce involvement in violent and other antisocial behaviours. Similarly, when intervention strategies are geared toward reducing the levels of violence
within the family environment, this reduction may decrease youths’ susceptibility to subsequent criminal victimisation and hence provide a buffer against the onset of criminal involvement. In addition, nonviolent family environments may influence the development of attitudes intolerant of violence and antisocial behaviour.

A more comprehensive youth strategy is needed that comprises various interventions aimed at increasing the resilience of young people to criminal behaviour. Included in this strategy should be targeted interventions aimed at fostering children’s attachment to their schooling, addressing and reducing the levels of family violence by educating parents and caregivers about non-physical means of resolving conflicts, promoting substance abstinence among the youth, discouraging association with deviant peers and lessening young people’s vulnerability to the negative influences of their peers.
Training And Capacity Building

Capacity building and training is one of the three pillars upon which the work of the CJCP is premised. Recognising that at the time of its constitution there remained an understanding within both government and many partners that crime and violence prevention is primarily the domain of police, rather than those Departments responsible for providing basic social and economic services to all those residing within South Africa, the CJCP established a series of training interventions targeting different constituents and stakeholders, at a local, provincial and national government sphere. The purpose was to maintain crime and violence prevention, and to promote safety outcomes, into the core business of different departments and government structures.

The Certificate Course in Crime Prevention Management, run in partnership with the School of Public and Development Management at the University of the Witwatersrand, emerged as the CJCP’s flagship training product. Building on the argument that addressing crime is best achieved through a developmental lens, the course was aimed at the social cluster of government departments, specifically Social Development, Education, Health, Housing, those within the Civilian Secretariat of Police and provincial Departments of Community Safety. The course was specifically intended to broaden understanding of a developmental approach to crime reduction in South Africa. The curriculum explored relevant South African policy, provided analysis of strategies, tools and methods for practitioners to engage in crime prevention initiatives and looked at local and international best practice in preventing crime. The course included a dedicated project management module as well as a monitoring and evaluation module, intended to enhance project management capacity and accountability on core safety outcomes relevant to each Department’s mandate. The course was designed to provide a balance between theory and practice and used local examples to concretize learning. Run between 2007 and 2012, the course provided the basis for several other, more tailored, national and regional crime and violence prevention training programmes.

In 2011, the CJCP registered as a SAQA-accredited service provider, with accredited training programmes on violence prevention offered at a SAQA
3, 5 and 7 level. Through this, and a number of other training packages, the CJCP was able to offer practical training for communities, and community-based structures, through to educators, local government officials, and national government management. The training programme included various programmes that built capacity reflecting a life-course approach to safety: building capacity within families to better parenting and providing a positive home environment (offered through the CJCP’s Demonstration projects); for schools, through the Hlayiseka School Safety Toolkit and later the National School Safety Framework; for local and community safety committees (developed through the Open-Society Foundation’s Safety Site project); for youth crime prevention volunteers (developed and offered with the Gauteng Department of Community Safety for their youth volunteers staffing youth desks); and for local government officials and national and provincial government officials, through its University-based courses.

In 2011 the CJCP also expanded its training work into the region, through a formalised partnership with the Polytech of Namibia to offer a certificate course on crime and violence prevention, which continues to run, in addition to various seminar courses in Kenya and Mozambique (2012-2014), as well as capacity building for the South Sudan Police Service on building its research and statistics directorate (2012-2013).
Tackling School Violence and Victimisation

Violence in schools has garnered considerable media attention in South Africa in recent years. In the past year alone, local media coverage of brazenly violent acts – which have at times proven fatal – have again fuelled public opinion that school violence in South Africa is escalating at an alarming rate and that something needs to be done about it.

CJCP has undertaken two National School Violence Studies (NSVS) in 2008 and 2012. The 2008 NSVS was a landmark investigation that provided reliable and empirical data on the nature and extent of violence occurring in primary and secondary schools across the country. The 2008 study highlighted the plight of many learners who succumbed to various forms of violence, including bullying, at school. The first sweep of the study was conceptualised to provide sound empirical data on the true nature and extent of violence in South African schools. Previous studies of crimes against young people show schools as the site where children are at greatest risk of experiencing a range of crimes, including violent crimes such as assault and sexual assault. The 2008 NSVS attempted to unpack these findings further, collecting data on violence experienced by learners specifically within the school environment.

The study focused on four primary forms of violence, namely: threats of violence; physical assaults; sexual violence; and robbery. Theft at school was included as a marker variable. In addition, primary school learners were asked about verbal stigmatisation and whether they had been shouted at or made to feel ashamed by their peers, educators or principals. All of these were incidents that occurred specifically within the environs of the school or immediately outside the school gates.

2008  Building school safety: the Hlayiseka Project - a whole school approach
Since 2008, incidents of school violence have continued to be portrayed in the media, sparking renewed calls by practitioners and the lay public alike for something to be done about the violence plaguing South Africa’s schools.

In 2012, the CJCP embarked on the second sweep of its school violence study, this time focusing solely on secondary schools. The aim was to identify any changes or patterns in the levels of violence affecting schools nationwide. Overall, the results emerging from this follow-up study revealed that not much has changed over the past four years, and young people continue to be at risk for violence in an environment that is assumed to be safe.

The NSVS shows that the primary drivers of violence within schools are firmly rooted in the generally violent environments in which children live outside of school. While this does not negate the role of the DoE in keeping schools safe, it does point to the need for a much more fundamental, coherent series of interventions that target parents, homes and communities in general.

Schools can serve as a focal point for communities. Safe schools can serve as important mechanisms for mediating wider exposure to violence and for decreasing levels of strain that often lead to violence and anti-social behaviour among children and youth. Safe schools can also go some way towards developing prosocial behaviour and a positive affective state among children.
Integrated interventions from the South African Police Service (SAPS), the Department of Social Development, Department of Community Safety and local government need to address the generally high levels of violence that persist. Local government, together with the SAPS, should work on making the environments around schools safe through environmental design and maintenance, as well as through the creation of alcohol and drug-free zones. Provincial liquor licensing boards need to assume responsibility for not issuing licences to outlet operators within a specified radius of schools. There is also need for the development and monitoring of key long-term child safety indicators, including the levels of violence within schools, as well as for further rigorous, empirical and local research on violence within schools.

This integrated approach to addressing school safety motivated CJCP to develop the Hlayiseka Early Warning System in 2006. The Hlayiseka programme has been evaluated and refined into the National School Safety Framework (NSSF). With funding from UNICEF, CJCP partnered with the Department of Basic Education to roll-out the NSSF to all South African schools. Training of provincial and district officials from the Department of Basic Education was completed in August 2015.
Locating Safety Within The Community

The National Development Plan recognises that safety is a precondition for human, social and economic development. When individuals do not feel safe, it affects their ability to achieve their own potential, and inhibits growth. Everyday experiences of crime and violence are experienced in homes, schools, the physical spaces in which individuals live their lives – within communities. Data from the CJCP National School Violence Studies show that most forms of violence experienced by children are experienced in the community, and that there is ongoing and prolonged exposure to violence, and ready access to alcohol, drugs, and firearms within the community spaces occupied by a significant percentage of South Africa’s young people. At the same time, it is at a community level that many of the risks for crime are best addressed, and environments that promote the development of protective factors and resilience, fostered. The 1998 White Paper on Safety and Security identified a five-fold role of local government in creating safe communities:

- The initiation and implementation of targeted social crime prevention projects
- Working with local police to set priorities and identify possible areas for local government interventions
- Aligning municipal planning and resources to a local crime prevention framework, ensuring a safety lens on development projects
- Enforcing municipal by-laws, and
- Assisting victims of crime through appropriate victim support programmes.

More recently, the Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy developed by the Department of Social Development in 2012, posits that local government should “deliver services and goods to communities; develop safety partnerships with local service providers and institutions, and mobilize community support for the implementation of strategies.” (ICPS, 2012).
Recognising this important role of local government, the CJCP has prioritized working with communities, and local government, to better understand crime and violence at a local level, the drivers’ dynamics and profile, and to build local safety strategies to both better prevent, and respond, to crime. Between 2009 and 2012, the research team worked with the communities and local authorities of Orange Farm in Gauteng, Elsies River in the Western Cape, and Nompumelelo in the Eastern Cape, to undertake participatory safety audits, collecting data on the experiences of the inhabitants of crime, and their feelings of safety, through a combination of administrative data analysis, focus group discussions, community mapping and walk-throughs. The safety auditing formed part of a larger Safety Site programme initiated by the Open Society Foundation. The audits were followed by the development of safety plans for each site, and the development and implementation of targeted local safety forum training.

As both the 1998 White Paper and the ICPS argue, though, it is up to the local government structure to ensure facilitate and develop local safety partnerships. Yet it is common cause that capacity within local government to do this is in most cases extremely limited. With this in mind, between 2011 and 2014 the CJCP worked with several municipalities and district councils throughout the Western Cape to build their capacity to undertake safety auditing and develop safety plans, and worked in partnership to develop annual local and district safety plans to include annual Integrated Development Plans. In the Northern Cape, the CJCP also developed a municipal safety strategy for the Sol Plaaitjie municipality.

This support to local government extended into CJCP’s work in the region. In Kenya, the CJCP provided technical assistance to local research partners and universities in the design and implementation of community safety auditing; in Namibia, the CJCP worked together with the Urban Trust of Namibia to plan, undertake and analyse local safety audits in three sites, leading to the development of three community safety plans.

The CJCP’s contribution to community safety has not been limited to community interventions and research. In 2014, the CJCP worked with
In 2014, the CJCP was invited to an international expert group to develop global indicators for city safety, hosted by UN-Habitat, in Madrid.
Making Families Stronger and More Resilient

The Family Preservation project is an initiative established by the CJCP, built upon the experience gained implementing the Groblershoop Project in the Northern Cape. The project aimed to increase the resilience of children and young people, and through this reduce their risk of victimisation and their risk of engaging in criminal or anti-social behaviour. Building on the lessons learned in the Groblershoop Project, and the findings from the resiliency study, the CJCP, with support from the Western Cape Department of Social Development, established a pilot project that aimed at building the resiliency of children and youth through family preservation in two sites in the Western Cape. The two sites decided upon, identified in conjunction with the Department, are the communities of Wesbank and Belhar.

In March 2010 CJCP embarked on the Family Preservation Project. The ultimate aim of intervention was to reduce the risks of victimisation and of young people engaging in criminal and anti-social behaviour. This would be achieved by identifying, prioritising and building on resilience factors that exist within many South African communities, while providing support to the whole family structure. It was envisioned that community safety would be enhanced through the preservation and strengthening of the families within the communities selected. With this in mind, the project attempted to mitigate the factors leading to offending through a series of programmes and activities, undertaken with children, youth, parents and caregivers, as well as with community leaders and stakeholders.

The objectives of the project were twofold. Firstly, it sought to promote resilience and to decrease anti-social behaviour among children and youth in the community. Secondly, it sought to inform the design and implementation of youth resilience implementation projects working with youth and children within the South African environment.

The project was unique in South Africa, where there is very little research and few interventions focused on the risk factors that contribute towards determining a young person’s vulnerability to becoming involved in crime. The project therefore played an important role in providing a basis for qualitative and quantitative research into what works and what does not work with respect to youth diversion and family preservation in South Africa.
The Family Preservation Project underwent an evaluation in 2015. The findings were as follows:

1. **Relevance**: The objectives of the project proved highly relevant to the context of the communities in which it was rolled out, as were the issues on which the project focused. In terms of the relevance and application of the Family Preservation Project’s basic premise and approach adopted in practice, it was widely felt by the respondents who took part in this evaluation that the holistic approach that was being implemented added a unique value to this project compared to other interventions that they had reportedly encountered in the past.

2. **Efficiency**: The project was executed efficiently, despite the challenges experienced. Virtually all of the products and deliverables set out in the project planning were realised, although sometimes with slight delays or modification in the implementation approach. Overall, available resources and unforeseen challenges were found to have been handled swiftly and effectively.

3. **Impact**: Analysis of progress made against each of the project’s key objectives indicated that a high proportion of the targets were reached under objective through implementation of the activities, and that these had a significantly positive impact on the beneficiaries.

4. **Effectiveness**: The project largely achieved its targets. That said, measuring results did prove a challenge given the lack of a comprehensive M&E system. For the most part all of the activities were implemented, and indications are that their reach and effect were substantial. The methods and strategies adopted in the implementation also proved to be effective.

5. **Sustainability**: There is evidence that the approach adopted by the Family Preservation Project is conducive to longer-term sustainability. The project enjoyed an exceptionally high level of buy-in and community engagement.

The Family Preservation Project will continue to render services for the near future and will be replicated in the Walmer Project.
Combating Xenophobia in Communities

Xenophobia has been a feature of South African society for some time. The racial segregation enforced by the apartheid regime has had many adverse societal effects, xenophobia being one of them. Graf states that: ‘The origins of xenophobia are to be found in the racism, nationalism, violence, and isolation of the apartheid era’. In South Africa, a situation existed where social relations and interactions were governed through the use of violence. Violence was seen as ‘a legitimate means to achieve goals particularly because it was legitimised by most political role-players in the past’. The fundamental issue that the new South African democratic government had to deal with was to figure out how to effectively dismantle the regime of apartheid in its totality. This involved overhauling institutions, policies, politics, and altering the mind-sets of individuals, community and society.

Xenophobia often results in unpleasant social discourse, characterised by violence, injuries and sometimes the loss of life. The unprecedented xenophobic violence which erupted across South Africa’s provinces in 2008, 2010 (& now in 2015) reaffirmed the continuities of a culture of violence inherited from the legacy of apartheid, and spurred by immediate causes such as the lack of basic service delivery, poverty and employment. Research has shown that sections of the South Africa population are highly xenophobic.
The Du Noon Project - Xenophobia - was launched by CJCP in response to xenophobic violence in Du Noon Township, Cape Town in 2008. The project aimed to improve conflict resolution and cross-cultural understanding in Du Noon, in order to integrate the community and encourage people to work towards positive peace, and to eradicate direct, structural and cultural violence. Apart from xenophobic violence and negative stereotypes and beliefs that many people hold about foreign nationals, the area is severely impoverished; there is high unemployment, crime and violence. The various activities that were developed as part of the project sought to address some of these issues in the area. A baseline study conducted by the CJCP prior to the commencement of the project revealed that crime in Du Noon occurs at any time of the day and can happen anywhere.

The participants in the focus groups attributed the high criminal activity in Du Noon to unemployment, inadequate housing, and the lack of infrastructure and facilities, as well as to low parental supervision. The youth were reported to be those engaging in criminal activity. Based on these findings, the CJCP incorporated into the project a variety of youth activities, such as anger management, conflict resolution, skills development, holiday programmes and training on human rights. Most of the participants were boys and girls aged between 10 and 16 who were attending a local primary or secondary school. Youth activities were conducted in the afternoons, after normal school programmes – except during school holidays, when programmes and community events or performances were conducted during weekdays or on weekends.

The xenophobia project provided a platform for young people to act as
agents of change, to voice their concerns and ideas in an attempt to positively influence the community’s perceptions and beliefs regarding foreign nationals, through the medium of restorative art and street drama. The use of Restorative Art and Street Drama by young people to address the xenophobic attitudes of their peers and members of the community served both as a protective factor and as an outlet for awareness and education.

Restorative art (the term ‘restorative art’ was used as an alternative to both ‘graffiti’ & ‘street art’ in this way, emphasis was placed on the ‘restorative’ concept of art as a reconciliatory & revival factor in the community) and street drama in particular have proved to be excellent tools for appreciating diversity and for cultivating tolerance, reconciliation and peace-building – because of their engagement with community members. These values lead to more positive attitudes towards foreign nationals. Youths use symbols and objects as signifiers in order to express concepts of daily life as community members; in essence their art acts as a mirror upon which the community is able to reflect their wrongdoing. Restorative art thus helps community members to view xenophobia in a new light: as immoral, inhuman and divisive. Since the art is relatively permanent, and in public places, as people travel to and from their different daily occupations, the art continues to remind them of the value of respect, acceptance, unity, love, peace and diversity.

A young boy understood xenophobia to be a divisive social ill that was disrupting lives. In his image, he depicted the African continent as a house where countries are interpreted as rooms, spaces to share, and as siblings – despite the differences. The art consistently reminds community members of their moral obligations in achieving unity and love for one another as Africans.

Street drama is able to alter mind-sets through robust debates and conversation in the form of drama, poetry and songs, aimed at clarifying misconceptions, beliefs and modifying norms which may be harmful to others. It engages people, connects the intellect with the senses, and more importantly, has the capacity to create a better world through moral imagination. Street drama reaches where conventional or generic interventions cannot. For instance, a plea from a ten-year-old girl through a poem entitled: ‘Why the killing of our brothers?’ at one of the community events was able to get attention, empathy and understanding from the community on the devastating effect of xenophobia on foreign nationals.
Both restorative art and street drama provide alternatives to healing and offer opportunities for individuals and groups to express themselves in a mutually respectful way that builds trust and encourages the understanding of differences.

The Du Noon Project was a success because, to a large extent, it was able to achieve all of the project’s objectives. A large part of its success rests on the fact that the project incorporated activities aimed at different age groups, providing a more complete community intervention. For example, activities such as the holiday programme, anger management, the drama group, restorative art and school xenophobia training (‘everyone’s a foreigner somewhere’) were aimed at younger children and youth. The refugee rights workshops and skills development activities were aimed at adults in the community. Psycho-social services through counselling were largely referrals aimed at all members and age groups, as were the various events organised with the community. The Du Noon project thus addressed the issue of xenophobia at a community level, and the objectives of the project were achieved.
Some community members found restorative art and street drama to be a form of reversal of what they had fought for against apartheid. One community member said: ‘as a young democracy, foreigners should allow citizens to enjoy the fruit of their labour alone, in peace’. Critics of the Du Noon project also perceived the youths involved in the restorative art project as malicious and ignorant of the country’s history and struggle. The youths’ bravery in working towards peace was interpreted as an act of betrayal and unpatriotic by the older generation. Additionally, it was found that foreign nationals were hesitant to join in the project because they feared being too visible, singled out and victimised. Another reason accounting for the lack of participation from foreign nationals was that the project was run shortly after the 2008 xenophobic attacks, and tensions were still high. Also, with the possibility of another imminent xenophobic attack after the 2010 soccer World Cup, it was difficult for foreign nationals to participate fully in activities. It would have been beneficial to have had both local youth and foreign nationals engaging vigorously in restorative art.

To maximise the impact of xenophobia-prevention strategies in society in general, and in specific communities in particular, established public and private institutions should consider formulating policies which promote social cohesion and the acceptance of differences. Schools should be regarded as ideal environments for long-term xenophobia-prevention strategies, since the component of xenophobia training manuals such as ‘Everyone’s foreign somewhere’ (now formed part of the National School Safety Framework) can easily be integrated into existing school curricula. Ideally, there should be cooperation between school- and community-based xenophobia-prevention activities in terms of the continuity, consistency and quality of the messages they convey, to attain the greatest impact. So it is everyone’s duty to work toward social cohesion, acceptance and tolerance of others; everyone should be an ambassador of peace – in the work place, in institutions of learning, in the home and in the community. Xenophobia should be the concern of everyone, because the simple fact of belonging to a nation automatically makes everyone a foreigner somewhere else.
UNITED NATIONS COMMITTEE ON THE RIGHTS OF THE CHILD

Day of General Discussion: “Digital Media and Children’s Rights”

12 September 2014, Geneva

Submission by the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP), South Africa

…”ICTs, digital and social media offer enormous opportunities for children, in terms of forming connections and relationships, developing support networks, exploring worlds beyond their immediate environment. They offer seemingly endless educational opportunities, and the opportunity to access a range of services such as health. The online world is simply another space in which children now engage, learn and grow. As such, just as in offline spaces, risks and dangers may present themselves, and children need the skills and capacity to engage responsibly, and to respond to risks appropriately and safely. Children need to be empowered to build on their own of agency, and to be supported in the development of the requisite skills to become digital citizens.

At the same time, the State has a responsibility to ensure that threats to children’s fundamental rights to live free of exploitation and harm, are protected. This can in part be achieved by providing a policy and legislative environment that recognises the difference between risk and harm, and that focuses on eliminating those risks that have a high likelihood of resulting in harms, such as sexual exploitation or abuse, or child trafficking. “
Online risks balanced by opportunities
Joanne Phyfer & Patrick Burton
Opinion Piece Published in the Mail & Guardian June 6 to 12 2014

For many parents, young people’s enthusiastic use of technologies such as cell phones and the internet is a worry. South African youth, even those who live in underprivileged circumstances, are keen users of information and communications technologies (ICTs) but the risks attached to chatting online, or maintaining a social presence online, are commonly recognised. These can include a loss of innocence through exposure to disturbing, distressing or pornographic content, meeting strangers with potentially dubious motives, being bullied or harassed by peers and a loss of privacy or worse through “sexting” romantic partners. At times, taking such risks can have serious, often unanticipated, consequences. For example, under current legislation young people can be found guilty of distributing child pornography simply by sending a revealing picture to a girlfriend or boyfriend. Similarly, strangers met online could be sexual or violent predators.

Many parents wish to limit these risks and attempt to control young people’s use of ICTs. But there is growing evidence that attempting to prevent children’s exposure to risks and to control their activities online may not be the best approach. Emerging international and local research shows that it is only in a very small percentage of cases that these risks translate into actual harm. A far more frequent consequence of these online risks is psychological trauma.

Nevertheless, there are not just risks but also opportunities to be found online. And these technologies give young people a completely unique, private and autonomous space to explore these opportunities.

Negotiating the complicated tasks of shedding childhood identity and cultivating an adult one is an important developmental stage. The online world provides young people with an array of opportunities for developing this identity and navigating their difficult teen years. Connected Dot Com,
a recent national study conducted by the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention, with Unicef SA, found that connecting with others socially was the most common motivation for young people to spend time online.

For some young people, especially isolated youngsters, this may mean meeting new people online and developing a community of online friends, which works to boost the individual’s self-esteem and allows them to escape their offline context.

With the rise of social networking sites, young people also frequently maintain and enhance offline friendships online: school friends, friends who live far away, friends who don’t go to the same school and family members.

Importantly, online spaces allow children to connect socially in a way that is now often precluded offline, largely because of the much greater time constraints on them and concerns for their safety when they meet socially in public spaces.

In brief, online engagement provides young people with increased opportunities to foster a sense of belonging and wellbeing, and boosts their self-esteem — and it also offers opportunities for them to improve their offline social life. Indeed, there is an increasingly false distinction between the online and offline worlds, with children crossing from one to the other and back again seamlessly. This expanded social interaction may be crucial for the maintenance of a healthy self-esteem and the development of an adaptive adult identity; and by not getting involved in this online interaction, young people are excluded from an increasingly important social arena.

Along with developing a healthy social life, the online world also provides young people with increased opportunities for experimenting with identity and expanding their knowledge base. For those who do not “fit in”, it is
an opportunity to explore other forms of identity. Most crucially, spending time using ICTs provides adolescents with invaluable skills and knowledge of technologies that will be indispensable in future employment contexts as well as in everyday life. There is no doubt that in exploring these possibilities young people must navigate risky situations — but this is not a bad thing. Navigating risks and opportunities adaptively is essential later in life, and in managing their social lives and identity online young people are learning and practising these crucial skills.

This does not mean that children are inherently safe online or that parents and caregivers shouldn’t keep one eye on an adolescent’s behaviour and mood at all times, as indicators of negative online experiences. Rather, it suggests that preventing young people from being active online for safety reasons may cause them to miss out on crucial learning opportunities.

The online world provides young people with unprecedented levels of autonomy and independence at a time in their lives when they have limited measures of both. It provides young people with an opportunity to develop a unique sense of identity when they are used to being defined by their families. Being provided with the freedom and privacy to develop their social skills and identity by the online world as well as being exposed to the broader world through this medium allows young people to learn to take responsibility for themselves in a way they may not yet have had to offline.

It follows that the key is not to avoid risk but harm itself. Instead of teaching young people to avoid all risk and stay offline, the way to deal with online risks is to engage with young people to build their capacity to act responsibly online and to respond to risks when encountered. In this way, young people will be able to recognise risks themselves and manage them appropriately to avoid being harmed. The Connected Dot Com research, along with other international research, found that young people seem to be aware of risks and the appropriate ways to avoid them. Although there is much harm out there, young people seem to be capable of learning to avoid it and, in so doing, benefit greatly from the opportunities the online world affords them.
Investigating the phenomenon of cyberbullying and online victimisation in South Africa

In the past 10 years, the use of new media and ICTs has changed and expanded globally, bringing with it the rise of many different forms of online violence. In South Africa, ICTs use continues to grow exponentially, with mobile technology ensuring that it is not just the rich who have access to the internet and other sophisticated technologies. There has therefore been a need to consider South Africa’s changing ICT social landscape and the potential risks it poses particularly to young people and children. International evidence has shown the potential for youth to be harmed significantly through the phenomenon known as cyberbullying and the CJCP has been at the forefront of examining the nature of this trend in South Africa and its prevalence.

This began with an initial investigation in 2009 when the CJCP conducted a pilot study to explore the nature of technology use and cyberbullying in four urban centres (Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth). The study drew on sample of 1 726 young people aged between 12 and 24 years and found that 92.9% of young people either own or have access to a cell phone which they use for their personal use. Almost half (46.8%) of the young people in the study reported experiencing some form of cyber-aggression, including harassment via telephone. In total, a quarter (25.6%) of young people reported that they had experienced some form of bullying or aggression via text messages received on their cell phones.

Three years later the National School Violence Study expanded these efforts, asking a nationally representative sample of high school learners a number of questions about their ICT use and potential victimisation via these technologies. This study found that almost as many children had experienced online violence (20.9%) as offline violence (22.2%), a critical finding which demonstrated that while cyberbullying may not be occurring at epidemic rates, it is still a significant form of violence among South African young people. The most commonly experienced form of violence was an ‘online fight’ with a friend (14.0%) and the perpetrator was most frequently either a stranger or a friend, depending on the type of violence. The study also explored the impact of cyberbullying on young people, finding that 78.8% of young people felt angry and 59.1% felt embarrassed, while 24.1% missed school as a result of the bullying they experienced.
The study also looked at the rates of self-reported online aggression and found that those who engaged in online aggression were far more likely than others to have been victimised online.

Qualitative work on ICTS use and safety was conducted in the same year to complement the findings of the National School Violence Study in the form of the Connected Dot Com study. This study engaged young people in focus group discussions about how they negotiated safety online and found that ICTS plays a very important role in establishing a sense of social connectedness between young people and their peers. However, it was also found that ICT use could foster social exclusion and could also lead to physically dangerous situations, for example a young person choosing to meet an online acquaintance offline. That said, young people showed themselves to have a good understanding of the risks involved in online activity and knew how to navigate these risks fairly successfully. The study therefore found that young people saw great benefit to their various uses of ICTS and although this put them at some risk, which is evident
in the findings of the National School Violence Study, they also understood these risks and were able to take steps to successfully navigate these risks.

The CJCP has also engaged in desktop research on the topic of cyberbullying in the form of a number of issue papers on various aspects of this topic. Charmain Badenhorst examined the possible legal responses to cyberbullying and sexting in 2011, considering the legal provisions available at the time for addressing this type of violence in South Africa. While there is much documented evidence of incidents of cyberbullying and their effects internationally, Badenhorst provided some much needed information about South African cases and the legal responses made in these cases, making recommendations about further revisions and actions that should be made by those working within the legislature and broader civil society to ensure that cases of cyberbullying and sexting are dealt with sensitively and appropriately. In 2012 Maša Popovac and Lezanne Leoschut examined the impact of cyberbullying in South Africa and the possible responses that can be made to this form of violence. The need for integrated, evidence-based and child-centred approach to online violence prevention that takes into account the everyday lived experiences of South African children and youth as they use ICTs was advocated by the piece. The CJCP has also hosted a cyberbullying website for the last four years. The website functions as a resource for young people, parents and teachers on cyberbullying and provides tips for preventing and coping with bullying, based on the evidence gathered in the CJCP’s research on the topic.

Looking towards the future there are a number of new and potential areas for the expansion for the CJCP’s work on cyberbullying in South Africa and the region. Currently, the detailed results of the National Study on Child Abuse, Neglect and Maltreatment are being compiled and this includes analysis of detailed questions about the victimisation that a representative sample of young people may have experienced online. These findings will add another layer to the information obtained in the 2009 study and the 2012 National School Violence Study. In addition, a further issue paper is set to be published looking at the balance between opportunity and harm and how young people should not be deterred from making the most of online opportunities by the dangers attached to ICT use.
Advocating for a preventative approach to addressing crime and violence in South Africa

Inherent in the CJCP’s work throughout the years has been a commitment to advocating for preventative measures to address crime and violence. In particular, the CJCP has promoted a primary preventative approach that seeks to prevent violence through intervention at a social and community level, rather than intervention at a tertiary stage in the form of police action and the criminal justice system more broadly. In context of South Africa, the benefits of primary prevention are often rejected in favour of a more aggressive and punitive approach to addressing crime and violence embodied by the criminal justice system. The differences between these approaches are vast; the first is a long-term multi-sectorial approach that does not yield immediately tangible results, and the second an instant and concrete approach that can appear to work as a deterrent. Clearly, the second offers a preferable short-term solution and yet prevention cannot feasibly take place at this stage because individuals undoubtedly only come into contact with the law when a criminal or violent act has already been committed.

The CJCP has worked to address this tension at a policy level first through a critique and recommendations around the positioning of the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) and the crime and violence prevention policy landscape in general, and later with the development of the White Paper on Safety and Security, in partnership with African Policing Civilian Oversight Forum (APCOF), in 2015.

CJCP footprint in Africa
Advocating for a preventative approach to addressing crime and violence in South Africa continued...

In her 2010 issue paper, Bilkis Omar discussed the positioning of the NCPS, adopted in 1996, in relation to its powers, its initial aims and the current governmental landscape of crime prevention. Initially, the NCPS had signalled a much needed move away from the reactive crime control approach to one that was far more proactive and participative. Its creators recognised that crime could not be addressed by the police alone. They understood that a multipronged approach was required, which needed to incorporate public and community participation. The NCPS required all spheres of government to work together in an integrated and coordinated manner to address both the factors driving crime and more effective policing and judicial processes. However, this was soon contradicted by other government policies and decisions. Specifically, in 1999 the Minister of Safety and Security and National Commissioner of Police began advocating a tough approach to crime, signalling a move away from the ideas underpinning the NCPS. The NCPS suffered a further debilitating blow when the government adopted the SAPS National Crime Combating Strategy (NCCS): a high-density, cordon, search-and-seizure operation to combat crime in hotspots. As a result, the NCPS was never really adopted in a meaningful way and in the years that followed further efforts were made to toughen the government’s approach to crime and violence. Omar’s paper discussed the reviving of the strategy during the 2010 period with the appointment of a new secretary within the Secretariat of Police (the body responsible for the implementation of the strategy). Yet many hurdles to the effective implementation of the strategy were outlined, not least the inability of the secretariat to act as an effective implementing and co-ordinating agency for this strategy.

In the years that followed this paper, the National Development Plan (NDP) was adopted by Cabinet, which articulated, among others, a vision, and recommendations, for building safer communities, which acknowledged the
Advocating for a preventative approach to addressing crime and violence in South Africa continued...

need to build safety using an integrated approach. The Civilian Secretariat for the Police has since contracted the CJCP and APCOF to draft a new White Paper on Safety and Security, currently only available for public comment, to combat the ineffectiveness of previous efforts to address social and structural factors driving crime and violence. The development of a new and updated policy on safety and security provides substance and policy direction to achieving the vision of building safer communities enshrined in the NDP.

The focus of this new paper is therefore on prevention work that will complement the criminal justice system and ultimately, remove some of the burden placed upon it to prevent crime and violence. The White Paper advocates for inter-sectoral consultation, cooperation and collaboration using integrated digitised systems, effective and integrated service delivery, and community engagement and accountability, at a local, provincial and national sphere, to achieve safe communities. The health system, social development system, and the education system, in addition to the criminal justice sector, are therefore considered particularly important in addressing those risk factors that contribute to violence and undermine safety. The paper puts forward that shorter-term measures, most often the domain of the police and the criminal justice system, need to be supported by responsive service provision to victims of crime and violence and combined with longer-term prevention approaches that generate positive “social change”, the domain of the social cluster of government departments.

In order to achieve this much needed multi-departmental, multi-level collaboration of efforts, the White Paper aims to facilitate new legislative and administrative arrangements necessary to operationalise this policy. It is envisioned that this will include clearly articulating the roles and responsibilities of individual government departments and different spheres of government, establishing mechanisms for co-operation between government departments at different spheres of the state, ensuring that monitoring and evaluation systems are in place, providing necessary resources and ultimately, holding these many
10 YEARS

actors accountable for the implementation of this policy. It is hoped that should this paper be adopted and implemented, it will avoid the pitfalls faced by previous policies such as the NCPS, and ring in a new era of support for social crime prevention.

As has been demonstrated in research, an over reliance on criminal justice approaches risks prioritisation of increasingly repressive and punitive responses to crime that are ultimately reactive and therefore limited in their ability to achieve longer term results. The reactive nature of the criminal justice system must be complemented by longer term developmental strategies, espoused in the White Paper on Safety and Security, that will ultimately reduce the number of persons coming into conflict with the law and increase levels of safety in communities. This has long been the significant goal of the CJCP’s work and the paper holds great promise for effectively mobilising critical stakeholders to work together towards this goal.

The Khayelitsha Commission of Enquiry

In October 2013, the CJCP was asked by the Khayelitsha Commission of Enquiry into allegations of Police Inefficiency in Khayelitsha and a Breakdown in Relations between the Community and the Police, to undertake research into young people’s perceptions and experiences of local police efficiency and performance in Khayelitsha. The report, submitted to the Commission in January 2014, found that almost without exceptions, there was substantial evidence to support the argument of a breakdown in relations between the SAPS and young people in Khayelitsha had occurred.

The research found that:

• Young people in the area view SAPS in an overwhelmingly bad light, a position informed both by their own direct experiences and by others;

• There were few young people who had not been directly and negatively affected by violence, and by the failure of the police to perform their mandated service;

• Examples of corruption and bribery were rife, primarily between the police and taxi drivers, and police and shebeen owners, but pervasive to the general community as well. In some instances, the
police were seen as being openly complicit in some criminal activity, while in others, they appear simply to be unwilling, unable, and too fearful, to respond appropriately to criminal acts and violence, and to patrol violent hot spots;

- Perceptions of police corruption were exacerbated by the fact that many of the perpetrators of violence are known to community members, and it was commonly expressed, to the police themselves. The police are thus seen as being either unwilling or unable to deal with the perpetrators, a fact that is attributed either to a generally corrupt relationship, or to the fact that they are simply too scared (also a recurring theme). The report also emphasized the important developmental consequences of the prevailing attitudes and experiences of the youth of Khayelitsha:

- Young people’s experiences of the police are likely to shape their engagement with the police, and other institutions of authority, and the terms on which they engage, as they grow into adulthood. Negative experiences, and a lack of trust as children and teens, will increase the likelihood that individuals grow or continue to distrust the police, and develop a pattern of non-reporting, and seeking alternative solutions.

- There was sufficient evidence that the failure of policing in the community was directly impacting on young people, and particularly young girls’ attendance and retention at schools. Over and above the human rights implications of this, it also has potential
The Khayelitsha Commission of Enquiry continued...

economic implications. Most fundamentally, however, education has been recognised as one of the most significant resilience or protective factors for young people.

- The exposure to extreme forms of violence, in the form of mob justice, that was commonly and without exception reflected in the research, increases the risk of longer term violent outcomes and solutions. Simply, the greater the exposure to violence as a child and youth, the greater the risk of that child engaging in violence as they get older, using violence to resolve conflict or disputes, but as importantly, of falling victim to violence as they grow older as well. The extreme, and brutal, community-sanctioned violence to which the young people are exposed, and the already apparent desensitisation of the young people to this, have longlasting and profound implications for their own well-being, and safety, and that of those with whom they engage as adults.

- The experiences of violence, and the perceived inability of the police to address them, also clearly impact on important opportunities for young people to engage in activities offered by community groups and institutions from outside Khayelitsha, such as sports and extracurricular activities such as lifeskills. These are particularly important in socio-economically depressed or deprived communities, as they often are the only opportunities young people have to engage in programmes and experiences that shape healthy young adults.
Are Police In Schools Really The Answer?

A recurring response to high profile acts of violence in schools, from communities, parents and many schools themselves, is to bring police into the school environment to assist in maintaining safety. In 2013, The National Department of Basic Education (DBE) signed a co-operative protocol with the South African Police Service (SAPS) known as the Partnership Protocol with the intention of improving learner and educator safety in schools. Since the signing of the protocol in excess of 18 000 schools country-wide have been paired with local police stations as well as establishing safe school committees within schools.

The literature on the role of police in addressing school violence is scarce in South Africa. Internationally though, research has demonstrated contradicting findings. While some highlight the benefits of the presence of the police in schools for educators, learners, and the broader school community such as improved levels of safety on a short term basis, improved access to support services i.e. the police, others have highlighted the negative unintended consequences of police presence in schools such as eroding learner-educator relationships, fostering criminal and delinquent behaviour, and failing to maintain a sustained sense of learner safety. There is also a risk that, as responsibility for school safety is increasingly seen as the purview of SAPS, school-level accountability-oriented solutions and school management, will lose traction and be forgotten.

In recognition of the growing role that South African police officials are now playing in schools, the CJCP recognised the need for improved understanding of the exact role that the police should play in schools to effectively improve school safety and reduce the levels of violence plaguing South African schools. In 2014, the CJCP embarked upon a project with support from the Open Society Foundation to better understand the role of police in schools, the attitudes and perceptions of various stakeholders, including learners and parents on the role of police in ensuring school safety, and to explore how this research could inform both provincial and national policies on policing and schools. Drawing on a desktop review of all available research, survey questionnaires administered to learners, in-depth interviews and focus group discussion with representatives from the police and relevant provincial education departments and other child protection specialists, the following themes are being explored:

a) the different ways in which the police can and are currently working with schools;
b) the impact of the different roles (i.e. search and seizure etc.) police play in schools on learners, educators and the broader school community;

c) the challenges encountered when introducing police officials into the school environments; and

d) the factors that need to be present to build positive relationships and successful collaborations between learners, police stations, and the broader school communities without the negative unintended consequences that may erode the positive outcomes of such collaborations.

“Are Police In Schools Really The Answer?
Comment, Cape Times, 13 November, 2013”.

Last week, the Department of Community Safety (DoCS) announced the success of its police search and seizure operations in problematic schools in Gauteng, where 103 schools have been identified for regular school searches. In the Western Cape, police have been bought in to schools in an attempt to address violence, which is often associated with alcohol and substance abuse. Policing of violence in schools is becoming increasingly common in other provinces. Their role may vary from “random” drug and weapons searches, to adopt-a-cop type programmes, or the allocation of dedicated police liaison or crime prevention officers to individual schools with a permanent or regular presence in schools.

These programmes, and their supposed success, are cause for concern. This is due to their longterm implications for both schools and learners. Police raids are politically expedient, and often allay the public’s fears, in that they represent a visible, measurable response to the cases reported in the media. They are, however, problematic for several reasons.

In reality, they often undermine the capacity of the school to create a safe environment for both learners and teachers in both the short and long term. Police searches within schools represent only short-term, stop-gap measures. They may address immediate concerns over alcohol, drugs and weapons being brought into schools, but are unlikely to yield any meaningful change in the levels of safety within school over the medium term. The behaviour of the learners, and the underlying causes remain unaddressed, and the school
is in no better position to identify and manage threats. In too many instances, the responsibility for safety within schools is handed over to the police, with no systemic change occurring within the school itself.

Instead, ‘problem’ behaviour is criminalised. The risk is that learners are forced out of the education system, either because they are removed or because they are more likely to drop-out or go truant. International evidence also points to the targeting of ‘problem’ children by police bought in to schools, which ultimately leads to them being pushed in to further conflict with the law. A number of studies show that criminalisation and exposure to the penal system increases the likelihood of children and young people entering a life of serious offending and violence. It also places an additional burden on the already overstretched criminal justice system.

Moreover, while some violence in schools is linked to alcohol and drugs, most is not; with the result that search and seizure operations again fail to address the real causes or manifestations of violence. The everyday, repetitive acts of violence such as bullying, which often escalate to more serious injuries, are not dealt with. Action is only taken in the most serious cases, where knives, guns and other weapons are used, and children are injured and killed.

At a very practical level, the police cannot be a permanent presence in schools. They are also not trained as social workers or psychologists, and are in no position to address the underlying drivers of problem-behaviour. In practice, very few learners who are bought in to contact with the police through their presence in schools are referred to psychologists or social workers, and again, the roots of the anti-social behaviour that manifests in schools are not dealt with.

Finally, bringing police in to schools to deal with violence, or the possible threat of violence, provides the opportunity for the school management to absolve themselves of real accountability for the behaviour of both learners and teachers, and for what happens in classrooms. In several of the incidents reported recently, and in many other cases highlighted in research, warning signs of possible violence are visible in classrooms, and have been reported to school management, with no action being taken. Bringing police in to
schools in these cases would not have solved the problem, but having the educators and principals acting on these initial reports, by intervening at the outset, would have.

This is not to say that the police do not have an important, even pivotal, role to play in supporting schools in dealing with violence, but their role should be a supportive one. Raids and arrests deal only with the symptoms of the problem. Sustainably tackling the problems in many schools requires addressing the root causes of violence in schools. The emphasis must be not only highprofile raids and the seizure of weapons and drugs brought into schools by a minority of learners, but on equipping schools and their staff, as well as parents, with the skills to identify and mitigate the underlying drivers of problem-behaviour.
The Optimus Study on Child Abuse, Violence and Neglect in South Africa

Addressing violence against children has been at the centre of the CJCP’s work over the past ten years. The right of children to live free of violence and harm is enshrined in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. Experiences of violence (physical, sexual and emotional) and of neglect negatively impact on positive developmental outcomes for children as they grow into adulthood, and often affect them throughout the life-course. Violence against children has also rightly been highlighted as a priority at all spheres of government in South Africa.

While the CJCP has progressively worked towards developing a repository of nationally representative cross-sectional quantitative data on the extent and nature of various forms of violence against children and young people, and despite the prioritisation of addressing violence against children in the country, there has to date been no study that accurately provides data on the lifetime experiences of sexual abuse in particular, and other forms of maltreatment (abuse and neglect) and violence that children experience in South Africa.

In 2013, the CJCP, in partnership with the Department of Psychology, and the Gender Health and Justice Research Unit (GHJRU), at the University of Cape Town, received funding from the Optimus Foundation to conduct a national incidence and prevalence study on child abuse, violence and neglect. The Optimus Study provides the first-ever nationally representative data in South Africa on child maltreatment and exposure to other forms of violence. In addition to a national population survey, the study includes an Agency study to explore the experiences of child protection agencies and Social Development offices in responding to child abuse and violence, and to identify blockages and challenges in the delivery of appropriate services.

In total 9730 15-17 year old South Africans participated in household and school surveys. In each setting, young people were interviewed about their experiences by trained interviewers, and also given the opportunity to respond to a small set of questions on a more confidential questionnaire they completed themselves. The study collected data on a wide range of both measures, ranging from risk factors for violence, and outcome measures. The study design will allow for an exploration into whether intervening in one form of violence might prevent other
forms of violence, and will also provide data on where best to intervene in both preventing and responding to violence, and where these interventions should be prioritized.

The initial results show that by the time South African children are 15-17 years old, many of them had already experienced sexual, physical or emotional abuse, neglect, or had been exposed to high levels of family and community violence. More specifically:

- One in five (19.8%) young people reported having experienced some form of sexual abuse in their lifetimes. This was true for both boys (20.3%) and girls (19.2%).
- More than a third (34.4%) of respondents reported having ever been hit, beaten, kicked or physically hurt by an adult who was supposed to be taking care of them;
- A total of 16.1% - one in six young people - reported experiencing emotional abuse. Girls reported higher rates than boys.
- One fifth (21.3%) of respondents reported experiencing any form of neglect ever in their lives.
- One in five (23.1%) young people had ever witnessed violence perpetrated by an adult caregiver against a sibling or another adult in their homes.

The study design also revealed important methodological lessons for conducting epidemiological studies on violence against children. All research participants were given the opportunity to complete a self-completed questionnaire in addition to those administered by the interviewers, which were then sealed separately by the participant. When responses to the same questions were compared between the administered and the self-complete questionnaires, reports of experience of violence were between one and four percent higher in the self-complete questionnaires. This has important methodological considerations for future studies of this kind both in South Africa and elsewhere.

Consequences of these forms of abuse are serious, and have implications both for the young people who suffer them, and for the development of the country as a whole. These problems cost the country enormously, both in terms of the costs of treating these problems, and in lost economic productivity. Reducing violence against South African children is both a moral imperative (to protect our
children) and an imperative for national development. It is also an outcome that the South African Government is committed to through its signatory to a range of international instruments, including the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. It is an outcome that can, and must, be achieved.

Responding to the launch of the initial population study results on incidence and prevalence, Dr Alexander Butchart, Prevention of Violence Coordinator at the World Health Organisations (WHO) in Geneva, Switzerland, highlighted the importance of such surveys. “Much violence against children is never reported to the police, health care workers, or child protection authorities. Surveys such as this are therefore the only way to get a good picture of the ‘what, when, where and by whom’ of violence against children. Such information is crucial for designing and monitoring prevention programmes and services for victims”. Dr. Butchart further noted that the WHO Global status report on violence prevention 2014 identified the lack of a nationally representative survey of child maltreatment in South Africa as a big gap, which this survey does much to fill. “The onus now is on government, civil society organisations and researchers to ensure that the survey findings are followed up by concrete prevention action and steps to improve services for victims”, he added.

The Optimus Study has also been conducted in China and in Switzerland, with plans to implement a fourth in Latin America. As such, it is also the first study that allows reliable international comparison of the rates of violence against children in South Africa with other countries across different continents. Further, it has been designed with the possibility of further development into a longitudinal study, collecting ongoing data through subsequent sweeps over a period of years to compare change.

The initial launch of the population study findings, on the 31st July 2015 in Pretoria, and attended and addressed by the Special Advisor to the Minister of Social Development, on behalf of the Minister, marked the first of a series of publication and seminar events to be conducted between 2015 and December 2016, to ensure ongoing dissemination and research uptake of the findings. As the first study of its kind in South Africa, it reflects the CJCPs ongoing commitment to working with a range of strategic partners to generate high quality, rigorous data, research and evidence on issues of violence affecting children and the whole of the South African population.
The Walmer Project

The project is based in Walmer Township, Port Elizabeth and runs from January 2015 until December 2019. The project aims to address violence against children through:

• Addressing the underlying causes and risk factors for violence against children
• Building families and schools’ capacity to care for children
• Generating evidence for “what works” in prevention of violence against children.

The Walmer Project expands on the projects conducted by the CJCP in Groblershoop in the Northern Cape and the Family Preservation project in Cape Town. In doing so it consolidates 10 years of research CJCP has conducted into early crime prevention. It also seeks to build on a local body of knowledge, and generate evidence of what works and what does not work in successfully addressing violence in a South African context.

The project consists of the following components:

• Research:
  o Baseline household and school surveys
  o Intervention pre and post testing
  o Random control trials
• Whole schools safety interventions
  o School-based interventions for learners
  o Capacitation of school on the National School Safety Framework (NSSF)
  o Implementation of the NSSF
• Lifeskills interventions for learners and out of school youth
• Interventions for out of school youth to assist them in accessing further education and training opportunities
• Teen and adult parenting skills development
• Family preservation work
• Child protection
• Alcohol and substance abuse prevention
• Using ICT within early crime prevention initiatives
• Early childhood development

The project partners are Masifunde Learner Development and The University of Cape Town’s Gender, Health and Justice Research Unit. The Walmer Project is funded by Comic Relief and the Human Dignity Foundation.

List Of Publications

**Direct Beneficiaries:**

- Children and youth involved in interventions
- Parents of children and youth who are involved in interventions
- Parents (or other caregivers of children) involved in parenting focused interventions
- Educators and other school officials involved in everyday activities of schools
## List Of Publications

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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| 2006 | • How rich the rewards: Youth victimisation in SA  
• ICTs - Tools for Crime Prevention  
• Post-conflict justice reform  
• The influence of family and community violence exposure on the victimisation rates of South African youth  
• Snapshot results of the 2006 National Youth Victimisation Study |
| 2007 | • Parallel lines: Policies impacting on child safety  
• Someone stole my smile: an exploration into youth violence in South Africa |
| 2008 | • Merchants, Skollies and Stones: experiences of school violence in SA  
• Dealing with school violence in SA  
• Building school safety: the Hlayiseka Project - a whole school approach  
• Snapshot results of the CJCP National Schools Violence Study  
• School violence: What makes learners vulnerable? |
| 2009 | • Running nowhere fast: results of the 2008 national youth lifestyle survey  
• Walking the tightrope: Youth resilience to crime in SA  
• Beating the odds: The Groblershoop Youth Resilience Project  
• Inescapable violence: Bullying and electronic violence against children in South Africa  
• Snapshot results of the 2008 CJCP National Youth Lifestyle study  
• Building resilience to crime and violence in young South Africans  
• Corporal Punishment in South Africa |
| 2010 | • Enforcement or development: Positioning Government’s National Crime Prevention Strategy  
• Overcoming violence as a barrier to education in Mozambique  
• Overcoming violence as a barrier to education in the Democratic Republic of Congo  
• Overcoming violence as a barrier to education in Namibia |
| 2011 | • Protecting the Flame: Overcoming violence as a barrier to education in Namibia  
• Carrying it forward: Violence as a barrier to education in Mozambique  
• Legal Responses to cyberbullying and sexting in SA  
• Gender dynamics and girls perceptions of crime and violence  
• Restorative Justice in South Africa: Feedback on the CIDA exchange programme |
| 2012 | • Return to a reluctant sender: an exploration into community attitudes towards diversion and reintegration in SA  
• Cyberbullying in South Africa: Impact and responses |
| 2013 | • School Violence in South Africa: Results of the 2012 National Schools Violence Study  
• Snapshot results of the 2012 National School Violence Study  
• Connected Dot Com |
| 2014 | • Combatting xenophobia through the arts: the CJCP’s intervention in Du Noon, Cape Town  
• Behind the blackboard: Exploring educators’ experiences of school violence in South Africa  
• Reconsidering an approach to online protection of young people:  
• The relationship between risks, harms and opportunities  
• Complex and connected: Outlining the extent of youth-related violence in South Africa |
<p>| 2015 | • Optimus Foundation Study on Child Abuse, Violence and Neglect in South Africa |</p>
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