AN EVALUATION OF INTERVENTION STRATEGIES INTO GANGSTERISM IN THE HELENVALE AREA

By

Branton Jonas

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Supervisor: Dr G. Bradshaw

Acknowledgments

DECLARATION

I, Branton Jonas, Student Number: s203018400, hereby declare that
the treatise for Magister Philosophiae: Conflict Transformation and Management
to be awarded is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for
assessment or completion of any postgraduate qualification to another University or
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Branton Jonas

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Abstract

The impact of intervention strategies to reduce gang related violence by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and the community at large has so far not attracted much attention or support from provincial and national authorities. Helenvale and its surrounding areas plays an integral part of the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality as the economic-hub of the Eastern Cape Province. But its gang problem has evolved over decades of socio-economic difficulties and struggle for a better life in the predominantly Coloured community. In order for this problem to be overcome a more strategically focused intervention strategy is required by local, provincial, and national authorities.

This research study evaluates the gang intervention strategies in the Helenvale area and seeks to provide a primary research base from which key policies and strategies could be developed to address this challenge in an effort to bring about peace and stability in this community and other affected areas within close proximity of the area of study. At the heart of providing possible solutions to practices of gangsterism amongst mostly the youth, should be a well-coordinated intergovernmental high impact intervention strategy in partnership with NGO's, civil society and other sectors of the community. Further solutions are the investment by authorities in rehabilitation centres, with skills development and job-creation opportunities as a key exit strategy for those involved in gangs. Acknowledgement that the enhancement and development of mediation skills of community based structures through the sharing of critical conflict theory and mediation practices, could make a substantial contribution to greater peace and stability in our communities.

ABBREVIATIONS

AMCU	ASSOCIATION OF MINEWORKERS AND CONSTRUCTION UNION
ANC	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS
ANCYL	AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS YOUTH LEAGUE
BCM	BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT
CASSARDI	COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL SPORT AND RECREATION DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE
CIAC	CRIME INFORMATION ANALYSES CENTRE
COSATU	CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS
CPF	COMMUNITY POLICING FORUM
CPU	CRIME PREVENTION UNIT
CMS	CONFLICT MANAGEMENT SYSTEM
CSFS	COMMUNITY SAFETY FORUMS
DA	DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE
DEAT	DEPARTMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIRS AND TOURISM
DHS	DEPARTMENT OF HUMAN SETTLEMENTS
DOE	DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
DOJ&CD	DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE AND CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT
DOSDEV	DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND SPECIAL PROGRAMMES
DOSL	DEPARTMENT OF SAFETY AND LIAISON
DOT	DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORT
DTI	DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND INDUSTRY
EC	EASTERN CAPE
ECDP	EARLY CHILDHOOD DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
ECPL	EASTERN CAPE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE
EPSB	EASTERN PROVINCE SOCCER BOARD
FAD	FAMILIES AGAINST DRUGS
GDB	GERMAN DEVELOPMENT BANK
GRYD	GANG REDUCTION YOUTH DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME
HEMCO	HELENVALE CLEANING COOPERATIVE
HIV/AIDS	HUMAN IMMUNODEFIECIENCY VIRUS/ACQUIRED IMMUNE DEFICIENCY SYNDROME
HOD	HEAD OF DEPARTMENT
HURP	HELENVALE URBAN RENEWAL PROGRAMME
HYEP	HELENVALE YOUTH ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME
IDPS	INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT PLANS
IPID	INDEPENDENT POLICE INVESTIGATIVE DIRECTORATE
ICT	INFORMATION AND COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY

IGR	INTER-GOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS
JCPS	JUSTICE CRIME PREVENTION AND SECURITY CLUSTER
KZN	KWAZULU NATAL
MBDA	MANDELA BAY DEVELOPMENT AGENCY
MEC	MEMBER OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
MINMEC	MINISTERS AND MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETINGS
MTEF	MEDIUM TERM EXPENDITURE FRAMEWORK
NA	NARCOTICS ANONYMOUS
NAFA	NORTHERN AREAS FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION
NAPDI	NORTHERN AREAS PEOPLES DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVE
NATO	NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION
NCOP	NATIONAL COUNCIL OF PROVINCES
NCPS	NATIONAL CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGY
NDP	NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN
NES	NATIONAL EVALUATION SERVICE
NGOS	NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS
NHC	NATIONAL HERITAGE COUNCIL
NI	NATIONAL INSPECTORATE
NMB	NELSON MANDELA BAY
NMBM	NELSON MANDELA BAY MUNICIPALITY
NMBHHP	NELSON MANDELA BAY HERITAGE AND HISTORY PROJECT
NMMU	NELSON MANDELA METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY
NUM	NATIONAL UNION OF MINE WORKERS
NUMSA	NATIONAL UNION OF METAL WORKERS SOUTH AFRICA
OW	OUTREACH WORKERS
PA	PATRIOTIC ALLIANCE
PADAV	PEOPLE AGAINST DRUGS AND VIOLENCE
PAGAD	PEOPLE AGAINST GANGSTERISM AND DRUGS
PCPS	PROVINCIAL CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGY
PE	PORT ELIZABETH
PEFA	PORT ELIZABETH FOOTBALL ASSOCIATION
PEYCO	PORT ELIZABETH YOUTH CONGRESS
POCA	PREVENTION OF ORGANISED CRIME ACT 121 OF 1998
POPS	PUBLIC ORDER POLICING
SA	SOUTH AFRICA
SABOHA	SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESS COALITION AGAINST HIV/AIDS
SACP	SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY
SEDA	SECTOR EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT AGENCY
SADRAT	SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH AND TRAINING INSTITUTE

SAHO	SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY ONLINE
SANCA	SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL COUNCIL ON ALCHOHOLISM AND DRUG DEPENDENCE
SANDF	SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL DEFENCE FORCE
SAPS	SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE
SPUU	SAFETY AND PEACE THROUGH URBAN UPGRADING
SRC	STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL
TADA	TEENAGERS AGAINST DRUG ABUSE
TRC	TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION
TRT	TACTICAL RESPONSE TEAM
UDF	UNITED DEMOCRATIC FRONT
USA	UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
WCPL	WESTERN CAPE PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE

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CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL INTRODUCTION

> 'Gangsterism is rife in the Northern Areas of Port Elizabeth. Sporadic incidences of gang related violence results in additional murder, attempted murder, assault with grievous body harm, burglaries and illegal possession of firearms and drug related cases being registered. Statistics on this phenomenon is not readily available on the corporate system of the SAPS, but are correlated at the affected stations for operational purposes'.
>
> (EC PCPS 2014:19)

1.1   Introduction

Gangsterism in the South African context has to a large extent been characterised as a Western Cape (WC) phenomenon and there have been limited interventions from national, provincial, and local government authorities to address the problem in the Helenvale and surrounding areas of the Nelson Mandela Bay Municipality (NMBM). Kynoch stated that 'despite the unprecedented public concern with violent crime in the new South Africa (SA), surprisingly little effort has been made to explore the historical roots of urban gangsterism' (1999:55). Whilst research by Olivier and Cunningham (2004) provides some insight into gangsterism in the Port Elizabeth (PE) area, national interventions have so far been channelled to focus largely on other areas, such as the Cape Flats and Eldorado Park due to lack of acknowledgement of the existence of the phenomenon and its negative impact on the communities of the Eastern Cape (EC). The Provincial Crime Prevention Strategy (PCPS) of the EC also lacked deeper acknowledgment of the specific aspects of the problem with no focused emphasis on how to address its root causes, strengthen successful community interventions, or provide possible rehabilitation initiatives and exit strategies for youth trapped in this vicious cycle (PCPS, 2005).

However, there are also greater challenges within the overall management and roll-out of the Justice Crime Prevention and Security Cluster (JCPS) which obstructs proper coordination and implementation of the PCPS. Part of these challenges is the inadequate budget allocation to the DoSL to conduct oversight over the South

African Police Services (SAPS). According to the Safety Policy Speech (2014:36) only R78 941million has been allocated to the DoSL. Furthermore, there is a duplication of mandate in terms of the Social Crime Prevention Programmes between the Department of Social Development (DoSDev) and DoSL, as well as blurred lines in the Executive Authority's line functions relating to Safety and Security in the Province. Lack of capacity within Metropolitan Areas such as the NMBM on security matters, and the non-functionality of Community Safety Forums (CSFs) where these issues could be highlighted, are important factors to consider (Safety Policy Speech 2014:12).

The reality is that this community lives in constant fear and that the intelligence, organisation, and modus operandi of gangs have successfully evolved over time and in an area without any specific focus on anti-gang strategies in the EC. This dissertation evaluates various interventions into gangsterism in the Helenvale area and critically looks at state capacity and collaboration with communities and civil society organs to address this important challenge.

1.2   Historical context

South Africa has been described as a 'crimo-generic society, the origins of which can be traced to its Apartheid past' (Knox and Monaghan 2001:1). Crime has also been on the increase since the early 1980's and continued to rise even in the new political dispensation. This increase from the 1990's however, is not much different from the experiences of other nations undergoing political transitions to democracy. Changes in these societies have also opened up new spaces for the development of crime. The violent legacy of the past and the transgressions of Apartheid pass laws in pursuit of justice has to some an extent justified the concept of crime 'as a means to an end' in the eyes of the general public (Knox & Monaghan 2001:1).

Van Wyk and Theron (2005) notes that social researchers had strong arguments that gangsterism had its origins in the Apartheid government's forced relocation of nearly 700 000 Coloured and African families between 1950 and 1980, to the Cape Flats. Furthermore, Kynoch (1999:59) confirms that 'gang violence in Bloemfontein, Durban, Kimberly, PE and Pretoria has featured prominently in press reports since the 1950's'. For instance Herbst (1978) in highlighting the extent of the gang problem in the Northern Areas wrote to the editor of the Herald under the heading, 'Sir your

report of the gang problem warfare and the attendant terrors in PE's townships highlights a serious social problem which demands immediate attention of authority at the highest level'. Herbst noted that the majority of Gelvandale residents were hardworking people but were the victims of an unjust gang violence which was a result of the Group Areas Act (Herbst 1978). In contrast to this argument, Taylor (1994) provides a different perspective of economic supply and demand. According to Taylor (1994:20) 'the territorial racial segregation of Coloured people in PE, besides serving the political ends of the Apartheid Regime, was intended by local government to cater for the economic needs of industrialists and to encourage local economic growth and welfare'. This argument however was essentially a flawed justification of the Group Areas Act through linking the segregation of Coloured people with the fulfilment of the economic needs of the industrialists and the Apartheid spacial planning of government at the time.

Research on gangsterism conducted in the EC confirms that gang-related violence is not a WC phenomenon, but rather is spread across South Africa. In PE it is concentrated in the Northern Areas of the city. Statements from the Crime Information Analyses Centre (CIAC) at the time of the research by Olivier and Cunningham (2004:75) confirmed that 'the residential areas of Bethelsdorp and Gelvandale remain the heart of gang violence in PE'. Gangsterism in the Northern Areas began from as early as 1971 when the Mafia gang was established by a man called 'Kapp' and the Mongrel Gang by an ex-prisoner from Cape Town called 'Blau'. Together with a gang called 'Forty Thieves' the Northern Areas were terrorised during the 1970's (Olivier and Cunningham 2004:76). Pinnock (1987:428) concurs that the 1970's saw the relocation of the Mongrels, a family-based gang with close 'association with prison gangs' from District Six to the Cape Flats. In the 1980's The Cape suburb of Grassy Park became their headquarters and was 'where the family had built around itself a formidable fighting machine stretching across the country'. Such machinery would consist of well-armed and experienced gang members who would be ready to defend their interest at all costs. At the time the Mongrel gang was estimated to be 2000 men strong with growth in Durban, Johannesburg, and a strong presence in PE where the gang clashed with, and defeated the Mafias. Pinnock (1987) and Olivier and Cunningham (2004) links the evolution of gangsterism in the Eastern Cape significantly with that of the Western Cape and note how this was

rooted across the Coloured communities. It further confirms that racial segregation during the same historical epoch had a similar effect on these communities which were forcefully removed to the peri-urban areas, such as Helenvale. The evolution of gang culture has thus found the perfect breeding ground in these areas which are plagued with social dysfunction and disintegration.

Community responses to the gang and drug problems in the Coloured community have evolved from the mid 1990's and have led to the formation of People Against Gangsterism and Drugs (PAGAD) on the Cape Flats and the People Against Drugs and Violence (PADAV) in the Northern Areas of PE. Responses from both these predominantly Moslem Faith-based groupings often led to violent confrontations between gangsters and the Police (Gordema, 2009).

This research seeks to highlight the contributions of various other community-based stakeholders and peace initiatives. The escalating gang problem in the Northern Areas during recent waves of conflict has attracted keen interest from PAGAD which has indicated that it is willing to play an active role in fighting the scourge (Wilson, 2013).

1.3   Exploring Trends of gangsterism in Helenvale Port Elizabeth

Helenvale lies at the heart of the northern part of PE, a city which is part of the NMBM in the EC Province of SA. The city with its estimated 1.3 million inhabitants includes the Helenvale area which comprises 129 hectares and is located about 15 kilometres towards the northern parts of the city. As a community emerging in 1960 as a direct consequence of the National Party Apartheid policy machinery and its vigorous implementation of the Group Areas Act since 1950, the area is highly overcrowded with a range of social challenges, including unemployment and high levels of crime. According to Lundahl and Södergien (2008:6) 'these living conditions have resulted in the rise of gangsters, drug lords and prostitution'.

Uithaler (2013:4), in a report on the developmental prospects of Helenvale notes that Communities from as far as South End, Fairview, and Willowdene were crammed into various parts of the Northern Areas. Helenvale was originally designed to accommodate 6000 people, but now houses about 25 000. This means that people are forced to live in an area that is under-developed due to its compactness and live

in houses of between 25 and 30 m² in size. In this over-populated township social ills abound 'such as unemployment, crime, drugs, gangsterism, teenage pregnancy and other concerns that have abraded the social fabric and community cohesion'. The report further indicates that only 46.4% of Helenvale's population has some secondary schooling, 9.7% have a matric or grade 12 qualification, only 0.3% have higher or tertiary education, and 5.9% have no education. 12.3% of the population are employed, 45.5% unemployed, and 41.5% are not economically active (Uithaler, 2013).

According to research conducted by FEM Consultant's, gangsterism is a serious problem which often leads to truancy amongst learners of all four schools in the area with approximately 60-70% of households affected by alcohol and drug abuse. Food insecurity has also been identified as a major challenge in the community (FEM Consultants, 2013:41).

Writing on the Northern Areas, Oliphant (2013) raised concerns about the extent to which a large proportion of young people has fallen victim to gang related crimes in the area. Wilson (2013) confirms that 59 people were killed in gang related violence since 2012. This violence also left 149 others wounded and 129 arrested for murder, attempted murder and drug dealing. Out of these 18 suspects were charged with illegal possession of fire-arms, with 39 firearms and more than 900 rounds of ammunition uncovered. There are also confirmed links between gangs on the Cape Flats and the gangs operating in the Northern Areas of PE and some in the townships (Wilson 2014). In the Gelvandale police precinct, which includes Helenvale, Malabar, Shauderville and Korsten, gangs include the Blink Boemelaars, 16 Honde en Op, Von Boeties, Dustlife, Chinas, Boomshakas, Shottas Paparazi, West Siders, Upstand Dawgs, Fourth Stop Mobsters and Fatcats. The Spotbouers, Kakmakers, Chinas Badboys, Stoutgatte, Naarmakers Hondekoppe, Thuglife Stouters, Gollies and Gaza gangs are spread across the larger Bethelsdorp Police Precinct totalling 12 and 10 gangs respectively and 21 gangs which are spread over the entire Northern Areas (Wilson 2013).

Melwich (2007:20) asserts that there were '15 different gang groups and 45 drug posts in the area that have largely targeted adolescents to sell drugs such as dagga, mandrax, ecstasy, and cocaine'. They target poor communities where poverty is rife,

and where adverse conditions prevail at home. The drug crystal methamphetamine, commonly known as 'Tik' has been creatively utilized by gangs to attract the youth to gang activities mostly during times when gang members have been imprisoned. Drug habits are often fuelled by providing money and drugs to young people until they become hooked and part of the gang drug trafficking (Luthuli 2011). Gang leaders have therefore become highly sophisticated and creative over the years and run drug posts as profitable businesses. As a result, some gang leaders have evolved into prominent businessmen in industries such as construction, amongst others.

Whilst gangsterism has become synonymous with mostly Coloured areas in SA, sporadic occurrence of gang activity has also spread into black townships such as New Brighton (Mpetsheni 2014). The post Second World War epoch in the late 1940's also saw a massive increase of gang activity in Sophiatown. This was largely due to the high unemployment rate of approximately 20 000 unemployed youth and school dropouts (SAHO 2013).

According to Steinberg (2004), SA's gang culture is said to be inspired by the historical figure of Nongoloza Mathabula, known to be the founder of the number gangs who has inspired a substantial growth in early gang culture to counter the repressive colonial ideology. These gangs have evolved since 1912 with unique customs and traditions which follows a strict hierarchy of the 26's, 27's and 28's system.

What these sources reveal is that as in the past, today there is a strong link between the active number gang culture in the St Albans prison and gangs found on the streets of the Northern Areas.

1.4 Literature Review

In order to cement the argument that gang intervention strategies must be firmly grounded on critical conflict theory, it is vital to draw from key theoretical aspects on what has to be done to enhance the skills of players in this highly sensitive field. The literature review seeks to lay a foundation based on the critical theoretical thought processes involved in this field.

Sandole (2006:544) in his critical review of John Burton's work emphasizes his innovative concept of 'provention' and defines the concept as 'shorthand for efforts to deal with deep-rooted structural and other causes and conditions of conflicts revolving around non-negotiable needs'. Sandole (2006:552) emphasizes the critical link between Cosmopolitan conflict resolution and Burton's concept of provention by stating that:

> 'provention' . . . connotes . . . a proactive capability within societies to predict and avoid destructive conflict by the spread of the problem-solving method and philosophy throughout all relevant institutions discourses and practices. Indeed, in our view Burtonian problem-solving, seen as a paradigm shift rather than workshop technique, is itself firmly at the transformationist end of the conflict resolution spectrum'.

Therefore the question of how to effectively repair the damage caused by destructive waves of conflict at the post conflict stage is echoed by 'Burton's emphasis on the necessity for structural and institutional adaptations to deal with and to satisfy people's basic needs for identity, recognition, and security' (Sandole 2006:552).

Vayrynen (2001:98) contends that due to there being a substantial increase of conflict throughout the world there is a need for a much deeper understanding of conflict fundamentals through thorough theoretical analyses towards sustainable solutions – a view which has been welcomed to the debate on international conflict resolution. In these debates, Vayrynen (2001:99) held strong arguments on the role of culture in conflict resolution. This was in contrast to Burton's associating conflict with 'a disease of the body social whose causes are found in alienation arising from unfulfilled human needs'. According Vayrynen (2001:99) Burton held that conflicts arise when an individual's needs are denied, especially when 'society prevents the individual from fulfilling his needs'. A further critique of Burton as 'the founder of the theory of universal, socio-biological human needs' is levelled at his 'denial of the constitutive role of culture in conflict resolution' (Vayrynen 2001:99). Burton's totalist position that 'an individual is able to weigh the costs and benefits with respect to the fulfilment of his needs and to act accordingly', is further enforced by his philosophy that 'the role of culture and the socially constructed reality of conflict is seen as an obstacle to conflict resolution'. Vayryen believes that it is impossible to ignore the

uniqueness of various conflicts because of the 'social construction of and management of meaning'. These two opposing views are referred to as the totalist and non-totalist approached to conflict resolution. Therefore, human beings are believed to be socially constructed, and the approaches to conflict resolution must, in contrast to the totalist approach as articulated by Burton, take into consideration the social and cultural realities of individuals as they interpret the world (Vayrynen, 2003:99-101).

Taking these relevant theoretical arguments into consideration, this research seeks to make various contributions aimed at transforming approaches in the management of gang conflict through highlighting the need for a 'provention' conflict resolution trajectory with high regard for the culture and context of the conflict.

1.5 Motivation for the research

The mediation of gang conflict has gained much prominence in other parts of the world as some crime prevention and the policing strategies of law enforcement agencies alone have not been able to provide comprehensive solutions and answers to the problem. The remarkable work of many NGOs to improve mediation skills amongst communities themselves is often not recognized and poorly supported by the authorities. The Northern Areas is one such community where to some extent the level of gang violence has been managed through the interventions of a number of key community stakeholders.

The substantial growth of gang activities in the surrounding areas such as Klein Skool and Bloemendal has resulted in a number of fatalities, constant fear and unacceptable levels of violence. The EC Government in its previous crime prevention strategy has also not visibly acknowledged the problem as a serious concern which is an important reason why this research is necessary. The research outcomes would be readily available to influence the PCPS which would be implemented over the next strategic period of national and provincial government and which, at time of conducting this research, was under review in the Province.

Importantly, Helenvale is situated approximately a mere 17 kilometres from the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) South Campus and the University should therefore play a more active role in providing solutions to the complex

questions facing modern society especially to struggling communities in its surroundings.

1.6   Benefits of the research

There is clearly a lack of scientific literature on conflict resolution as a possible solution to gang conflict. As a result whilst a sizable number of academic and development researchers have done some research work regarding Helenvale, their core research focus was not on the gang problem. This research would enable government, civil society, the community, and other stakeholders to make more informed decisions and interventions to reduce fatalities and the high levels of violence in the area. This work also seeks to act as a catalyst to influence Provincial and National Policy interventions and strategies as well as to highlight the urgent need for financial and other support for NGOs in the area.

Furthermore, not much is known about the extent of the gang problem in the Helenvale and surrounding areas at a national level. The critical role of civil society organs and the community at large is also not documented. This research would therefore provide such information but also bring to the fore the perceptions and proposed solutions of the community itself. With the major concentration on the policing of gangsterism alone, the research seeks to put at the centre the debate of solving complex social problems and challenges the need for an integrated social approach and one which is representative of the community as the primary stakeholder.

Therefore in acknowledging government's emphasis for proper long term planning in terms of the National Development Plan (NDP) towards 2030, there is a need to better inform strategic planning over the next Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF) period, as well as to highlight proper resource allocation towards successful intervention strategy execution, greater impact, and accountability. The research focus to evaluate intervention strategies on gangsterism in Helenvale would enable a more tactical response, highlight the need to create strategic social partnerships, and emphasize a more holistic approach towards possible solutions to the problem.

Importantly, the research seeks to provide some solutions to ensure a drastic turn around in the destructive waves of gang violence experienced by the community of Helenvale and its immediate surroundings on a daily basis.

1.7   Definition of concepts

Gangsterism   -   'The actions or methods of gangsters' (Brown, 1993:1060)

Gaadjies   -   Northern Areas slang for Taxi Door Operator. Predominantly male and has been characterised over the years by their unique ability to chant the slogans of the taxi industry in the area. The Gaadjies are also responsible to collect taxi fare and to direct the taxi driver where and when to stop as they go about doing their business.

Helenvale   -   Helenvale refers to the geographic area where the study was conducted.

Northern Areas -   Refers to the Northern parts of PE consisting largely of Coloured communities which emerged out of the forceful removal of non-white communities during the early 1950's through the Apartheid Government's implementation of the Group Areas Act and an earlier epoch of Colonialism and Missionary influences. Importantly, the area today is no longer a predominantly Coloured area, but also consists of a mixture of isiXhosa speaking South Africans which are accessing education and housing services in the area. The Korsten area now provides a base for a foreign national informal business sector and the Malabar area is known as the home of the Indian Community; all forming an integral part of this Northern Areas constituency. Helenvale as the core focus study area lies at the centre of the Northern Areas.

Coloured/s   -   Is used in its non-discriminatory connotation as a racial classification which is recognised by the current South African Constitution. The Coloured people have a right as it is within contemporary debates, reflections, and campaigns about its true identity to define its own history and heritage.

1.8   Chapter outline

The research is divided into seven chapters:

Chapter 1   Provides a general introduction and background to the phenomena, as well as the significance of the research.

Chapter 2   Provides a historical background and conflict overview of the Northern Areas community.

Chapter 3   Provides a South African context of state responses to gangsterism which seeks to put into perspective critical state interventions, policy frame work, as well as limitations which are critical towards the holistic understanding of the phenomenon in the context of the EC Province.

Chapter 4   Focuses on unpacking a much deeper understanding of the human needs of those who are involved in gangs through drawing on the work of key conflict theorists. The Chapter further highlights various theoretical views in literature on conflict to enhance our understanding of protracted social conflict, and negotiation and mediation as some of the key instruments of modern conflict management.

Chapter 5   Outlines the research methodology followed to extract data for the research study.

Chapter 6   Provides for analyses, interpretation and comments on the research.

Chapter 7   Elaborates on the conclusions that can be drawn from the data.

CHAPTER TWO: SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

> '…Social Conflict is as much a matter for the interest of the historian as it is for the psychologist or the political scientist. There is no general theory of social conflict, though there are a number of partial, and mid-range theories that help us to understand specific aspects of social conflict. In order for us to grasp the full complexity of conflict, it will therefore be necessary to examine ideas concerning conflict from across the spectrum of the behavioural sciences'.

> (Bradshaw, 2008:45)

2.1   Introduction

In order to make scientific sense, social scientists draw from a variety of scholarly and theoretical works to contextualize the complexities presented by societies. Any evaluation of gangsterism intervention strategies must be accurately framed within the social science paradigm as one of the various kinds of deeply rooted social conflicts facing the world today. Urban gangsterism has adapted and changed within a trajectory of divergent ideologies and value systems over time. This situation presents modern civilization and democratic governments with an inevitable level of conflict. Such conflict should however be managed through sound conflict management practices based on firm theoretical foundations. It is therefore important that this work draws on key lessons from theory 'across the spectrum of the behavioural sciences' in order to recommend possible solutions to the problem (Bradshaw, 2008:45).

It is important to emphasize Himes's (1980:3) work on social conflict which argues that essentially 'people are aggressive, conflicting creatures' and that archaeological and historical evidence proves that man seems to have been in conflict with his fellow beings from his earliest beginnings. In this context, Hobbes (2008:66) makes a significant point about the nature of men when he asserts that:

> '… the nature of men that howsoever they may acknowledge many others to be more witty, or more eloquent, or more learned; yet they will hardly believe there be many so wise as themselves; for they see their own wit at hand, and other men's at a distance. But this proveth rather that men are in that point more equal, than unequal. For there

is not ordinarily a greater sign of the equal distribution of anything, than that every man is content with his share'.

From such equality, it is argued 'proceeds diffidence' which is likely to occur when any two men desire the same phenomenon as the next 'which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy' ultimately leading to a path of destruction and conflict.

Bornman et al (1998:426) noted that the new political dispensation in SA did not see a reduction in violence as anticipated, but resulted in 'an increase in various forms of violence committed by individuals, such as assault and rape, as well as violence involving … gangs, taxi organisations, and crime syndicates'. It is also argued that because the political settlement in 1994 did not bring an end to violence or conflict, that there were various other factors contributing to violence. Bornman et al (ibid) relates these to the 'meso and micro factors of society as well as those characteristic of the new dispensation'. Some Meso factors such as the evolution of citizens, families and the community in the pre and post democracy stages linked to the dynamics of the new dispensation of political freedom and economic difficulty is important to note. These conditions also include exacerbated inequalities and poverty for the individual as part of the broader societal setting at a micro level. Therefore, difficult conditions have prevailed even in the new dispensation which is not unique to the South African situation.

The world today is in deep crisis as nations pursue their various diplomatic and economic interests through the show of military force, and the advancement of aggressive foreign policies. Contemporaneous global military intervention in Syria and Iraq by the United States of America (USA) has forced regime change; for instance, Libya's Muammar Gadhafi's overthrow by the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). Another example of deep rooted conflict is amongst others the on-going destructive conflict between Palestine and Israel. Closer to home, the attempted military coup d'état' in bordering Lesotho is a text book example of contemporary conflict within South African borders. Importantly, the use of force by the SAPS to remove striking mine workers in Marikana in August 2012 is a further substantiation that violence has become entrenched in our society. In the SA context, conflict can be traced beyond the first wars of resistance between the Khoikhoi as the first indigenous people who confronted the Dutch in 1652 at the Cape of Good Hope, which after a period of 60 years brought a collapse of the

'traditional Khoikhoi economy, social structure, and political system' (Elphick, 1985:17). Therefore, from the earliest clashes between the Khoikhoi, the Dutch, the Portuguese and later in the 19th century, the British, a fierce contestation over the wealth and mineral resources of SA became the order of the day (Calvocoressi, 1991:575).

It should also be emphasized that contemporary SA is plagued with high levels of economic, social and political conflict. These relate to high levels of inequality, ideological differences in economic policy within the ruling tripartite alliance frequent and violent strike action, the emergence of new political parties, corruption, high levels of violent crime against women and children, complex race relations, and violent protest actions in various pockets of the country. Also, in acknowledging the difficulties in the country's political transition to democracy, as emphasized in the epilogue of its interim constitution of 1993, that it is a '…deeply divided society characterised by strife, conflict, untold suffering and injustice …', todays generations remain affected not so much by political oppression but by various social ills presented by the class and social dynamics of the Post-Apartheid epoch (Doxtader & Salazar 2007:5).

It is therefore inevitable that the sporadic occurrence and trends of gangsterism in SA over the last five decades are tightly interwoven with the country's protracted and violent history. Moreover, these are further exacerbated by the realities presented by the current economic system and democratic dispensation which has normalised these unequal power relations between the racial and socio-economic classes in general. To further understand its complexities, the following sections provide some critical insight into the theoretical and historical context of the specific area from where the study is undertaken.

2.2   The impact of forceful removals

Whilst SA's history of Colonialism and Apartheid and the achievement of a democratic state in 1994 represent the nucleus of a rich protracted conflict, the forceful removal of about 60 000 Coloureds from District Six on 11 February 1966 on the Cape Flats and the displacement of the people of South End and various other communities to the periphery of the city of PE just after the promulgation of the Group Areas Act of 1950, are just as important (Hallet, Coulson, Heyns, Janties, and

Paulse, 2007:19). South End was once a harmonious and socially cohesive community where people of all races and religions lived. The forced removals had severe consequences especially for those who were moved to the Northern Areas. It is believed that:

> 'These forced removals bore many negative consequences for the ex-residents of South End. People were now forced to commute long distances to get to work, school and even church and hospitals. In addition, homes that had once housed the families and extended families of South End were destroyed without discrimination', (South End Museum, 2013:1).

These incidents destroyed the future of a people who endured much pain and resentment all in the interests of the Nationalist regime. Therefore, with the displacement of different racial groupings to various areas of PE, the regime had succeeded in the entrenchment of racial divisions which were accompanied by further difficulties such as poverty, unemployment, and the rise of gangsterism. The magic which once existed amongst these peoples was replaced by hardship and high emotions of what could have been had they been allowed to live normal, uninterrupted lives. It should however be noted that people were also removed from 'North End, Korsten, Salisbury Park, Fairview, and Willowdene as well as Kleinskool, and Veeplaas', (Nelson Mandela Bay Heritage and History Project (NMBHHP), 2013:3, 78). George and Hendricks (2003:29) noted that the Group Areas Act also affected those living in Walmer Location, Dispatch and Uitenhage, as well as other mixed areas around SA, such as Sophiatown and Fordsburg in Johannesburg, Cato Manor and Phoenix in Durban, North End in East London, Bridgeton in Oudtshoorn, and many other villages and towns across the country.

Therefore, of much importance in understanding the protracted conflict of the area are the earlier developments of the broader PE area and the struggles of its people. Areas such as Korsten were only incorporated into the PE Municipal area in 1951. Originally the area was known as Papenkiulsfontuin and later a portion was granted to Frederick Korsten as a farm in 1816 (Clayton, 1983:1). This area was occupied by the British who named suburbs and streets so as to 'preserve prosperity' (Leigh, 1966:10). Matyu (1996:1) argues that the area which now forms an integral entry point to the Northern Areas was also troubled by the liberal Smuts Regime which saw the forceful removal of Africans from the Korsten Area through amendments of the African Reserve Location Act of 1905. Together with the closing of the Reservoir

Location in 1909 these events led to the mass overcrowding of the New Brighton area (Baines, 2002:75). Matyu (1996:23) notes for instance that the Zoza Street area in Korsten was known as a 'grey area' according to Apartheid terminology. This was so for two or three decades later – where all races lived together happily, intermarrying or living together beyond moral restrictions.

Maneli (2006:7) in his overview of township history and reference to the Red Location in PE wrote that: 'There is an Oval, where sports of yester year and now are being played. We stayed here with Coloureds and Jewish Traders, before the Coloured community was forced to evacuate their houses, because of the Bubonic Plague, for Korsten. The rest, together with the members of the Jewish community, had no option but to follow suite, because of the Apartheid laws of Dr Hendrik Verwoerd'. Jonas (2013:68) in the NMBHHP project undertaken by a team of researchers from the South Africa Development, Research, and Training (SADRAT) institute maintains that Korsten was once an harmonious, socially cohesive community where the Coloured people who came from the Hankey and Humansdorp areas made music and played the guitar, whilst 'Blacks from across the Transkei formed choirs and had concerts every weekend'. Violence and the challenges of race and culture were not the order of the day, until after the introduction of the Group Areas Act. According to Jenniker (2014), during the Apartheid years, Coloured people were moved from pillar to post. This era saw no tolerance by the authorities for those families whose members were involved in gangsterism. Once detected, the housing committee would forcefully remove the entire family or demand reasons why they should not be moved. He maintains that:

> 'It was during those years that our people were forced out of their homes for a mere broken window in the Schauderville area by Mr. Hunter, a caretaker of the Municipality. We were forcefully removed from Jan Hofmeyer to Ferreira Streets in Schauder and thereafter to Korsten opposite the old Alabama Hotel. After forced removal from Korsten, we were dumped here in Helenvale where people were regularly forced out of their homes by the Apartheid Regime' (Jenniker 2014:1).

During this time, 'it was even difficult for people to travel to Helenvale as transportation was limited and went only as far as the Korsten Library; residents of the area had to walk all the way through a bushy area to get to their homes. It was

this period which saw an intensification of a struggle for more spacious housing other than the two-door houses which people are forced to live in up to this day' (Jenniker, 2014:1). This important history exposes and links the difficulties of the various people of PE during the height of the Colonial and Apartheid era's and further provides a glimpse into the day-to-day challenges of the people of Helenvale at the height of the Apartheid period.

Interestingly, today, the Northern Areas have become highly integrated. In some instances there are more isiXhosa learners than Coloured at the local schools. Various new integrated human settlement developments further north which are closer to the Dispatch and Uitenhage areas of the NMBM are also fully reflective of a more integrated community. These trends are also clearly displayed through informal trading throughout the Northern Areas. However, the area will never be free of destructive waves of gang violence without decisive intervention from the authorities, as well as various segments of the community.

2.3   Protracted Northern Areas conflict

Not much has been written about the evolution of Northern Areas politics since the forced removal of the people of South End and various other affected communities. However, the high levels of politicization since the founding of the United Democratic Front (UDF) in 1983, the subsequent 1990's political uprising, and the fundamental role of Northern Areas-based political activists forms an important part of the protracted political processes which led to the democratic breakthrough in 1994. So far, there has also been much misperception or rather a lack of recognition of the epochal 1990's rent boycott. The uprising resulted in an estimated 48 deaths and substantial loss of business property to an estimated R26-million. It also led to 274 arrests and traumatic experiences of many. This destructive wave of conflict saw the destruction of 54 buildings along with many vehicles, valuable equipment and goods either stolen or destroyed. The uprising also instilled fear in many other residents who had no option but to stay away from factories and schools at the time (Butler, 2010:4).

According to the archives of the Red Location Museum, Godfrey Ackley provided the following context of Helenvale at the time of the 1990's political uprising. He stated that:

'The police arrested me immediately and took me to Struandale police station. They locked me up for 3 or 4 days. I came out of jail then people and I remember picking up dead bodies in Helenvale. We had a big truck. The uprising carried on for a week, it spread through the Northern Areas. The people were angry, they would burn stuff like shops, it was the frustration for all those years' (Red Location Museum 2008:1).

According to Stranton (2011:1), 'This historical event traumatised the community and has left scars of suffering that has not been addressed to this day'. Similarly, a watershed moment of the Anti-Apartheid struggle in the Northern Areas was the arrest of Steven Bantu Biko the leader of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) on the 17 August 1977 and his subsequent death in police custody at Louis Le Grange Square, Central PE Police Station (Red Location Museum, 2008:1). The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) records revealed that George Botha, a prominent Northern Areas based political activist who was very active during the height of the 1976 student uprising, had had various violent confrontations with the Apartheid police. He was detained on the 10 December 1976 and died in police custody after five days during the same period as that of Biko's death. The Police said at the time that he had allegedly committed suicide. The TRC hearing revealed that he was actually severely tortured and eventually succumbed to the various wounds inflicted on his body. This was disputed by the authorities and as such it remains a painful chapter in the lives of the family; with them struggling to come to terms with his death (Botha 1997).

Burton (2006:33) in advancing the morality argument for a reparation process for victims of conflict of the past states that '…without adequate reparation and rehabilitation measures, there can be no reconciliation, either on an individual or community level'. In his criticism of the TRC process, Alexander also advanced strong arguments when he stated that:

'The fundamental flaw in the conceptualization of the TRC as a mechanism for 'dealing with the past' lies in the fact that the question of moral debt (Habermas 1987) is blurred by both trying to 'share' it between victim and perpetrator and by individualising it, that is removing it from its systemic embedment. This is, of course, the result of the historical context, the fact of the 'historic compromise'

between Afrikaner and African nationalism. It remains a fundamental flaw none the less' (2002:122).

Therefore, whilst the epochal 1990's political uprising unfolded at the dawn of protracted multi-party negotiations in SA and coincided with the unbanning of various political parties including the African National Congress (ANC), the extensive use of force by the SA Police force against violent protesters for a just cause has left unprecedented pain and distress in the lives of the people of the Northern Areas.

This background also provides for a direct link between the 1976 Political Uprising, the death of Steve Biko, and George Botha as part of the broader liberation struggle of the time.

2.4   The impact of the UDF on Northern Areas politics

Seekings (2000:3) maintains that the UDF successfully mobilised communities across SA against the State's racist institutions and policies. Furthermore, the UDF's disbanding in August 1991 also coincided with the mass political uprising in the Northern Areas of PE described above. Leading figures emanating from this movement, such as Alan Boesak, had a major impact on the politicization of Coloured communities across SA. These actions culminated in the establishment of Student Representative Councils (SRCs), youth movements, the civic movement, and the intelligentsia which inspired active political participation throughout the country but also in the Northern Areas in particular (Red Location Museum 2008).

The formation of youth organisations in the Bethelsdorp and Gelvandale areas, as spearheaded by political activists who were influenced during their University days at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), played a major role in the politicization of activists in the area. The formation of the Northern Areas Youth Congress (NAYCO), an umbrella structure of the Port Elizabeth Youth Congress (PEYCO), by Godfrey Ackley in 1987 and the formation of a branch of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) had a major impact on the local and national political discourses as NAYCO made its firm contribution to the launch of the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO) under the leadership of Peter Mokaba. NAYCO took up key campaigns including protests against the Tricameral Parliament system and the establishment of the Northern Areas Action Committee which politically orchestrated the 1990 uprising

and successfully mobilised and resisted unfair rent charges (Red Location Museum 2008).

Notably, whilst many activists of the Northern Areas made their own contributions to the liberation discourse, it has not found its proper place in the country's struggle history. This remains a painful open wound which has not healed, contributing immensely to the emotional and economic suffering of many people. It further reveals a protracted history of violence in Helenvale which was not crime related but part of the political campaign against the Apartheid regime at the time. After democracy however, other elements came into play and found a volatile situation in which violence continued as a narrative of discontent. These elements are now discussed further.

2.5   Colonialism and the deprivation of Coloured identity

The most visible scars left by the Colonial and Apartheid epochs, is the degradation of the identity of the Coloured people. In contemporary SA, there has been much debate about the matter with strong views and activism to ensure the restoration of indigenous Khoi-San identity and culture to current generations even within the broader Northern Areas. For instance, an important contemporary development in the struggle to restore the dignity of the Coloured people has culminated in a massive campaign to return the remains of David Stuurman from Australia as part of a movement of Khoi-San activists at local, provincial, and national levels (NHC 2013:1).

This deep-rooted anomaly has placed the question of Coloured identity under severe scrutiny. However, the historical dialectics of the first inhabitants of the Cape Colony and their struggles against a stronger Colonial apparatus is of much importance.

According to Elphick and Giliomee (1979:3):

> 'Jan van Riebeeck did not found the Cape Colony in an empty land.
> In 1652 when he set foot on the shores of Table Bay, the territories to
> the north and east had been occupied for centuries by the Khoikhoi
> ('Hottentots') and for millennia by the hunter gatherers
> ('Bushmen')…'

Elphick and Giliomee (1979:3) question how and why the Khoikhoi and their 'economy were so rapidly disintegrated into colonial society as an inferior caste' and

note that while the Bushmen had perhaps resisted colonialism more aggressively there were various reasons why they had chosen to enter the colonial economy. This was mostly because through the spread of European farmers the Khoikhoi were deprived of their pastoral land later came into conflict with these farmers over their livestock. The prevalence of diseases of European origin also had a major contribution in the decline of the population. These early developments laid the foundations for the erosion of Khoikhoi identity (Elphick & Giliomee, 1979:20).

Missionaries also had a fundamental impact on the evolution of the Bethelsdorp area which was founded in 1797 and renamed Bethelsdorp after Hottentots were granted formal consent to occupy this piece of land lying along the little Zwartkops river under the 'Missionary supervision' of the London Missionary society and its leaders such as Dr. Van Der Kemp. Whilst some of the leaders of the Hottentots rejected the allocation of land rights under missionary supervision, it was only until the emergence of David Stuurman as leader of the clan that a piece of land along Gamtoos River was allocated during February 1804 (*Ancestry 24*, 2009).

It is thus critical to highlight that since the enforcement of the Group Areas Act of 1950, the north of PE evolved into a predominantly Coloured area which today is known as the Northern Areas. However, the impact of Colonialism and Apartheid has had a largely negative impact on the culture, heritage and history; not only on the people of the area, but also to pockets of Coloured communities across the length and breadth of the nation. Interestingly, George and Hendricks (2003:1) highlight the historical unity of the Xhosa and the Khoikhoi when they jointly fought side-by-side against European colonists to restore their 'independence' in 1799. Both the Xhosa and Khoikhoi were later forced to enter the labour market as a source of cheap labour. This left the Khoikhoi and the Xhosa 'completely stripped of their land, crushed in spirit and completely destitute' (George and Hendricks 2003:2). While the Xhosa retained their language and culture to a large extent, the Khoikhoi were overall not able to. Their language and culture was appropriated by the Afrikaans culture in many ways and due to a variety of circumstances. Industrialisation and the demand for cheap labour was a major element of this re-culturalisation.

2.6   Industrialisation

Over the years, industrialisation provided the much needed jobs to most of the community with motor manufacturing giants such as the Ford Motor Company, General Motors and many other industries which depended on large numbers of Coloured labour. However, institutions such as Dower College, and various nursing colleges provided opportunities for teaching and nursing careers whilst some pursued their higher education ambitions through institutions such as the UWC which was accessible to non-whites at the time. Due to challenging socio-economic conditions and lower levels of education, the area has produced a huge pool of artisans, painters, mechanics, panel beaters, bricklayers, carpenters, and plumbers. It should however be noted that:

> 'Before the up-country gold and diamond booms, PE developed as one of the major commercial cities in SA, trading in wool, mohair and ostrich feathers. As a result, the harbour became a bustling port. People travelled to the city in search of trade and labour opportunities. Early PE was characterized by the settlement of European, Cape Malay and immigrant communities' (NMBM: 2013:1).

Another 'homegrown' economic player in the Northern Areas is the Northern Areas taxi industry. Its close association with gangs has made its own contribution to the conflict of the area. For many years, there has been a sense of lawlessness as the taxi industry became infiltrated by the 'sweepers' and some elements of the gang world becoming a law unto themselves. For instance, some taxi owners refused to comply with industry rules and regulations and as a result formed the sweeping association who became their own legal authority. They will blatantly overload a taxi, especially during peak hours when school-going youth become a highly lucrative market. These taxi bosses and drivers became the idols of the youth whom they attracted through expensive sound systems, loud music, state of the art taxi designs, and their 'bling-bling' or highly jewelled and expensive attire. This culture of flouting rules and regulations and their perceived opulence has often led to violent outbursts on the Northern Areas taxi routes between drivers and Gaadjies over territory of routes. The industry became highly contested for customers, quick cash, and the cream of the crop of young school going female customers who would often become regular customers and who are sexually and economically engaged with these

drivers. This has led to a general decline in moral standing and has eroded the communal fabric of the community at large.

2.7   The influx of foreign nationals into the Northern Areas

Over the last few decades there has been a major influx of foreign nationals into SA. This influx has at times led to protracted violence largely perpetuated by communities, as well as in some instances, foreign nationals themselves. Worby Hassim, and Kupe (2008:1) argues that since the first outburst of xenophobic violence 'in 2008 a scourge of 'rape, murder, and looting' of foreign nationals and their property had swiftly spread to the 'provinces of Kwazulu-Natal, the Eastern and Western Cape'.

The Korsten area has become a centre of informal economic activity for many. During the earlier years, the area was largely occupied by a combination of isiXhosa and Coloured and Indian vendors surrounded by the bussing sound of the taxi industry as a major player in the local economy. However, because of the major influx of Somalis amongst others, this area has become a 'capital' of sorts for foreign nationals in the EC. Many have left their conflict-ravaged homelands, and try to survive by way of informal trade. They are now highly organised and even vendors from the local community must now obtain permission from these structures to sell their goods in the area.

This development, which is not an EC phenomenon only, has led to violent outbursts of xenophobic attacks around the NMBM including the Northern Areas. For instance, a violent protest in the Booysenspark area during May 2013 led to the death of a Somalian national who was '…brutally hacked with pangas and stoned by protesters as his brothers watched helplessly' (Sobuwa, 2013:1). The protest which began as a community response to on-going gang violence turned violent and led to clashes between the protesters and foreign nationals in the area. In retaliating to this incident, foreign nationals organised themselves and Durban Road in Korsten was closed by Somalian women in protest against the violent killing of one of their own. A further response to these violent attacks was the forming of a group of armed foreign men with a purpose of protecting their businesses in the Booysens Park area (Sobuwa, 2013).

2.8   The role of sports, recreation, arts and culture

Sports, arts and culture have been part of SA's history and have laid some critical nation-building blocks even post democracy. According to Roberts (2011:6), 'non–racial sport called for a lifetime, if that is what it took before freedom arrived, of commitment to social change and the elimination of oppression'. She argues that what constituted the glue which bonded together generations of sports women and men towards achieving 'societal change in the interests of all South Africans' was their selfless commitment to achieve a better future. Appel (1984:227) in unpacking earlier sports activity in the Bethelsdorp area during the 19th and early 20th century, noted that sports was very poorly supported by the authorities at the time. However, various sports clubs were established by the people out of their own will to build a cohesive society. The earliest cricket club from 'Laer Kleinskool' was awarded a playground during August 1910. Over the years sport has played a major role in uniting the people of the Northern Areas. Sporting codes such as rugby, soccer, athletics and others have had a positive effect on the community. However, according to the Northern Areas Football Association (NAFA):

> 'The advent of the Group Areas Act had a severe impact on the EP Soccer Board (EPSB) during the late 60's and early 70's as communities were forced to move out of South End, Fairview and Salisbury Park to Gelvandale, Salt Lake and West End. Clubs like Swans, South End United, Melbourne, Trojans and Primrose all ceased to exist and the PE Central and District Football league became known as the Port Elizabeth Football Association (PEFA)…' (2013:1).

There has, however, been much sports development in the area although the many challenges in sports administration, insufficient playing fields, and resources remain a challenge. There are also various Sports Bodies such as the Schauder Korsten Sports and Recreation Forum, and various new initiatives such as the Community And School Sport And Recreation Development Initiative (CASSARDI) to develop sports in schools and the community at large. In Helenvale in particular, Soccer, Cricket, and Rugby remain the three most dominant sporting codes. It is known for instance that the Helenvale United Football Club has been active in the community for about 30 years.

It should also be highlighted that together with the vibrant sporting culture, the Arts and entertainment part of the Northern Areas has also made its mark. Over the years, live bands entertained many across various community halls and clubs. With

the evolution of the music industry, modern technology has overtaken what was largely the cream of the crop of live band entertainers with hip-hop, Rhythm and Blues, and popular musical genres. Music has thus remained part of the historical development of the community and has attracted the youth in great numbers. For these reasons, Paulson (2013:1) in highlighting the uniqueness and successes of the Northern Arts Festival which was established in 2006 and which brought together a diversity of musical entertainment genres, argues that the arts has made a major contribution to the reduction of crime in the area. He believes that:

> 'Since its inception the Northern Arts Festival has built a very cohesive society and nurtured our people's culture and in so doing mobilized a more caring society. No crime was reported over the duration of the festival thus far' (2013:1).

The Northern Areas has a rich but protracted political and cultural heritage. These circumstances have produced various political activists, musicians, and sports men and women of note. In the most recent times civil society organisations, school governing bodies, the religious fraternity and political formations are at the centre of molding the fabric which binds the social, political, and spiritual being of a community with deep scars of instability together.

However, as can be seen in the most recent 2014 political uprising which resulted in the extensive mobilization of more than 50 School Governing Bodies, learners, parents, and the community to address teacher shortages, there remains a burning desire to improve the standard of life for all its people.

CHAPTER THREE: STATE RESPONSES TO GANGSTERISM: SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

> 'We have heard the cries of many families around the country. Drug and substance abuse have serious implications for millions of South Africans because the consumption and abuse contributes to crime, gangsterism, domestic violence, family dysfunction and other social problems. In particular, youth have borne the brunt of abuse with the emergence of local drugs such as Nyaope, whoonga, tik, kubar and others. Every sector of society must work with government to fight substance and drug abuse and promote a safer future for our children'.
>
> (Zuma 2013:1)

3.1   Introduction

Gangsterism in the Helenvale community forms part of a greater challenge of the phenomenon on a national and even international scale. While it has not specifically attracted as much attention from national, provincial, and local government authorities, as in the case of Manenburg on the Cape Flats and Eldorado Park in Gauteng, this research could provide some critical insight into how to deal with current challenges in communities faced with this problem of gangsterism of which Helenvale is just one such example. At the time at which the research was conducted, drug abuse and gang violence was placed at the top of national and provincial governments' agendas, to such an extent that President Jacob Zuma accompanied by top government officials visited the Eldorado Park Community on the 14th of May (Mohatle 2013).

This important visit was in response to a touching letter written by an ordinary community member, Cordelia Baily, who wrote to the President in April 2013 appealing for his urgent intervention in the closing down of drug dens in the area. According to the Civilian Secretariat for Police, Eldorado Park's multi-agency approach in fighting drugs is succeeding. So far:

> '…1431 drug lords were arrested since the President's intervention. Of this total, 1098 are awaiting trial, 1095 received bail, 3 are still in custody and 289 have been convicted on criminal

charges. What is worrying though is that 63 of the arrestees were children, whose ages are between 14 and 17 years old' (2013:1).

Also in April 2013 'substance abuse and gangsterism were cited by the WC, Kwazulu Natal (KZN), and Free State as growing and serious crime trends'. At a meeting held between the Minister of Police and various MECs including the MEC (Member of Executive Council) for Human Settlements Safety and Liaison of the EC, it was noted that there must be improved investigation and prosecution if there were to be a greater impact on fighting the scourge of gangsterism, drugs, and substance abuse. This meeting between the Minister and provincial MECs is called the Ministers and Members of Executive Council Meeting (MINMEC) and is where critical information on the various crime and policing challenges facing all provincial spheres of government are shared on a regular basis. The meeting emphasized that at the JCPS level, work has been done towards the formulation of an 'Inter-Governmental Relations (IGR) Gang Strategy which will be complemented by a Drug Master plan'. Such intervention will clearly outline the responsibilities of various role players and would tap into the SAPS Forensic Services Laboratories services to enhance the success rate of prosecutions (Mnisi, 2013:1).

Similarly, the National Commissioner of Police, Riya Phiyega, attended a sitting of the Western Cape Provincial Legislature (WCPL) in August 2013 to seek consensus with the WC government on possible approaches and strategies to fight gangsterism (SAPA 2013). This was followed by an urgent Presidential directive to ensure decisive intervention in the gang crises across the Western and Eastern Cape Provinces. According to this directive, the Police Ministry and other departments have been instructed to employ a multi-sectorial approach in communities '…ravaged by violent crimes, drug abuse and gangsterism' (Sotyu, 2013:1). The President reiterated his call for decisive intervention when he pronounced in his 2014 State of the Nation address that: 'Together we must continue to fight drugs and substance abuse in our schools and communities' (Zuma, 2014:1). A heated debate on drugs and gangsterism also ensued during a National Council of Provinces (NCOP) debate on the 4 September 2014 with the aim of creating more consciousness amongst law makers at a national level.

Importantly, the Multi-Sectoral approach as envisioned in the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) of 1996 seeks to highlight '…that sustainable prevention

can only be achieved through a multi-faceted approach. Crime needs to be tackled in a comprehensive way, which means going beyond an exclusive focus on policing and the Justice system'. Moreover, the prioritisation of critical crime categories included:

> 'Crimes involving fire-arms which have significantly increased the level of violence associated with crime, thereby increasing physical and psychological costs of crime to society. As well as, organised crime, including the organised smuggling of illegal immigrants and narcotics, and gangsterism, serve to generate higher levels of criminality and violence' (NCPS 1996:4).

However, Rauch (2001:3) firmly pointed out that the people's hunger for decisive intervention into crime at the dawn of democracy after the drafting of the NCPS in 1996 and the inclusion of a chapter with short and longer term plans on crime prevention exposed various challenges in the coordination among government agencies. Conflict between the SAPS 1996 Police Plan and the 1996 PCPS posed a further challenge at the time. Importantly, the introduction of a new paradigm in crime fighting strategies also underlined that the government could not be solely responsible for crime. It is imperative that all tiers of government work intimately with each other as well as with civil society in order to overcome crime. Standing (2005:4) when referring to state responses in the context of the WC argues that '…talk of 'zero tolerance' on gangs may not correspond to what is actually being pursued by police in so-called gang infested areas. Likewise talk of a drug rehabilitation strategy has endured, but evidence of such programmes with the direct link to gang members is hard to find'. That is, without the comprehensive action of the plans the rhetoric will remain that and very little will change at the grassroots level.

Contemporaneous state responses to the phenomenon of gangsterism in SA have to large extent taken the form of the deployment of Tactical Response Teams (TRT) and visible policing in response to waves of destructive gang conflict. Moreover, Van Wyk and Theron (2005: 51-60) argue that:

> 'Responses to gangsterism in the WC Province of SA have been predominantly reactive and not based on any thorough research. Strategies for gang prevention, intervention, and suppression involve programs directed at the youth. However, none of the programs involved the youth in its implementation and design'.

This approach could be argued to be common in the EC and particularly in the affected areas where no proper research has been done to substantiate current interventions, for instance in the Helenvale area. The argument that the TRT or visible policing would yield any sustainable results without the involvement of key community stakeholders is flawed and will be engaged further.

Importantly, during the 2012/13 financial year, the DoSL of the EC rolled out seven public education crime awareness programmes including one in response to the Mob-Justice and Gangsterism activities in the area (Safety Policy Speech, 2013:5). The Deputy Minister of Police, Honourable Maggie Sotyu, visited the Gelvandale area on 18th April 2012 and again on 8th October 2013 to listen to the frustrations of the community. Both these visits were preceded by the Portfolio Committee on Safety and Security of the Eastern Cape Provincial Legislature (ECPL) which made various commitments to address the problems of the area. However, first responses to gangsterism were only linked to improved police responses to the problem and did not seek to address its root causes which are deeply entrenched in the social fabric of a struggling community. The subsequent meeting by the Deputy Minister therefore importantly provided for a new dimension and approach to gangsterism and is outlined as a presidential directive seeking to provide an intersectoral interventionist approach to the problem in the area as directed by the presidency. Such an intervention provided for the first time some national recognition of the extent of the gangsterism problem in the NMBM.

However, in some instances the intersectoral and IGR sessions concentrate on other important government business with very little attention to safety and security matters. In the EC this is exacerbated by the number of dysfunctional CSFs throughout the province and the lack of proper integration and interface on safety related programmes in the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) of various municipalities. In 2012, the Portfolio Committee on Safety and Security in the ECPL explicitly noted that: 'the DoSL is experiencing challenges with regard to the implementation of CSFs due to the lack of cooperation by municipalities in establishing these structures' (2012:5).

According to the Policy Speech (2013:12) of the MEC of Human Settlements Safety and Liaison in the EC, the national CSF Policy was only adopted by the JCPS

Cluster during the 2012/13 financial year and the DoSL has made numerous presentations to the MINMEC to highlight the importance of this integrated approach to safety-related matters at a provincial level. An agreement was therefore reached to roll-out the launching of sustainable CSFs across the local government sphere. These engagements also resulted in the establishment of 24 CSFs in Amathole, Alfred Nzo, Chris Hani, Joe Gqabi and OR Tambo Districts'. It is however important to emphasize that at a local level, the NMBM did not have a functional CSF where metro related safety matters such as gangsterism and many other crime related matters could be considered towards an integrated safety and security plan which could then be implemented and monitored for some time. However, reporting on the progress made with the establishment of CSFs, the MEC of Safety and Liaison in her 2014/15 Policy Speech confirms the establishment of six CSFs within local and district municipalities including the NMBM' (Policy Speech 2014:18).

It is also clear that the EC Provincial Government in its five year PCPS since 2005 does not have a focused reference to an Anti-Gang Strategy or the Drug Master Plan. It has identified drug related crimes without expanding on the inextricable link between gangsterism and drugs and other related crimes. This lack of focus may lead to under reporting on the matter thereby jeopardising its inclusion into further PCPS. Whilst this is a rather disturbing observation, Shaw (1998:4) argues that there is much more to be done by local government authorities. These include the strengthening of internal security mechanisms to ensure 'efficient operation and delivery of services without internal loss' but surely greater involvement in 'crime prevention at a local level'. This means that crime prevention should be an integral part of the local government planning process and be placed on the agendas of the planning, transport, and parks and recreation departments at minimal costs.

Another angle to the lack of support for communities experiencing gangsterism is that communities feel that they are side-lined and not a priority of the ANC government. The evidence clearly shows that gangsterism is a scourge that dominates poverty stricken areas and prevails in predominantly Coloured areas. It is in this light that people feel as though they are political pawns in the greater territorial wars between the ANC and the Democratic Alliance (DA). It could be argued that areas like the Cape Flats and the Northern Areas of PE are now regarded as the strongholds of SA's official opposition party, the DA and therefore not a political

priority of the ANC. For instance, whilst the WC government has consistently called for the deployment of the South African Defence Force (SANDF) in areas like Manenburg on the Cape Flats to deal with gang violence, national government has consistently disagreed with such an approach. It is however worth highlighting that government's approach during the second democratic period '…saw no separation between police and army roadblocks in Hillbrow, and the information technology complex' (Rauch 2001:12). Raging gang conflicts on the Cape Flats which claimed the lives of 37 people in May 2003 also resulted in the deployment of the military to the area (Standing 2005:3).

Although this debate emerges from time-time, it was only until after a meeting between the Premier of the WC, Helen Zille and the Minister of Police Nathi Mthethwa during late August 2013, that they agreed on a multi-disciplinary approach to deal with gang violence in Manenburg ('*Mthethwa, Zille'* 2013).

The political rift between the WC Government and the National Police Ministry eventually resulted in the promulgation of the WC Community Safety Bill to enhance provincial civilian oversight powers over the SAPS through the establishment of the WC Provincial Police Ombudsman (2012:2), as well as the establishment of a Commission of enquiry into allegations of Police inefficiency and the breakdown in relations between the community and the police in Khayaletsha (WC Proclamation 2012). This was challenged by the Minister of Police in the WC High Court and subsequently in the Constitutional Court which ruled in favour of the Province. This contestation of political power highlights the deeply rooted protracted conflict between national and provincial government.

It is however worth noting that the tension revolving around the oversight roles and functions of Provincial Authorities over the SAPS is similarly prevalent in other provinces. As an example, in her Policy Speech, the MEC for Human Settlements Safety and Liaison in the EC stated that:

> '…it is important to note that the new Civilian Secretariat of Police Act 2 of 2011 limits the powers of MECs and portfolio committees responsible for community safety to only an oversight role which has a negative impact on immediate responses to community outcries on safety matters. It is crucial that this act be reviewed as its unintended consequences impact directly on civilians' (2012: 2).

An important observation is therefore that these limitations in oversight over the SAPS by MECs and Premiers has so far not allowed them to effect decisive interventions into various policing matters and that such oversight powers have largely been interpreted as a monitoring mechanism for police conduct in SA which is unable to mainstream key transformation imperatives to enhance policing. Rauch (1998:5) argues that these concerns were brought to the fore by provincial executives as early as after the adoption of SA's democratic constitution. The lack of possible sanctions or consequences applied by MECs for the SAPS promoted '… a view that notions of accountability at provincial level were meaningless because MECs did not really have the power to sanction, direct or reward the police service as these roles were largely held at national level, either by the national minister or the national commissioner'. However, it is important to note Kruger's (2013:1) argument in relation to this deep rooted anomaly that:

> 'even though a provincial executive does not need to consult the Minister of Police, nor needs the Minister's permission in deciding whether or not to investigate or create a commission of inquiry into the performance of the SAPS in that province, the principle of co-operative government requires pragmatic considerations rather than ideological or party political turf wars. It requires the national and provincial executives to co-operate with each other in order to secure the well-being of the people of SA instead of seeking to gain political high ground whilst ordinary South Africans - particularly those most vulnerable - must pay with their lives for such political gain'.

It is thus noteworthy that the outcomes of the constitutional court ruling on specific provincial powers between the national minister of police and the premier of the WC sets a very important legal precedent in terms of the provincial executive powers over the SAPS and raises a critical debate as to whether other provinces would utilize such powers in pursuit of genuine transformation of the SAPS without the politicization of the matter. According to the Green Paper on Policing (2013), provincial government plays an important role in terms of the monitoring of police conduct, actual service delivery and the promotion of good relations with communities. Thus MECs and the Minister of Police remain central in ensuring democratic control over the SAPS through clear directives in this regard. This role importantly coincides with the powers and platform created through the MINMEC forum which is constituted by the Minister, MECs and Head of Departments (HODs)

from various provinces, to make inputs into policy matters related to policing (2013:62).

Of specific importance, and as the political contest between province and national government becomes even more complex, is the need for gangsterism in the Helenvale and surrounding areas to feature prominently in the PCPS. The fact that it has not over the last 20 years of democracy poses a critical question as to whether such a strategy has properly taken into account the peace and stability threats associated with the phenomenon. Therefore Kruger's argument about national and provincial cooperation to address safety and security matters is critical but requires a more in-depth investigation into the work of the EC-JCPS Cluster which in terms of the current PCPS is located in the DoSL. This important provincial body has a severe lack of funds and requires more focused attention from the Premier as the head of the province. Such a recommendation is substantiated by the Portfolio Committee on Safety and Security's report which noted that 'the EC-JCPS is not effective in bringing together criminal justice partners to strengthen the integrated approach in crime fighting within the Province' (2012:5).

The Portfolio Committee further found that while 'the department [had] set aside a budget for the coordination of the EC-JCPS' 'clustering resides in the Premiers Office' (2013:2). This means that these portfolio committee findings and the conflict with the position of the PCPS on the coordination of the JCPS Cluster pose a critical challenge to the trajectory of the integrated service delivery approach to safety related matters in the EC Province. Their ability to properly coordinate the PCPS jointly with national departments suffered a further blow when the JCPS Cluster 'ceased to exist' (ECPL, 2014:4). At the time of the study, the Portfolio Committee on Safety and Security in the EC recommended that the Cluster be reconstituted.

Furthermore, with the introduction of civilian secretariats of police in SA came the complex and conflict ridden relations with the SAPS due to its core task of monitoring policing and policy as well as its advisory capacity to the Minister of Police. In this regard, Du Plessis and Louw (2005:441) maintain that while the body had substantial status when it was first established after 1994 the emergence of a new administration in 1999 and the introduction of the first civilian commissioner of Police

resulted in the downgrading of the position of Secretary of Police to that of Deputy Director General which was lower than the level of the National Commissioner. These were the early indications that the body entrusted with a monitoring role over the SAPS had been reduced to an advisory body for the Minister of Police.

Importantly, Rauch (2002:1) also argues that whilst the SAn government's approach to crime prevention is largely defined in the NCPS and the 1998 White Paper on Safety and Security, the operational plans of SAPS and availability of funds from treasury has a major impact on the development of government crime prevention strategies. It is, however, important to highlight that Legislature analysis of the EC DoSDev budget vote highlighted that the department had underspent by R16.9 million on its allocated budget for crime prevention of R181,5 million in the 2012/13 financial year (ECPL, 2013:16). The department also decreased its budget allocation for the Teenagers Against Drugs (TADA) programme during the same period (ECPL, 2013:15). This, compared to a total budget allocation for the DoSL of only R69 979 million of which R29,494 million was budgeted towards Crime Prevention and Community Police Relations during the 2013/14 (Safety Policy Speech 2013), poses a serious challenge in terms of the capacity of the Provincial Executive Authority responsible for safety and security to drive crime prevention and civilian oversight programmes successfully. These programmes are driven outside the allocated budget and so also contribute to the blurred line in authority over the SAPS in the province due to dual allocation for crime prevention programmes across the two departments. It should further be noted that the DoSDev has been found to have severe challenges with regard to target setting, as well as the funding of Victim Empowerment Sub-Programmes (ECPL, 2013:2). According to the Portfolio Committee on Social Development 'The department underspent its final appropriation on transfers by R5,7 million due to late submissions of claims by NGOs as well as non-payment of second tranche payments' (ECPL 2013:3).

Importantly, the capacity of the state to deliver effective crime prevention programmes was further challenged when during the last term of government, the DoSL formed part of the Ministry of Human Settlements, Safety and Liaison. Therefore, the alignment of the Human Settlements Department with its allocated budget of R 2, 526, 803 000 billion (Human Settlements Policy Speech, 2013) and

daunting housing challenges with the DoSL has not delivered desirable service delivery outputs. This poses a huge question as to whether thorough research was conducted on the structuring of ministries in the province or alternatively whether safety and security would be prioritised by the executive council of the province. However, even as this was corrected during the new political term in 2014 when the DoSL was paired with the DoT, it remains to be seen whether the clustering of departments as in this case has a fundamental impact on actual service delivery and as to whether the Executive Authority will provide sufficient time and energy to address the challenges faced by the DoSL and the JCPS Cluster.

These challenges are important to highlight and emphasize the need to improve the coordination of the JCPS Cluster as well as to critically reflect on general budget allocation trends to relevant state institutions tasked with the mandate to reduce crime in the province. Significantly, in terms of the Civilian Secretariat for Police Service Act Sec (1) (b) (2011:7), the Civilian Secretariat which should be established within 18 months of the commencement of the Act now also has the powers to oversee the budget of the SAPS. It must however be noted that the process of establishing Provincial Secretariats of Police as outlined in section 17 of the Act, presents further protracted transformational challenges for both the DoSL, as well as the SAPS which must embrace these and other changes in their oversight role going forward (2011:11). This observation is substantiated by a recent finding of the Portfolio Committee on Safety and Security in the EC that:

> 'There is some level of non-cooperation by the EC-SAPS with the Department with regard to making available information to enable the Department to perform its oversight function. The Department's recommendations on its monitoring and evaluation reports are not, in most instances, implemented by the EC-SAPS. The Department has not received all the reports as expected from Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID) to enable it to monitor the implementation of IPID recommendations by the EC-SAPS' (2013:3).

This worrying situation continued during the 2013/14 financial year when the Committee found that 'the departmental oversight recommendations are not implemented by the Provincial SAPS management (ECPL 2014:2). Therefore this challenge within the current provincial and local spheres of government poses a

serious threat to the stability and transformation of critical state machinery to overcome safety related challenges, such as in the EC Province.

3.2   Responses to gangsterism in Helenvale

There is a long history of gangsterism in the Northern Areas. According to a study conducted by the Helenvale Urban Renewal Programme (HURP) the first gang was formed and named the 'Panga Boys' in the Northern Areas in 1968. Subsequent forced relocation to areas such as Helenvale from Fairview, Malaski Village, South End, Korsten, and Schauderville six years after the proclamation of the first municipal housing scheme, there were already five established gangs operating in Helenvale. They were the Mongrels, Mafias, Red Devils, Biscuit Boys, and the Fire Boys. Since then, gangsterism has grown from generation-to-generation contributing substantially to the stigmatisation of the Helenvale community as one of the most notorious areas in the NMBM, well known for its gangs and high levels of crime, poverty, unemployment and low levels of education. By 2010, gangs such as the Paparazzis, Boomshakas, Blinkpen Boemelaars, Untouchables, Von Booties and the Westsiders dominated the area continuing a consistent trend of gang life (2011:3).

The area of Helenvale has been earmarked for urgent upgrading through the adoption of a multi-faceted upgrading project to create jobs and enhance community participation (NMBM IDP 2013:123). According to the Nelson Mandela Bay Development Agency (MBDA) R78 million has been invested into the community as part of the HURP over the last five years by provincial and national government (2013:4). Such investment focused largely on physical and infrastructural development, skills development, as well as job creation opportunities. Importantly, the German Development Bank's (GDB) commitment of R50 million towards Safety and Peace through Urban Upgrading programme (SPUU) to be implemented by the MBDA with specific focus on investment so as to provide a more secure and safer Helenvale community. This programme has identified the community as a key driver towards successful implementation and outcomes. The establishment of the MBDA and its various partnerships and involvement in key development projects in the Helenvale community is therefore of critical importance to this study. The organisation has successfully invested in the growth of developmental initiatives such as the SA Business Coalition against HIV/AIDS (SABCOHA) in which

approximately 120 people were trained in Business Skills, Life Skills and issues relating to the human immunodeficiency virus infection and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (HIV/AIDS). It has also provided assistance in the form of the Eyethu Peace Workers consisting of 30 women and some men who provide street patrolling during the week and at night over weekends, voluntarily. The roll-out of a street soccer program in collaboration with SAPS over March and April 2013 with the aim of engaging young men involved in gangs has also yielded positive results, such as a substantial decrease in stone throwing incidents and violence amongst these gangs.

The facilitation of leadership workshops targeting the leaders of these soccer teams on respect, self-esteem, and their prospective positive roles in the community, should also be acknowledged. Through other critical training programmes such as the MBDA partnership with Nelson Mandela Bay (NMB) Small Enterprise Development Agency (SEDA) Information and Communications Technology (ICT) Incubator, a Master Class with '…an international focus has been rolled out over three months that trained youth with matric in functional skills in ICT i.e. computer hardware and software, and also business and life skills. The 15 most deserving learners have been placed at various workplaces for a duration of 6 months until January 2014 to gain practical experience in the field of their choice'. Twenty youths from the community have also been placed in various workplaces through the Siya Sebenza or Work for a Living training initiative which targeted learners between Grade 10 and Matric focusing on job seeking skills, life skills, entrepreneurial skills, and computing skills. The empowerment of a fully community owned entity, the Helenvale Cleaning Cooperative (HEMCO) to clean out all illegal dumping sites has so far led to the employment of 150 people. Other programmes by the MBDA such as the back to school programme, the commissioning of a study; the 'Socio-demographic and Unemployment study' to establish an accurate database of the unemployed in the area, the intervention of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) to design and construct a park in the Barcelona area, and the roll-out of an important Child and Youth Development training programme at the NMMU to allow the institution to better engage with issues relating to children and youth at risk is also a very important and relevant development which seeks to address the challenges of the area.

In addition, the Department of Human Settlements (DHS) has set a target to acquire 26 hectares of land during the 2014/15 financial year which would benefit the Helenvale community directly with low-cost housing. As a result, the de-densification of Helenvale would be prioritised through the utilization of the Parsonsvlei area which has been earmarked to address overcrowding in the area (DSH Policy Speech 2014:22).

3.3 Non-Governmental Organisations and Gang Interventions Strategies

There has been a significant growth in specialist gang intervention practices in other parts of the world over the last 20 years. With much work done to highlight certain achievements and challenges in gang mediation, both public and private sectors have begun to recognize youth intervention as a strategy to overcome conflicts which potentially turn violent and result in fatalities when left unattended. These interventions require specific foci and tools that address school environments, as well as the domestic areas. It has also been established that the development of material appropriate to gang mediation and the training of specialists has had a range of positive spin-offs. An example of one such negotiation is 'The Understanding' in Los Angeles in the United States of America (USA). This truce has brought about a significant decline in gang violence over the last ten years (Cavitt, Garb, Godinez, Martinez, and Valdez 2013:2).

Importantly, Cavitt et al (2013:8), further attests that while general rules of mediation would apply to any negotiation situation, when brokering deals with groups of people, especially where there are gang dynamics, 'there are some distinctive aspects' that one needs to take into consideration as they 'require special attention and approaches'. Specific attention needs to be given to the group decision-making process in terms of gang violence. As such, non-profit agencies since the 1980's have acknowledged the need for close interaction with street gangs in order to be able to intervene in possible conflicts. There are five categories of mediation in the youth context, with specific attention being given to individual mediation between peers, youth, and adults as well as youth and authorities. The last two categories focus on group mediation involving gangs in conflict with different neighbourhoods, authorities, and law enforcement. An important process of mediation is often entered into between gangs and the police to prevent or reduce gang violence (2013:8).

Drawing from this and other experiences, different factors must be taken into account when considering violence within the SAn context. In particular, socio-economic, political, and ethnic factors are to be reflected in the approaches by civil society and the security forces in their attempts to address various forms of violence in respective townships around the country. It should also be recalled that 'the National Peace Accord represented a common vision of reducing of violence through creating a partnership between the role players and the communities involved' (Gastrow, 2010:40). However, attempts under the Apartheid Government, for the police force and military to mobilize communities towards holistic solutions for violence were faced with high levels of antagonism. The first attempts of government to enter into collaboration with civil society started in September 1991 in the signing of the National Peace Accord in the context of 'an holistic approach including socio-economic upliftment' (Gastrow, 2010:40). Simpson (2000:1) argues that special attention must be granted to the nature of changing conflict and violence in the post-apartheid era. Whilst there is substantial focus on the transformation of key state institutions and governance especially in the Security Cluster, it is also important to emphasize that the unleashing of state machinery and the prioritization of key governance interventions cannot on their own bring about substantial turn around or reduction of historic violence in society. It must therefore be argued that transformation at the level of the state would not reach its desired potential without the strengthening of civil society organs (Simpson, 2000:12). This argument is further strengthened by the White Paper on Policing which states that:

> 'Reducing crime however, entails more than policing, an effective system of criminal justice and appropriate systems of oversight'. Also in recognition that '…broader socio-economic factors such as rapid urbanisation, high levels of unemployment and inequality between communities all influence safety and security', and requires that crime prevention strategies encapsulate complementary social and economic policies' (1998:10).

Local Municipalities are also strategically located to interface with various agencies in improving the quality of life and safety of citizens. It is for these reasons that in most urban settings, these cities ensure the expression of safety and security matters as part of their IDPs (Palmary & Mout, 2002:8). It should further be

acknowledged that the Apartheid regime has left an indelible mark on the majority of black South Africans. Effects include family dysfunction, poor-quality education, and lack of safety. Forty three percent of the youth could also be defined as 'at risk of engaging in anti-social behaviour' (Palmary & Mout, 2002:4). It is argued that the bulk of crime prevention expertise is shared between the SAPS and the NGO sector which is a complimentary factor for the local governmental sphere. An effective inter-governmental approach between Departments of Justice and Constitutional Development (DoJ&CD), DoSDev, and Department of Education (DoE) should therefore be explored for purposes of successful intervention. This process should yield sustainable and adequate funding and high level support for NGOs in the sector in drawing key lessons from international experience which highlight successes with broad community participation models (Palmary & Mout 2002:9).

The Northern Areas has seen a substantial growth in NGOs over the last two decades with various specific areas of specialization and intervention. Though the research highlights some contributions aimed at reducing gangsterism, it is impossible to cover the work of all these organisations. It must however be mentioned that very little has been done to acknowledge the work done in the rehabilitation of prison gangs. It could be argued that additional government investment in the rehabilitation of prison gangs would have far reaching effects regarding gang growth outside prison walls. Through attracting high ranking prison gangs to the Basic Management Disc Jockey Skills Programme some interventions have been successfully implemented as a voluntary intervention by the I Management team at the St. Albans Prison (Tucker: 2014).

3.4   The role of Community Policing Forums

According to Pelser (1999:3) Community Policing is a strategy to ensure democratization and higher levels of accountability between the grassroots level of society and the police station. It was created as far back as 1993 through the Interim Constitution Act No 22 of 1993 Sections 221(1) and (2) (South Africa, 1993). However, as could have reasonably been expected, the ushering in of the Community Policing Forum (CPF) into the Policing arena gave birth to an interesting relationship which has not been without its own challenges. Pelser (1993:1) in introducing the challenges of community policing in SA makes reference to an

important quotation of government's commitment to strengthen CPF's. He states that:

> '…on 25 June 1999, SA's new President committed the government to take measures to strengthen the Community Police Fora to improve their capacity to mobilise the people against crime and to improve co-operation between the people and law enforcement agencies'.

He further argues that such commitment from government to enhance CPFs at the time 'is not surprising – these structures exist (sometimes in name only) at almost every police station in the country and are the most visible, if not the only expression of SA's community policing policy' (Pelser, 1999:1). Of much importance is the observation that: '…community policing is an attempt at surveillance and control of communities by the police, under the guise of police offering assistance' (Gordon in Oppler, 1999:2). Roelofse (2007:77) in articulating the ontology of community policing argues that 'the model for policing should be broader than CPUs, CPFs and neighbourhood watches. It ought to be pragmatic, inclusive and objective and it must be developed so that the ownership by the community and police will emerge. If not, it will be doomed to fail'. This lack of ownership by the community could be a reason why such structures are dormant and not effective.

Newham (2005) however makes the following critical observations on the state of community policing in SA. He writes that:

> 'Research has revealed that the interpretation and CPF policy has been very inconsistent. In some cases CPFs have failed to get off the ground, particularly in poorer communities where resources are limited. In other areas, CPFs have been marked by very poor community police relationships, with the police seeing the forums as nothing more than a complaints forum against them' (2005:173).

It is in this context that 40 street and village committees have been established throughout the EC province (Safety Policy Speech 2013:12). It is also important to highlight that the introduction of organs of people's power and the vision of the CPF as a custodian of volunteerism during the first decade of democracy has become much troubled with the politics of the CPF and its relations with the SAPS in the current dispensation. These issues revolve around the advocacy for some form of remuneration for its members and the day-to-day struggles of the CPF to compete

with a highly rank-conscious policing system which is unfriendly to any vigorous oversight or accountability processes. It is for these reasons that it is possible that the CPF in the EC province whilst acknowledged and supported by the DoSL under its crime prevention programmes is faced with huge challenges in carrying out its tasks. This research would therefore also provide a much deeper understanding about the various challenges facing the CPF, especially in the troubled community of Helenvale. The CPF, side-by-side with civil society and the religious community must ensure community ownership in crime prevention initiatives as well as the gathering of critical intelligence information.

3.5 The challenges facing the South African Policing Service

Roelofse (2007) argues that the historical 'basic need' of policing is derived from an important observation that 'societies need order'. It is further stated that:

> 'Only a police service which keeps up with social dynamics and change will be able to meet the ever increasing demands for social order and stability. The police form an integral part of the larger society. It is a system operating within a larger system. It cannot afford to isolate itself for any reason whatsoever' (2007:8).

Newham (2005) in advocating for the strengthening of internal policing systems and officer control maintains that even though there have been major achievements in the SAPS since the first decade of SA's democracy:

> '... a glaring fault line in the transformation process has been the high levels of police abuse of power and misconduct. This is manifest particularly as a challenge of widespread police corruption and ill-discipline which has hindered the legitimacy of the police organisation in the eyes of a substantial proportion of the South African Public' (Newham 2005: 160).

These fault lines which cut across various organisational and capacity related matters, have engulfed the SAPS management trajectory into a protracted, complex conflict-ridden institution for almost two decades. At the very highest hierarchy of the SAPS remains the major challenge of managerial stability and capacity, whilst at an operational level, the ability to tactfully execute public order policing and the gathering of crime intelligence as one of its basic and most primary functions has been questioned through incidents such as the Marikana massacre.

Marks (2008) highlights some of the major transformational challenges in the Durban Public Order Policing Unit (POPs) which relates to deep gender and racial discrepancies. Through articulating the results of a research survey in 1999, Marks (2008:648) argues that a substantial proportion of male participants showed resistance to the inclusion of women in the POPs Unit at the time of the research. Only 18, 9% of men could identify with the need to include women as part of the Unit. The study found that 'Men see it as disrespectful to take an order from a woman'. This study is of specific significance in light of the current challenges in the SAPS which is led by a female National Commissioner and various female Provincial Commissioners. Furthermore, to a large extent as found by the study, some female members who managed to join the Unit were never properly exposed or trained and some were recruited from the 'leave office'[1] (Marks, 2008:643-658).

Similarly, Steyn (2008:412) has argued that whilst the constitution 'implicitly prescribes in section 22 community policing as the style of policing to be adopted by the SAPS to improve police-community relations, and generally enhance service delivery to all its citizens' there has been a range of challenges in terms of advancing 'gender equity' within the SAPS. It is strongly argued by Miller (in Steyn, ibid) that the recruitment of women to the ranks of the SAPS poses a serious challenge to the more 'masculine qualities of police culture'. The study found 'significant evidence that the SAPS is recruiting newcomers that have attitudes that conform to a police culture of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism'. These attitudes are then strengthened throughout the basic training period (Steyn, 2008:412).

Significantly, Omar (2009:7) argues that out of all the challenges facing the SAPS, the 'shortage of strong leadership, particularly at the top echelons' is a major concern. It is also argued that internal checks and balances such as the National Evaluation Service (NES) and the National Inspectorate (NI) have failed to conduct regular evaluations and inspections. This and the huge resistance to civilian oversight regulations and processes have created a police culture which is intolerant to a transformational agenda. The high levels of instability at the highest level of

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[1] The reference to staff from the 'Leave Office' in the context of the SAPS refers to staff members who have been recruited in terms of the Public Services Act and not South African Police Service Act. These staff members provide administrative support services to the SAPS and do not undergo formal policing training.

organisation and the instability of crime intelligence units at its most senior levels does not inspire enough confidence in the SAPS at lower levels as well as within the South African public. In providing further context to the challenges faced by the SAPS in the current dispensation, Rauch (2005:208) argues that 'the TRC failed to impact on the process of police reform in SA; and that a key symbolic moment in the transformation of policing was lost'.

It is therefore critical to highlight that in light of this context and what transpired during the Marikana massacre, that the SAPS and how it responds to day-to-day policing matters is trapped in a deep-rooted organisational conflict which manifests itself through the actions of its members. The high level of undisclosed discrimination and victimization cases within its ranks reveal the need for earnest introspection, healing, and a transformation process across the organisation.

CHAPTER FOUR: RELATED VIEWS IN LITERATURE

'The study of conflict, its resolution and provention, has two main concerns. The first is the explanation of conflict and violence within societies and the world society. It is only on the basis of an adequate explanation of the problem that we can evolve a constructive approach to solving it. The second concern is, given an explanation of the problem of conflict, to find the nature of a constructive approach to it…'.

(Burton, 1990:1)

4.1   Introduction

South Africa's protracted history of violence pre and post 1994 is an important reference point for the purpose of this study. In the previous chapters an outline of the situation, stakeholders and a comprehensive snap-shot of the issue of gangsterism in the Northern Areas of PE has been introduced. This problem has also been delineated in terms of the Helenvale and surrounding areas in particular. Moreover, a critical reflection of state responses and the historical and contemporary pockets of conflict within the Northern Areas community of PE has been provided. This chapter now provides a theoretical overview which seeks to achieve a deeper understanding of the identified problem with the focus on basic human needs and key conflict transformation and management techniques. The chapter thus explores the human needs aspect of leading theorists, such as Burton and others in terms of conflict management and the use of critical negotiation and mediation theory in further engaging with the phenomenon.

As part of this process, placing the gang problem within the social conflict paradigm becomes a priority. Thereafter the study aims to 'find the nature of a constructive approach to it…' (Burton, 1990:1). It is within this context that this chapter seeks to achieve a deeper understanding of the human needs of those who are involved in gangs through drawing on the work of key conflict theorists to explain this complex phenomenon.

4.2 Conflict defined

Bradshaw in articulating his understanding of conflict writes that:

> 'Human conflict is truly a ubiquitous social phenomenon. It is experienced by all of us much of the time. It is the inevitable result of the living in close proximity of vast numbers of intelligent, complex beings with ambitions and goals that are not always going to be compatible in the context of a world of finite resources…' (2008:15).

Bradshaw's (2008) definition is of particular relevance to a diverse, unequal, and complex South African society and the highly competitive and notorious nature of gangsterism which cuts across the nation. It could therefore be argued that the ambitions of gangs are in direct conflict with the norms and values of the South African society.

Himes in his own understanding of social conflict noted that:

> 'Social conflict refers to the purposeful struggles between collective actors who use social power to defeat or remove opponents and to gain status, power resources and other scarce values. Typical illustrations include international wars, rebellions and revolutions, urban riots and gang wars, labor strikes, religious struggles, protests actions, and social movements' (1980:14).

Therefore, in outlining his views on social conflict, Himes (1980) believed that its 'purpose is the acquirement of scarce values which are perceived to be under the control of others'. Himes (1980:14) further argued that 'an essential element of social conflict is the belief of one collective actor that another is the obstacle to its having the values that it desires'.

Tillett on the other hand defines the concept more broadly when he states that:

> 'Conflict is an inevitable and pervasive aspect of human life. It arises within individuals and between individuals. It takes place within and between groups, organisations, communities, and nations. Conflict occurs at home and at work and in the neighbourhood' (1991:1).

Tillett further argues that conflicts relate to deep human needs and values (1991:4).

Whilst all these authors in their own interpretation of social conflict importantly draw the link between conflict and civilization as an inseparable phenomenon which is

inevitably linked to human life, Tillett also emphasizes the interconnectedness of conflict and basic human needs which is discussed further in the next section.

4.3   John Burton's Basic Human Needs theory

Coate and Rosati (1988:1) emphasize 'the importance of a human needs approach for explaining and understanding the complexities of the world today. In their understanding, '…individuals interacting with other individuals in groups, attempt to pursue and fulfill their needs. However if societies and social structures are unresponsive to human needs, they become increasingly unstable over time and suffer from a crisis of legitimacy'. In this context, Covey (2010) emphasizes that marginalization for instance is a textbook example of the exercise of such power by one powerful group in society over one another. Importantly, it is argued by Covey (2010) that marginalization must be strongly considered in the understanding of gangs as it is a major contributor to gang growth.

For instance, Turnley and Smrcka (in Covey, 2010) argue that:

> 'Gang members usually do not belong to mainstream society - rather to socially marginal economically disadvantaged groups. They further believe that: 'if the macro-community marginalizes a group of individuals or causes them to feel powerless, they will seek structures in which they can exercise power and create such structures if they do not exist' (2010:19).

Importantly, Popenoe, Cunningham and Boult (1998), maintains that whilst a number of social scientists draw on 'functionalism' which 'assumes, for example, that all members of a society share values relating to the desirability of certain success goals', conflict theorists hold a contrary perspective. It is maintained that society, which is made up of humans from all walks of life, has a diversity of values and goals. As a consequence, these theorists argue that those groups in society which are stronger have a different value system than those who wield less power. It is further argued that:

> 'Because the rules and laws of a society are largely shaped by the preferences of the powerful, the greater frequency of deviance among the powerless simply reflects the fact that the rules do not reflect their particular way of looking at reality. From this perspective, if poor people and women made the laws, then wealthy white males would be more

likely than anyone else to be judged criminal' (Popenoe et al 1998:144).

Coate and Rosati (1988) also wrote that:

'All individuals have needs that they strive to satisfy, either by using the system and working within the norms of mainstream society, or by socially deviant behavior in the form of withdrawal, acting on the fringes, (ie. Criminal behavior, or acting as a reformist or revolutionary (e.g., mass movement behavior). Given this condition, social systems must be responsive to individual needs – or be subject to instability and forced change (possibly through violence or conflict). Therefore, it is the interaction of individuals and groups, who are attempting to prevent deprivation and promote satisfaction of their needs in the social context…' (1988:ix).

It can therefore be emphasized that the philosophical complexities which surround phenomena, such as gang behaviour and violent crime, are to be unpacked within a much broader discussion of the human needs theory. Furthermore, the emphasis on how people view the world and which values, norms, and lifestyles they adopt are some of the matters that are delineated below and which later form part of the data collected so as to formulate a constructive way forward to manage the gang problem in the NMB area. One of the most critical observations is the realization of how much the fulfilment of basic human needs of people trapped in gangsterism remains deeply in conflict with the dominant world view, values, norms, legislative frameworks, and the mandates of law enforcement agencies throughout the world. It could be argued that just as the current dominant capitalist system has produced numerous conglomerates, multi-national organisations, values norms, and cultures, so gang networks have spread throughout the world creating their own sub-cultures and economic networks. In this regard, Burton (1997:10) believes that in order to attain certain levels of recognition and identity in society, individuals would employ various means to realize such achievements. These include '… leaving home and school, joining street gangs, and enacting roles of violence at community and ethnic levels that attract attention and provide some individual recognition. Membership of a street gang and carrying a gun, where one is available as in the US, is a practical solution to a lack of personal identity and social alienation' (Burton 1997:10). Such phenomena have also been noted in the formation and participation of separate

ethnic and religious organisations, trade unions, and political parties to give expression to their goals' (Burton 1997:10).

Burton (1997:10) further noted that society is conversely faced with the dilemma as to whether to continue to impose their dominant values and norms or to adjust to 'human requirements'. He further believes that the more these needs are oppressed, the more protests and violence will escalate. He further alludes to the 'incompatibilities which have emerged through the evolution of society and refers to it as the 'general condition' which is in conflict with human needs'. For Burton (1997:10) 'Specific problems, such as family violence, aggressive street gangs, ethnic conflict, secession movements and others, are merely symptoms of this underlying condition'.

4.4   Human needs versus societal needs

Burton's (1997) examination of relations between human needs and societal needs is very significant. He held a contrary view on whether 'individual needs should be subordinated to societal needs and argued that this requires a re-examination' (Burton, 1997: xx). Similarly while individuals might in general strive to exhibit socially acceptable behaviour this might be inconsistent with the individual's human needs (Burton in Coate and Rosati, 1988). These values and institutions punish those who subvert this status quo and attempt to set their own 'individual social values' over 'the legitimization of the roles of the elite and state authority'. Poignantly, Burton states that it is through 'the use of coercion in the promotion of social needs through the socialization process' that gangster behaviour is exhibited ultimately having a negative outcome on society. The transition from a political philosophy of 'social needs' to that of 'individual human needs' is highly necessary towards achieving social stability (Burton in Coate and Rosati 1988:34). Burton expressly believed that the submission of an individual's values to society's values 'have its own negative consequences such as individual abnormalities and conduct which poses a threat to the system itself'. He further argues that 'should the contrary view be upheld in that social values which are inconsistent with individual values be enforced, there would be consequences which are negative to both the individual and also the society' (1990:35). Gangs have developed their own values which deviate from that of society and suppression of their human needs is a contributor to deviance or rebellion against what they believe are the not important in their world.

4.5   The Biological perspective of Human Needs

Bradshaw (2008:45) believes that 'there is no general theory of social conflict, though there are a number of partial, and mid-range theories that help us to understand specific aspects of social conflict'. For Bradshaw 'for us to grasp the full complexity of conflict, it' would 'be necessary to examine ideas concerning conflict from across the spectrum of the behavioural sciences' (ibid). For instance, in engaging with the biological basis of needs in world society, Sandole (1990:60) believes that 'the biological dimension is not often subject to analyses also because of a 'skunk'-like resistance which seems to repel efforts to contemplate or explore the assumption that biology influences human behavior'. For Sandole (1990:60) '…human needs, although influenced by the environment, is rooted in biology'. It is further believed that 'the argument that biological factors shape human behavior has been around for hundreds of years' (Sandole 1990:65). Also drawing on the work of Waltz, Sandole continues the historic argument of Augustine and Niebuhr who claimed that violence was a result of 'a flawed human nature, to original sin'. Whilst 'Morgenthau believed that it was not an evil human nature as such' that caused an exhibition of violent behaviour but rather desire for power 'which was just as biologically determined'. For Spinoza again violence was due to one who allowed their 'passions to triumph over reason'. It is in this light that Sandole argued that:

> 'Sigmund Freud added a psychoanalytical dimension to political /theological pessimism by characterising human experience as a great drama which is played out in every one of us by a spontaneously aroused death instinct (Thanatos) whose proclivities toward destruction of the Self are kept in constant check by an aggression-externalizing life force (Eros)' (1990:66).

These views were contrary to those of some optimists associated with Political Idealism or Marxism who believed that 'human nature and therefore human behavior is changeable'. Sandole highlights that this is commonly known as the nature/nurture debate (Sandole, 1990:66).

In engaging with Bradshaw's argument that there is no general theory of social conflict, it is also critical to highlight Fromm's (1973) articulation of aggression through his comprehensive work on psychoanalytic theory. Fromm believed that 'one of the fundamental theoretical problems in psychoanalysis, the wave of destructiveness engulfing the world makes it also one of the most practically relevant

ones'. He however also realized the importance of drawing on 'a modicum of knowledge in other fields' (Fromm, 1973:13). His experience as a psychologist and experience in examining a variety of works on 'man's innate aggressiveness' led him to conclude that:

> 'All these works contains the same thesis: man's aggressive behaviour as manifested in war, crime, personal quarrels, and all kinds of destructive and sadistic behaviour is due to phylogenetically programmed, innate instinct which seeks for discharge and waits for the proper occasion to be expressed' (1973:22).

Fromm 'distinguishes man in two kinds of aggression'. The first he argues is shared with animals and:

> '…is a phylogenetically programmed impulse to attack (or flee) when vital interests are threatened. This defence, 'benign' aggression is in the service of the survival of the individual and the species, is biologically adaptive, and ceases when the threat has ceased to exist'. The second which is'…malignant aggression i.e. cruelty and destructiveness, is specific to the human species and virtually absent in most mammals; it is not phylogenetically programmed and not biologically adaptive; it has no purpose, and its satisfaction is lustful' (1973:24).

However, Fromm also states that '...man differs from the animal by the fact that he is a killer; he is the only primate that kills and tortures members of his own species without any reason, either biological or economic and who feels satisfaction in doing so'. Furthermore, in arguing against the 'instinctivistic thesis', he raises three fundamental matters. Firstly, that human groups differ so fundamentally in the respective degree of destructiveness that the facts could hardly be explained by the assumption that destructiveness and cruelty are innate; secondly, that various degrees of destructiveness can be correlated to other psychical factors and to differences in respective social structures and thirdly, the degree of destructiveness increases with increased development of civilization, rather than the opposite' (Fromm, 1973:25). It should however be noted that Sandole (1990:68) emphasizes that the nature/nurture debate represents a divergence of perspectives which argues against theorists such as Fromm and 'is very much still alive and raises the political ideologues of all stripes'. Therefore, these theoretical observations bring to the fore a number of important matters about human aggression, especially as it relates to the destructive waves of gang conflict which have evolved over decades in predominantly Coloured communities and which is closer to the research topic at

hand. The biological perspective of the human needs theory also places at the centre of the debate much more reason and clarity about violent behaviour in humans, as well as the genetically engineered specifics which could assist the research to grapple with the complex question of what leads to violent and deviant behaviour amongst certain pockets of the South African society. Such attempts to respond to complex questions would be further enhanced through engagement with the human needs theory.

4.6   Maslow's hierarchy of needs

Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs is a central point of the human needs debate. It is also noteworthy that Sandole 'accepts Maslow's position in which 'needs are the most important'. According to Sandole:

> 'Maslow's hierarchy of needs implies a vertical structure of ranked prepotencies –i.e., each level of needs, beginning with the physiological, is more prepotent than those which follow. Hence each level must be fairly satisfied before one can move to the next prepotent (higher) need' (1990:64).

Sites (1990:33) also states that Maslow's Human needs theory is widely applied to social science and that 'needs are the organisers of behaviour'. It is however also argued that for Maslow, 'the theory of human needs is the theory of the ends and ultimate values of an organism'. These needs include: 'physiological needs, safety needs, belongingness and love needs, esteem needs and a need for self-actualization' (1990:33).

Sandole (1990) further emphasizes 'Burton's hypothesis which links deprivation/violation of basic needs and violent conflict and also importantly highlights Burton's utilization of Sites's system' instead of Maslow's when pointing out that 'needs for response, security, recognition, stimulation, distributive justice, meaning, rationality' including the need to be seen as rational, 'and in control' as important (1990:64). Sandole further, in agreeing with Maslow, Sites, and Burton also makes reference to Davies' 'modification' of Maslow's hierarchy of needs lifting out 'four substantive needs'. These needs are, physical, social–affectional, self- esteem, and self-actualization. Davies's sense that 'violence becomes increasingly likely when any kind of basic needs which have come to be routinely gratified suddenly

becomes deprived' also found favour with Sandole's interpretation of the human needs theory (Sandole 1990:64).

4.7   The need for conflict transformation and management approaches

Anstey (1993) in his work on conflict and change argues that 'the twentieth century, whilst a period in which the world has made substantial technological advances, with growth in production and wealth creation, spread of democratic governance and the evolution of an international culture of human rights, has seen unprecedented human cruelty, exploitation and destruction, environmental degradation and economic dualism. He further argues that the twenty-first century would see much of the same but added that 'economic vitality, new social problems and political uncertainty' would be the order of the day. For Anstey, 'momentous change is now an on-going feature of human life' (1999:3). This is perhaps better emphasized when he argues that:

> 'Conflict is endemic in South African society. Between 1986 and 1990 an estimated 8 500 people lost their lives through political violence, over 3 500 of these during 1990 alone. By comparison 2 724 people died in the Northern Ireland conflict in the twenty years between 1969 and 1988' (Anstey 1991: 1).

Burton (1997) agrees that the world is in a political, social and environmental crisis. Even though modern governments are democratic in nature it seems as though 'political-social-economic systems are not being adjusted to human aspirations and needs, nor are the controls being introduced which are required by population increases and environmental deterioration'. It is also argued that 'efforts to address these challenges are punitive through the utilization of deterrent strategies with the aim to contain them'. Burton (1997:1) notes that 'little attention has been given to the sources of these behaviours, and to come up with the appropriate structures and policies'.

Bradshaw (2008) however, highlights the important context of SA's 'troubled history of deep-rooted social conflict referring to its diverse race, linguistic, and multi-cultural societal dynamics which is the footprint of a nation that has endured much pain' through its Colonial and Apartheid era's. He maintains that:

> 'SA continues to experience very high levels of violent conflict. According to some estimates, we are on par with the current situation in

Iraq. Our schools have become violent places, where, according to some, they are not suitable places for children to be. The state of affairs will seriously impede our striving for economic growth and productivity. The generation of the future is being undermined in the present' (2008:13).

He further postulates that 'an increase in the levels of fear amongst minorities and perception of a creeping form of genocide perpetuated through farm killings, and the growing intolerance of striking workers towards those who democratically decide to not participate in strike actions, seems to paint a picture that crime is generally out of control. These crimes which are of a violent nature play themselves out in a nation with the highest levels of inequality and a country engulfed in deep-rooted social conflict' (2008:13).

These observations by Burton (1997), Anstey (1993), and Bradshaw (2008) are indeed critical when considering the real and violent conflict in contemporary SAn society. SA has a very high level of gang violence, particularly on the Cape Flats and the Northern Areas communities of PE. However, violence is experienced across all spheres of SA society. During 2012, the country witnessed the Marikana Massacre which resulted in the deaths of close to 50 Lonmin Mineworkers who went on strike demanding an unprecedented 12% wage increase. This event in Post-Apartheid history raised some fundamental questions about the state of policing and the levels of violence during strike actions. There has also been an outburst of violent attacks on teaching staff and continued violent killings of learners by their peers at various schools in the country. For instance 14 Schools in Manenburg were terrorised by on-going gang violence and had to close for 2 days during August 2013. The rape, murder, and abuse of young and old seem to be commonplace. Moreover, community protests about poor service delivery have intensified and taken violent forms in the run up and post 2014 national elections, claiming the lives of protesters and damaging valuable municipal properties. It has also been a year in which new political parties entered the political arena and a year in which there has been an historical ideological shift with substantial decline in support for the National Union of Mine Workers (NUM). The emergence and recognition of the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) as the majority union at Lonmin, and the critical reflections by the National Union of Metal Workers (NUMSA) on its support for the ANC, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the

South African Communist Party (SACP), are important to highlight as some of the many pockets of conflict in contemporary SA. The outcry against the implementation of e-tolls, and various xenophobic attacks in the NMBM area are some further pivotal matters to take into consideration as part of the current conflict trends. Of interest, is the formation of the Patriotic Front (PA), a political party which is of the view that there is more trust by communities in gangsters than there are in politicians. Therefore, SA today is faced with various conflict related challenges which could have devastating consequences for the nation and the world at large, if not managed through the application of trusted conflict management strategies, skills, and techniques. For instance, it was only in late 2013 that national government acknowledged that the gang problem in the WC and elsewhere poses a serious threat to peace and stability. There has been very little recognition of the historical and current challenges of PE's Northern Areas and its surroundings. Helenvale and its surroundings have become terrorized by on-going gang feuds, killings, and violent waves of conflict. Many innocent young people have been caught in the crossfire with many deaths amongst gang-members themselves; leading to fractured families and communities, adding to existent challenges. According to the SAPS (ECLEG 2014) in the EC, gang violence has claimed 27 lives, with 123 reported cases of attempted murder and 10 reported cases of possession of firearms and ammunition for the period 2010 to 2013. In a parliamentary response dated 30 September 2014, the MEC for Safety and Liaison confirmed that 101 persons were shot in the Northern Areas between January and September 2014. Out of these, 36 persons were killed. For the Gelvandale police precinct alone 71 persons were shot of which 20 were killed. In the Bethelsdorp police precinct, out of the 30 persons shot, 16 lost their lives. These were all gang related. For the same period it is also confirmed that no prosecution was completed and cases were still pending on the court roll. The Gang Unit of the SAPS only has 12 staff members and 12 vehicles allocated for this purpose. Importantly, whilst the response to the ECPL confirms the existence of a Provincial anti-gang strategy, it revealed very little detail and content (ECLEG 2014:2). Below are the statistics regarding gang-related crime and tabulated over three years for ease of reference and comparison.

4.7.1   Gang related crime statistics for the Gelvandale police precinct

Financial Year	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	Total
Murder	4	18	5	27
Attempted Murder	31	61	31	123
Ill Possession Firearm/Ammunition	2	2	6	10
Total incidents	37	81	42	160

Source: SAPS Eastern Cape (ECLEG 2014)

Whilst these conflicts have been highly destructive, it is often the community which is caught in the middle of gang wars and which is in most instances inadvertently drawn into such disputes. They should also be included to provide possible solutions as they are directly affected. This research, drawing on the key lessons from the Conflict Transformation and Management Programme at the NMMU, strongly considers a much greater theoretical understanding of conflict management techniques and skills to inform its analyses, findings and recommendations in the next few chapters.

It is for these reasons that this section is focused on a better theoretical understanding of protracted social conflict, negotiation and mediation as some of the key instruments of modern conflict management techniques. A section is dedicated to some lessons and experiences from the NGO sector on an international level.

4.8   Protracted social conflict

Azar (1990:5) believes that 'conflict is an important part of social interactions' and states that a major cause of conflict is the 'lack of mediating mechanisms'. For Azar each conflict progresses through a cycle of 'genesis, maturity, reduction, and termination'. He further identified four clusters of variables which he identified as preconditions for protracted social conflict.

4.8.1   Communal content

Azar believes that the communal content of a society is amongst the many factors related to protracted conflict in society. He wrote that: 'If a society is characterised by multicommunal composition, protracted social conflicts are most likely to arise' (Azar,

1990:7). According to him there are two factors which must be highlighted to play a significant role in the communal setting. The first is its colonial legacy as well as 'an historical pattern of rivalry and contest among communal actors'. It is further argued that:

> 'Multicommunal societies, whether formed through the colonizing process or through intercommunal struggle, are characterised by disarticulation between the state and society as a whole, with the state usually dominated by a single communal group or a coalition of a few communal groups that are unresponsive to the needs of other groups in society. Imposed integration or incorporation of distinctive and often conflictual communities into one political entity retards the nation building process, strains the social fabric and eventually breeds fragmentation and protracted social conflict' (1990:7).

These communal attributes when related to the demographical area under study paint a strikingly similar picture of SA. If one considers SA with reference to the impact of Colonialism, Apartheid, the class divide, and identity challenges as discussed in previous chapters, these social challenges need to be an emphasized part of this study.

4.8.2 Human needs

While Maslow identified the needs of humans in general, Azar (1990) elaborates on how they influence conflict. Azar (1990:8) notes that when the physical survival needs of an individual or community are not met for one group while 'one group of individuals may enjoy satisfaction of those needs in abundance' there is a space for protracted conflict, especially when a group's grievances 'resulting from need deprivation are' not redressed by the authorities (Azar,1990:8).

This key observation by Azar raises some questions about perceptions of human needs and the question of identity especially for youth attracted to gangs in the Helenvale and surrounding areas. The high levels of poverty, poor education, and therefore limited employment opportunities becomes a critical measurable against which the satisfaction of needs can be considered. The socio-economic conditions of the community, the province and the country are also a stark reality for many members of the community and cannot be underestimated as a key contributor to the attraction of youth to gangs in the area. However, possibly one the most significant reasons why gangs have become popular amongst certain pockets of the youth

might be the glaring reality that government has not invested enough resources to provide alternatives or an exit strategy which could provide tangible results. Or it has totally disinvested in the organised sections of the community which have had a critical role to play in the creation and implementation of a holistic strategy to address the gang problem. A critical reflection of the pockets of gangs across the South African landscape also points to the notion that gangs through their association, collaboration, their modus operandi and deprivation as outcasts of society have realized or found their own communities amongst themselves.

4.8.3   Governance and the state's role

Azar (1990) believes that social and political interaction contributes substantially to the fulfilment of human needs, such as physical security, access to political and social institutions, as well as acceptance of communal identity. The state thus plays a vital role in the fulfilment of these basic needs through mediation, facilitation, and regulation as it provides collectively goods and services to citizens. He further argues that ideally, the state's character must be able to reflect a very high level of satisfaction of human needs even amidst various challenges to advance social cohesion. States experiencing protracted social conflicts are usually troubled with challenges of capacity, and instability, and fall far short of achieving a reasonable level of human needs satisfaction (Azar, 1990:10).

Azar also cautions very strongly that influence by various identity groups and segments of society, through political power and domination has a negative impact on the state to deliver on its primary mandate. These conditions create an institutional recipe ripe for a protracted social conflict. Therefore, the ability to advance a successful policy trajectory is critical in ensuring successful and proactive measures to address shortfalls in its capacity to achieve the basic needs of citizens (1990:1). In this regard, the absence of a national and provincial anti-gang strategy speaks volumes about current state policy development capacity and the minimal utilization of executive powers to achieve such. Furthermore, the recognition and genuine acknowledgement that the many lives lost in gang violence is an abnormal phenomenon, would provide much needed attention towards a highly implementable and comprehensive strategy to manage the growing gang problem.

4.8.4   International linkages

Economic dependency within the international economic system is believed to limit state autonomy and its ability to satisfy security needs (Azar, 1990). Azar (ibid) believes strongly that when states are influenced by the international system a state's ability to respond to protracted social conflicts is impeded. The high level of dependency is a key motivator for exacerbated denialism of the needs of its citizenry to gain access to collisions of global and domestic capital and the state. Azar (1990:11) also believes that to a large extent such transactions require high levels of loyalty and the sacrifice of autonomy and independence which has amongst its requirements the sacrifice of the needs of its own people.

It is therefore important to emphasize that it would be counterproductive to a country with strategic international alliances and a prospective growth and development trajectory as part of global capitalism and free market system, like SA, to openly admit that a phenomenon such as gangsterism is increasing sharply. The effect of such a confession would undoubtedly damage investor confidence on the international front. Denying the problem has not been effective and as such, it could be argued that the acknowledgment of the problem accompanied by the policy and non-governmental experiences and lessons could make a positive contribution to the reduction of gang activities and violence if there is a progressive utilization of these strategic state-to-state alliances.

4.9   Conflict dynamics

Bradshaw (2008) believes that all conflict 'follows certain patterns, of ebb and flow, that collectively we call conflict dynamics'. Although there are differences in how different conflicts manifest themselves, there are also some general traits that follow similar 'patterns, and processes' and which include a 'beginning, an escalation phase, a stalemate phase, a de-escalation phase and an end' (ibid: 39). These are important and directly influence our own perceptions and relations of conflict. It is therefore important to acknowledge that very little attention has been granted to undertake a thorough conflict analyses of the phases, general traits, and patterns of gang violence. This could constitute a research topic on its own. It must therefore be emphasized that the continued generalisation of gang violence and its dynamics might also be detrimental to a much deeper understanding of the problem.

4.10   Escalation

In its early stage, conflict escalates after it has become manifest and tends to escalate when this initial conflict event is not managed adequately and needs are either not met, nor perceived as being met. Essentially, its consequences become much greater to those whom it involves. Whilst it could emerge as a result of a single issue, it could eventually see multiple issues evolve out of the conflict with similar effects on the parties involved in the process. Therefore, affected parties are gradually drawn into the conflict. Importantly, such parties either join forces with one or other original parties, or become involved to bring forth solutions through their mediation or peace making abilities' (Bradshaw 2008:39). It is also during the escalation phase that there are some behavioural changes which often lead to more extreme and contentious approaches. When the needs are survival in nature, then there is also a much greater investment in the conflict and it is this dynamic which 'is often referred to by conflict scholars as an upward spiral of conflict' (Bradshaw, 2008:41).

4.11   Stalemate

Bradshaw (2008) maintains that it is during the stalemate phase of conflict that the various parties run out of energy and resources. Parties become unable to sustain their level of investment and the conflict has reached an important stage which is the 'plateau'. This is often referred to as the 'hurting stalemate' when parties have started to realize the difficulties in reaching a solution. At this point, the conflict is viewed to be 'ripe' for intervention and resolution (Bradshaw, 2008:41).

4.12   Termination

Bradshaw further clarifies the frequently-used term in conflict resolution that is the termination phase. He notes that during the termination phase:

> '…the conflict will de-escalate to a lower level of contention. Because conflict is never entirely obliterated, it is perhaps never correct to state that it has been 'resolved'. Many scholars, writing on conflict processes, speak of 'termination', as the final phase of a conflict process. This can also be quite misleading in the finality that it implies'.

Some mediators use the term 'settled' when they feel the necessary assistance in protracted or difficult conflict situations has been provided. Bradshaw (2008:42)

believes that 'the term 'settle' means that the conflict has not been permanently handled. Because it will re-merge at some stage, the term 'management' implies an on-going trajectory of conflict containment to ensure a healthy and manageable process'.

Importantly, according to Burton's (1986) understanding of the language of settlement and resolution it is clear that:

> 'Settlement is when the outcome involves win-lose or some compromise in which all or some parties are to some degree losers-and probably feel somewhat aggrieved. For example, parties have been obliged to share a scarce resource and cannot be wholly satisfied. Some coercion is probably necessary to enforce the settlement. Resolution is when there is an outcome which fully meets the felt needs and interests of all parties…' (1986:94).

4.13   Conflict, personality and emotions

Bradshaw (2008) also argues that personality traits play a fundamental role in the dynamics of social conflict, in that it to a large extent has an impact of which conflict management style is adopted. He further wrote that:

> 'Research indicates that individuals differ with regard to the extent to which they have a concern for their goal achievement or whether they are more motivated by a concern for the preservation of the relationships in which they are involved'.

This approach exposes a variety of conflict handling styles which enable a more critical assessment of methods applied by them, as well as other practitioners. Therefore the process of understanding each other's approaches further allows practitioners to identify 'conflict pitfalls which could emerge out of the engagement with the conflict'.

A graphical representation of the dual concern model adapted from Wilmot and Hocker (in Bradshaw, 2008:43) is expressed as follows:

High Concern
for own goals

Competitive Win/Lose Style   **Collaborative Win/Win Style**

Compromising Style

Low concern

For own goals

Avoiding Style   **Yielding Style**
Lose/lose

Low concern   **High concern**

for other   **for other**
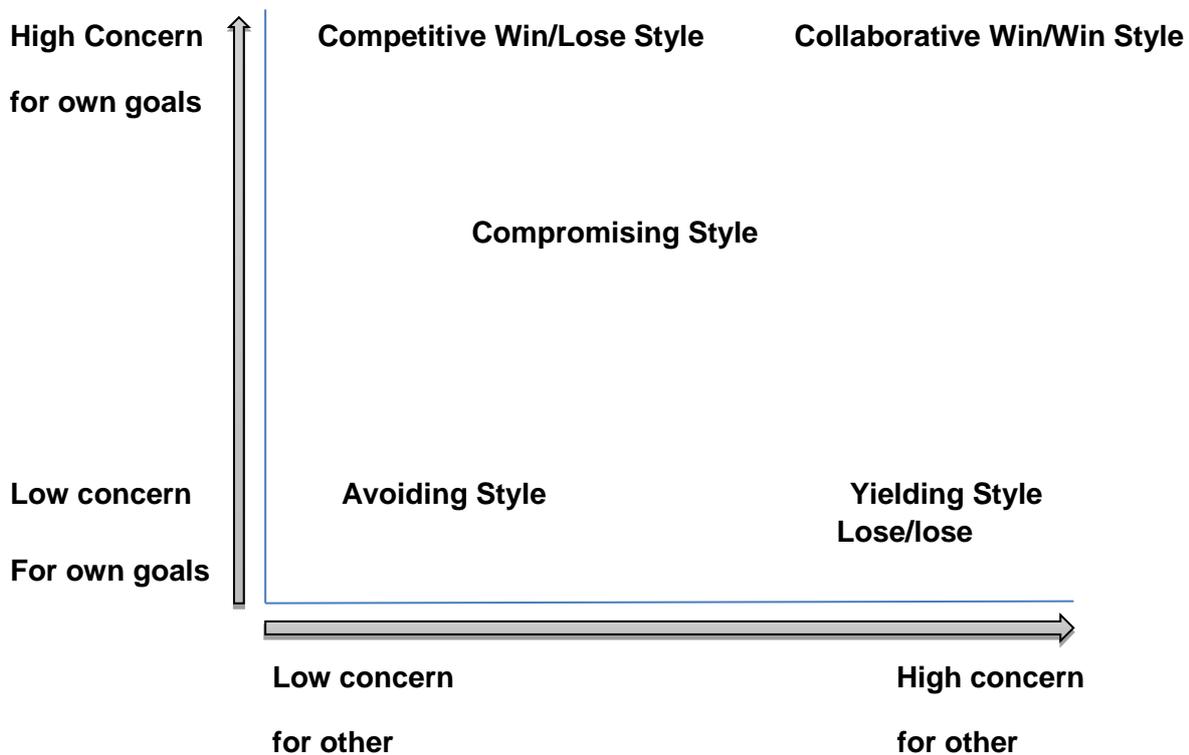
Conflict scholars regard the win/win, or collaborative approach as being the most effective. Although this position is seen to be the most difficult to achieve, it is crucial to have a clear understanding on how to approach the conflict (Bradshaw, 2008:43).

4.14   Communication and conflict resolution

Moreover, any approach to conflict resolution would probably fail if the importance of communication dynamics, often played out during most conflict situations, is not recognised as a key variable for successful outcomes or resolution. For Tillett (1991) a major party of the communication dynamics is the language used. Tillet notes that:

> 'Language can provoke conflict, and encourage its resolution. Both conflict and conflict resolution inevitably involve the use of language, verbal and non-verbal. Most conflict has its origins in communication, or probably more often, the lack of effective or adequate communication, for example an individual's inability to communicate needs or feelings. Given that conflict resolution is essentially a communication process working with and through language it is important to consider the role of

communication, language, and inter-personal behavior in conflict and conflict resolution' (1991:21).

Tillett also highlights that there should be close attention to the manner in which emotions are expressed when dealing with conflict as part of a conscious communication process. It is also argued that the proper use of language and the context in which it applies be carefully considered. Therefore, considering the unique social context and the nature of a specific area where the conflict has arisen is an important realization that communities and individuals have their own ways to 'communicate about conflict'.

Therefore, communication is a process which involves the sending, receiving, and context within which a message is sent, and importantly provides the space for feedback to be given and processed. It is however critical to correctly interpret what is intended by the message (Tillet, 1991:22, 23).

4.15   Negotiation

According to Anstey (1999:67) 'conflict provides the rationale for negotiation as a means of exchange between individuals and groups. However, it is not the only means of conflict resolution, or dispute settlement, and neither does its use exclude the employment of more contentious tactics'. Pruitt (1981:29) stipulates that communication 'is a learning process by which the negotiators, through the exchange of information, begin to understand their true situation'. This is argued from the point that even though extensive preparations are made, and voluminous information is shared, that there is always room to provide feedback.

Bradshaw (2008:76) defines negotiation 'as a voluntary communication process between a number of individuals or groups, intended, through a process of give and take, or creative problem-solving, to arrive at a mutually accepted agreement'.

Anstey (1999:68) identifies five elements core to negotiations. These are that negotiation has the following aspects:

- 'It is a verbal interactive process;

- Involving two or more parties;

- Who are seeking to reach an agreement;

- Over a problem of conflict of interest between them;

- In which they seek as far as possible to preserve their interests, but adjust their views and positions in the joint effort to achieve an agreement'.

Finnemore and Van Rensburg (2006:321) elaborate further and note that the dependence of parties plays a critical role during the negotiation process. It is in this light that it can be argued that without this realization, power imbalances might render the negotiation process useless especially in circumstances where there is a more visible imbalance of power.

4.16   The functions and limitations of negotiation

Finnemore and Van Rensburg (2006:322) further highlight Coser's 'functional view of conflict which argues that conflict is an integral part of societal change when contained within reasonable bounds'. It is argued that for instance in the workplace negotiations are but one preferred option along with legal powers of parties as a part of a highly regulated labour relations system (2006:322). However, in larger societal settings, such as in Helenvale, an attempt to negotiate peace between two rival gangs is a very complex phenomenon. Such a process might involve an extremely high level of trust of the negotiating team, and a skilful approach to the process which also involves obtaining the buy-in of the official authority into such a process. The high levels of risk associated with engaging in such protracted negotiations must therefore be tactically considered. It should also be considered that the place of, or potential of negotiation would be affected by the prevailing value system of any community or society. Anstey believes that there are numerous factors which might be obstacles to negotiations. These factors are amongst others, violence by parties outside the negotiations which could affect the process negatively. However, he believes that 'many factors are within the control of the parties' (Anstey, 1999:125).

4.17   Strategic approach to negotiations

Amongst other things, Finnemore and Van Rensburg (2006:322) highlight the importance of the development of a strategic plan in approaching the negotiation process. This should be done to 'ensure settlement as close as possible to the objectives of the parties' involved. The attitudes of parties are also considered to be

critical in negotiations. Setting a climate conducive to the negotiation process, instead of using escalating or disruptive tactics, must be taken into consideration throughout the negotiation. It is therefore advisable to have included in the strategic plan, attitudinal structuring which would guide the negotiations towards its objectives. A realistic outlook of possible strengths and weaknesses of the parties involved are also to be considered to forge a positive climate wherein the negotiations can thrive. Throughout this process, the parties and their constituencies should be kept updated regarding the progress of the negotiations (Finnemore and Van Rensburg, 2006:330). Anstey (1999:123) notes that 'too often negotiators utilize their preparation time on planning how to split the team of the other, how to irritate or disrupt concentration, and how to threaten or illustrate power'. This is often done without proper planning or considering settlement options through 'pressure games and the display of skills'. He believes that there is no need to further complicate the negotiation process through this 'undirected tactical play' (1999:123).

4.18   Power and negotiation

It is inevitable that there is an exercise of power during the negotiation process and it is of great importance to any negotiator. Anstey (1999:87) maintains that power in the negotiation process has much to do with the ability to bring about the 'desired outcomes' and to alter the position of the other party in your favour. Therefore, observations of parties and how they acknowledge and manage the power of another during negotiations is a defining factor for both parties as they consider as to whether power play remains an option or not. Moreover, 'radical change ideologues' are not likely to produce any fruitful gain from the negotiating process; and because they do not have sufficient powers to achieve their often extreme goals, 'they often settle for negotiation as the best of bad set of options' (ibid). This is believed to impact the negotiations negatively on an intellectual and as well as practical level and add to a possible stalemate. To substantiate this point Anstey utilizes the South African transitional period and the protracted negotiations to explain his analogy, arguing that on both sides of the negotiations parties had to give in to a range of pressures and incentives. These include, on the part of ANC, the need for some more time to enter the negotiations and the lack of funds. On government's part, the international isolation and weaknesses in the economy was a stark reality (ibid). For purposes of the research, in a modern gang related negotiation process for instance,

the financial position, alliances with other prominent and well-resourced and armed gangs may be a deciding factor as to whether or not a much smaller emerging gang may decide to enter into negotiations. Where these gangs are equally resourced, negotiations might be more favourably considered. It is therefore important to consider that in any negotiation process, power remains a critical factor. It is only in the effective utilization of power that an effective outcome can be reached. If it is not reached it could result in an escalation of violence once a gang has established the weaknesses of rivals during such process as a form of retaliation.

4.19   Ideology and negotiations

In highlighting the importance of ideology in negotiations, Anstey (1999:71) argues that ideological differences remain a critical source of conflict throughout the world with significant implications for negotiation in terms of alternative choices for dealing with such conflicts. The ideological outlook of individuals or organisations provides a complexity in understanding, accepting and communicating with those with an alternative world view.

Therefore, in terms of the research topic, the ideological origins of gang culture in SA and the classification of the first gangs, the Ninevites as 'Lumpenproletariat' which emerged from 'bands of outlaws that plagued Johannesburg late 19th and early 20th century' (2004:4) are important. According to Steinberg, the members of this gang were mainly 'young men who had left their ancestral land in the countryside but had refused to take up wage employment for white bosses in the early mining town' (2004:4). It is of great importance to consider that gangs for instance do not share the same worldview as those in mainstream society, neither are they reflected or represented in its socially approved spaces and roles. Here, it could be argued that they don't subscribe to the same norms and values systems which dominate our modern societal outlook. This is of particular significance especially for purposes of process of negotiations which would involve them and in whose outcomes they need to see benefit for them to a return on their investment or sacrifice.

4.20   The Pluralist idea

Anstey (1999) also highlights pluralism which '… emerged from a criticism of the doctrine of sovereignty which held that every system should have a final authority

whose decisions are definitive' in articulating the 'degree to which acceptance of difference and tolerance of interests or beliefs are imbedded in an ideology and its implications for the negotiation process'. There are however contending perspectives such as that of Clegg (in Anstey, 1999) who argues that 'there are no definitive decisions by authorities, due the notion that coalitions form an integral part of political systems, each of which has its unique beliefs and aspirations which are critical to government function'. Therefore in order to function, authorities are dependent on the cooperation and consent of these alliances and not, by nature, their negotiation (1999:72, 73). Thus, in the context of evaluating gang intervention strategies, it would be strategic to have a deeper understanding of these coalitions in the immediate area of study. It is the position of the researcher that in order for a multi-pronged intervention strategy to succeed, the cooperation and trust of the various role players in the conflict be considered as highly crucial. It is therefore important that any intervention by the state must take stock of all role players willing and capable of making a contribution and not just those whom they are comfortable with.

4.21   The Unitarist perspective

This perspective highlights the abnormal and dangerous side of conflict and the preference of sectional interests rather than the advancement of broader societal goals. Anstey (1999:79) writes that 'Pluralism is seen as promoting social division and introducing tensions which a system cannot bear, especially where there is underdevelopment and the struggle is over scarce resources'. In this sense negotiation is seen as a mechanism through which the management of conflict becomes possible. This 'legitimizes subversive interests and even precipitates and crystallizes unnecessary and destructive conflict in an order which would otherwise be naturally harmonious and unified'. The pluralist democracy is therefore less desirable in systems with scarce resources (1999:79).

4.22   Approaches to negotiations

One of the critical areas of focus in the conflict and transformation field is its emphasis on the process of negotiation with specific attention to the different approaches available to negotiators. Whilst it is often perceived as a complex

process, negotiation is regularly applied by most people in their daily lives. The following definitions of negotiations are important.

Fisher and Ury define negotiation as:

> '… a basic means of getting what you want from others. It is a back-and-forth communication designed to reach an agreement when you and the other side have some interests that are shared and others that are opposed' (1981: xi).

Anstey (1999:68) elaborates on this narrow definition and draws on the cross cutting features and recurrent themes of various authors, but includes the vital aspect of compromise, saying that negotiation is process 'in which they seek as far as possible to preserve their interests, but adjust their views and positions in the joint effort to achieve an agreement'. Again, Bradshaw (2008:76) concurs noting that a negotiation is a voluntary communication process between a number of individuals or groups, intended, through a process of give and take, or creative problem-solving, to arrive at a mutually acceptable agreement'.

The process of negotiation therefore provides for an interactive communication process aimed at reaching a mutually satisfying outcome for the different parties involved in the conflict. The next section provides for some theoretical input on both the integrative and distributive approaches of negotiation.

4.22.1   Integrative approaches

The integrative approach to negotiations is regarded as a softer approach than the distributive context. With its major focus on sustainable and good working relations between bargaining parties and in which a win-win outcome to negotiations is regarded as the most preferable outcome. Research confirms the effectiveness of the integrative approach which is an approach highly relevant and recommended to SA's conflict scenarios (Bradshaw, 2008:79). In substantiation of this argument, the emphasis of 'the National Peace Accord as a Conflict Management System' (CMS) and the various structures and institutions established in the Post-Apartheid era to promote peace and stability, speaks volumes to the need to work towards a more cohesive society (Bradshaw, 2008:167). Anstey (1999:90) emphasizes the

significance of Fisher and Ury's coining of the term 'positional approach to bargaining', which follows a pattern through which the negotiating parties adopt or relinquish their positions in search for the best possible outcomes.

4.22.2 Distributive approaches

In this regard Bradshaw (2008) believes that:

> 'The most common, and well-known style of negotiation is known as distributive bargaining. It is also often called positional bargaining, or power bargaining. It consists of the various parties opening with extreme positions which are then vigorously defended' (2008:77).

Importantly, Finnemore (2006:325) also confirms that the '...distributive form of bargaining with its associated power plays is still the most prevalent form of negotiations in SA'. This context refers to the protracted forms of labour negotiations within the South African context which have seen much of their episodes played out during wage negotiations. For instance, the positions taken by labour and management during wage negotiations at Marikana during August 2012 resulted in a devastating outcome which rewrote the history of protracted negotiations in the South African context.

Anstey (1999) also makes reference to wage negotiations as a classical example of distributive bargaining arguing that:

> 'during such process, movement is achieved through parties exerting pressure on each other through tactics designed to create perceptions of strength or commitment, threats, bluff, concealment, and sometimes disruptive tactics in which they embark on ritualised trials of strength' (1999:83).

Anstey (1999) further writes that an 'effective use of the negotiation process, allows negotiators to lead rather than to merely react to events, and demands creative thought before actual engagement'. Also drawing from various scholars on the subject of competitive bargaining, Anstey emphasises that 'there is general consensus amongst authors that preparation involves:

- Identification, analyses and partialisation of issues;
- Establishment of bargaining ranges via definition of aspiration levels and fall-back positions; and

- Strategic planning as to power relatives, concessions, opening moves, climate setting, and pace and direction of movement' (Anstey 1999:103).

However, it is known that it is not only during labour disputes that the different parties utilize power play. For instance, an important observation on the negotiation process to reach gang truces, such as the El Salvador Gang truce reached between two of Latin America's biggest gangs, the MS-13 and the 18th Street Gang reached in March 2012 drastically reduced gang murders from 14 to 5 daily (Thale, Bateman and Goerdt 2013). This example poses some critical questions about the South African context of negotiations, especially between the state and gangs during destructive and fatal waves of gang violence. As an example, it is known that the SAPS do not enter into negotiations with gangs. Even during the height of gang violence, it is often unrecognized non-governmental entities or the religious fraternity which makes an effort to negotiate. Often the only involvement of the state is through the SAPS's deployment of the TRT which takes a no-nonsense approach to gangs. In this show of force innocent groups of young people gathered on the corner of streets or other members of the community often bear the brunt of such efforts to quell the violence. The excessive use of force utilizing the power of tactful policing to address gang violence as opposed to the capitalization on the fruits of negotiation and possible truces, could yield little positive results to address gangsterism in the long run. It could therefore generally be considered that this approach leads to the breakdown of relationships amongst parties, leading to less and less amicable solutions over time as trust elements are eroded.

4.22.3 Comparative approaches to negotiation with gangs

The negotiation process is of course more difficult when engaging with gangs during turf wars or during general on-going feuds amongst rivals. In some instances such as the El Salvador case, government realized positive prospects of entering into negotiations with gangs to reduce extreme gang violence. Essentially the El Salvador government 'adopted a less combative approach to dealing with the powerful street gangs. This was achieved through a negotiated move of 30 imprisoned gang leaders to an alternative prison with more relaxed prison conditions in exchange for peace which saw a drastic decrease in violence and fatalities' (Ramsey, 2012:1). This is a classic example of the role of the state in

realizing the power of negotiations. The important question must therefore be whether the South African authorities have reached a state where they have realized the importance of negotiations with gangs. If the answer remains no, there can only be a reasonable expectation that fatalities and trauma during ongoing destructive waves of gang violence would not be reduced through tactical police response teams only. There would of course be less violence in the presence of the SAPS, but that would only last until they leave the area.

Of critical importance in the South African context, specifically in the Northern Areas, the integrative bargaining approach is widely embraced and has led to the achievement of two specific gang truces. These truces, facilitated by the Endangered Species project successfully brought together the Untouchables, Invisibles, and the Boomshaka gangs at the height of gang violence in 2000. Such negotiations brought together 120 different gang members in a conference centre after weeks of engagement and persuasion with individual gang leaders. During this process, these gangs realized that there was more to gain out of peace than a destructive path of gang wars. The truce lasted for a few years. A second truce was realized in 2012 between the Upstand Dawgs, Dustlives, and Kakmakers gangs. This peace process facilitated by the same NGO realized the network of influence amongst the gangs in their own ranks. Whilst the two rivals proposed to meet at a night club with the intervention of the NGO, they were rather persuaded to meet on their own and thereafter present their proposals to the third party. As a result, the Endangered Species team expanded on their proposals resulting in a peace agreement which lasted for 8 months (Oliphant, 2014).

What is critical out of the El Salvador example, for purposes of this research, is that for both parties the win-win outcome of less gang violence on the one hand, and more comfortable prison conditions on the other, was significant. Compromise was key. Secondly, the Endangered Species initiated truce process reveals a number of key lessons. Firstly, that without these peace agreements there would have been much more bloodshed and trauma. Secondly, that there exists in the community an abundance of organic knowledge and experience on how to manage gang conflict, and of course that these experiences and knowledge have been undermined through the authorities' inability to recognise this. It must however be noted that even if

negotiations between the state and gangs have not found huge expression within the broader South African context, there are efforts from individuals that are effective. A case in point is the WC safety MEC in November 2011 who secured 'a peace agreement between the Mongrels and Americans in Hanover Park after 28 people died during gang wars in October' (Lewis 2012:1).

4.23   Mediation

Boulle and Rycroft (1997:3) argue that there are many reasons why mediation is not easy to define. These relate to the interpretation of terms such as 'voluntary' and 'neutrality' which are frequently used in its definition. There have also been challenges in the development in a 'coherent theoretical base and an accepted set of core features which enable it to be differentiated from rival processes' (1997:3). Burton's criticism that 'mediation has been too broadly defined by so many practitioners and researchers, is also important'. He argues that 'out of a range of definitions in the field, there are various complexities in discussing mediation due to huge disagreement in its scope' (1990:25). However, there has been much development on the theoretical front internationally but also some keen contributions from South African scholars such as Anstey and Bradshaw. In highlighting mediation as an important instrument of conflict management, Bercovitch wrote that:

'Throughout history, individuals, groups, communities, and more recently states, have searched for methods of dealing with conflict in more constructive and peaceful ways than the inevitable resort to hurling stones at each other. Some of these ways have been fairly ingenious (such as whistling or singing competitions that we see in some communities) and others have been fairly obvious (such as talking to each other). Lying somewhere mid-point on a spectrum ranging from violence to the use of ritual as a way of managing conflict is the practice of mediation' (1996:1).

The following section draws on some work from some of these scholars.

Anstey defines mediation as:

> '… a form of third-party intervention into disputes, directed at assisting disputants to find a mutually acceptable settlement. Although mediators may operate from a high or low power base, they are not accorded authoritative decision-making power, but are empowered to facilitate settlement searches through the use of the negotiation process' (1999:201).

Bradshaw importantly argues that 'mediation could very simply be defined as the assistance, to a negotiation process' often in the 'form of third party intervention into conflict that has a long history, and is relatively well-known'. In answering the question why mediation is critical, it is argued that in many instances during the negotiation process, negotiators require the assistance of a third party to draw parities to the negotiation table. Bradshaw highlights five instances where third party intervention becomes highly necessary. These include times when emotions are running very high during the negotiation process and it becomes difficult for parties to manage the process on their own. It is also common that in some instances parties might not be familiar with the very basics of the negotiation process and find it difficult to negotiate the trajectory on their own. Furthermore, the complexity of some conflict scenarios is a huge factor which necessitates skilled mediation or third party assistance. Conflict escalation which leads to a more protracted trajectory is another reason why mediation has become a critical conflict management mechanism. (Bradshaw, 2008:89).

4.23.1 The mediation process

Burton and Dukes (1990) also argues that mediation is a multi-faceted process and emphasizes its various stages through the articulation and contributions by Moore, Kraybill, and Keltner as follows:

Moor's Twelve stage mediation process (1987)	Kraybill's Five stages of mediation process (1984)	Keltner's Seven phases of mediation process (1987)
Initial contact with the disputing parties	Introduction	Opening and Development
Selecting a strategy to guide mediation	Story-telling	Exploration of the issues
Collecting and analysing background information	Caucus (not mandatory)	Identification of alternatives
Designing a detailed plan for mediation	Problem Solving and	Evaluation
Building trust and	Agreement	Negotiation and bargaining

cooperation		
Beginning the mediation session		Decision making
Defining issues and setting the agenda		Testing
Uncovering hidden interests of disputing parties		Terminating the process
Generating options for settlement		
Assessing options for settlement		
Final bargaining		
Achieving formal settlement		

(Source: Burton and Dukes 1990:31)

4.23.2   Mediating community disputes

Bradshaw (2008) in his work on social conflict places emphasis on the 'concerns of the different social sciences with different aspects and domains of the phenomenon'. In his treatment of different conflict types, he argues strongly that there are different conflict types, such as international relations, labour relations, and organisational development with their individual 'specialized conflict regulation mechanisms to deal with it'. Therefore, the evolution of a trans-disciplinary field of conflict management has seen the development of specific literature which covers various domains. (Bradshaw, 2008:21).

It is thus of importance to highlight that Anstey (1999) also argued that there is a distinction between community and labour disputes which are vastly different in nature. He contends that structure and accountability such as in the case of labour disputes is not a given when engaging with community disputes. Whilst communities often do not have the skills to mediate their own disputes, third parties are in most instances treated with scepticism or not trusted. Therefore, whilst acceptable parties may lack the skills or theoretical knowledge of negotiation, they are more likely to be trusted and intervene to resolve a matter. For these reasons, the training of

communities and 'acceptable mediators in conflict-torn communities' should be resourced for this purpose (Anstey, 1999: 228).

For the mediation of community related conflicts Anstey (1999) places much emphasis on Mika's 'seven defining features of community conflicts'. He maintains that:

- 'They are often multi-party and complex in character

- Violence is often a factor

- They are often centred on racial, ethnic, religious or ideological differences

- They often have protracted histories

- The violent character of the relationship often demands state intervention

- State intervention often protracts the conflict, merely adding another dimension to its already complex character

- All the characteristics of escalated conflict are evident, with parties having low trust in each other, experiencing deindividuation, and loss of belief that solutions are possible, rigid stands of principle, and threats and applications of violent sanctions' (1999:229).

These features speak directly to the defining characteristics of gang conflict experienced throughout the area of study both by gang members themselves as well as the community at large. Significantly, gangs are often seen as outcasts to society and find themselves at the receiving end in their confrontations with the SAPS. It is for this reason that interventions by the community are often in some respects more successful than that of the state due to trust issues. As can be seen in the next section, some community based structures have a tested track record in reaching out to gang members. To provide them with a sense of family and parenthood, the organisations have persevered against the odds of societal marginalization to provide a caring environment for gang members.

For these reasons and in cementing the argument that mediators play a critical role in managing conflict processes, it is important to briefly reflect on what mediation work actually entails. In this regard, Boulle and Rycroft in reflecting on this question

distinguish between contingent and non-contingent functions of mediators. The non-contingent functions refers to the general efforts by mediators such as taking charge of the mediation session and embarking on a clear communication process throughout the process. Therefore the contingent functions of mediation are what the mediator actually does during the session to persuade the parties on their different positions to find some solution (1997:114). These functions include:

- The development of trust and confidence (1997:113)

- Establishing a framework for cooperative decision-making

- Analysing the conflict and designing appropriate interventions

- Promoting constructive communication

- Facilitating negotiation and problem-solving

- Educating and empowering the parties

- Imposing pressure to settle

- Promoting reality

- Advising and Evaluation

- Termination of the mediation (Boulle and Rycroft 1997:129)

Bradshaw (2008:93) places emphasis of the different stages of mediation. He argues that from the onset it is critical for the mediator to become involved and to be conscious of how to tactfully enter such a process in order to yield positive results throughout. The mediator should therefore also make early contact with each party independently for purpose of introduction and discussion on the mediation process and to conduct proper research on the nature of the conflict. The process then moves through further stages of holding joint sessions, problem solving, allowing some party caucusing, agreement formulation and providing guidance on post-negotiation issues (Bradshaw, 2008:96).

4.23.3　International lessons and experiences on gang mediation and intervention

Gangsterism is not unique to SA. Throughout the world, governments, ordinary people and civil society organs have taken major strides to intervene and prevent destructive waves of gang violence. For Boyle (2010:3) a paradigm shift which allows society to open up to gangs or the so called 'bad folks' is highly important as this removes them from the periphery of society. Thus he argues, his organisation, Homeboy Industries, was pivotal in the negotiations involving the gang-torn areas of Los Angeles. In trying to send out a message to members trapped in gangs, he writes that 'you are our sons/daughters-whether we brought you into this world or not'. The Homeboy Industries was born out of various marches by women also known as the Committee for Peace. Their aims were to register their frustrations with the gang violence during the 'heat of tensions'. They would march to hotspots 'and their gentle singing presence would calm the gang members ready for battle' (2010:4). Boyle also wrote that:

> 'It was one such march that gave birth to Homeboy Industries in 1998. Armed with fliers reading jobs for a future, hundreds of women walked to the factories surrounding the housing projects and, with this show of force, handed a flier to the foreman of each factory. It had become clear that what gang members most requested were jobs' (2010:4).

From this experience there are also some important lessons for mediation or third party intervention which are useful for managing gang conflicts and possible exit strategies. In promoting a number of 'truces, cease-fires, and peace treaties', going to and from neighbourhoods Boyle learned that although gang members would usually accept entering into signed agreements, they would display a different posture during face-to-face interactions with rivals. However, it was later realized that these interactions and outcomes rather 'legitimized gangs and gave them oxygen and kept them alive' rather than changing their status quo (Boyle, 2010:5).

The classic case of the Los Angeles gang problem, which claims a total of 1,100 gangs with nearly 86, 000 members, is very relevant to the current South African gang problem. Pinnock (1987:418) in his articulation of the making of the Cape Flats Mafia states that 'the Mongrels Gang proudly claimed their ability to mobalise up to

2000 street fighters at the time. He also notes that in 1982, a rough count on the Cape Flats found at least 280 gangs'.

A study conducted by Whitehill, Webster, and Vernick (2012) reveal that the use of mediation and intervention in gang conflicts through the utilization of what he calls the 'cease fire model' which draws on the skills of 'specialised Outreach Workers (OW) for this purpose, has been highly effective in the reduction of gun violence and homicides in the Chicago area. These OW also or 'violence interrupters' 'are recruited for their credibility and influence as former gang members amongst high risk youth in targeted communities'(2012:1). This programme coined the 'Safe Streets Programme' was also successfully implemented by the Baltimore City Health department at the cost of $1.6 million. The impact of this mediation process involving gangs is underscored when an evaluation of the Baltimore programme revealed that 'the more effective sites had three times as many conflict mediators per month compared with programme sites that failed to reduce homicides' (2012:1). Rausnitz reveals that: 'the Safe Streets intervention 'was associated with 5 fewer homicides and 35 fewer non-fatal shootings in the four intervention neighbourhoods and border areas' (Whitehill et al, 2012:1).

Whitefield (2013:1) writes that 'the mediation of criminal violence is fraught with complexity and moral hazard'. He argues that 'other than the familiar process of political negotiations, it is a complex phenomenon and in some cases would not be possible at all' (2013:1). However, lessons from the protracted El Salvador gang truce point to the possibilities of improving the mediation of gang conflict in areas where it has become extremely difficult. Whitefield (2013:7) further argues that 'Gang violence has even developed in countries with the most advanced legislative and enforcement capacities'. Whitefield also argues that 'between 2002 and 2011, the US deported 156,942 Central Americans with convictions of mostly gang related crimes back home'. Over the years the US has also developed expertise to limit violence through the 'Cure Violence Model of Conflict Resolution adopted by the city of Chicago and the Gang Reduction and Youth Development Programme (GRYD) in Los Angeles. In some instances 'governments challenged with the reduction of violence throughout the world have reverted to processes of dialogue with various stakeholders including gangs'. Importantly, whilst short term successes have been achieved in countries such as Brazil, Colombia, the Niger Delta, Jamaica and

Myanmar, its sustainability has been extremely difficult. Whitefield believes that '… experience has demonstrated that government-led mediation with groups that engage in criminal violence and other forms of organised crime carries with it the risk of the criminalisation of government institutions'. However, 'in El Salvador where religious leaders mediated between rival gangs, responses indicate the plea by gangs to the authorities to help them move away from gang life' (2013:3).

Whitefield also shares various lessons from the El Salvadoran Gang truce which he argues could be relevant for other cases. He argues that the process of dialogue provides the necessary platform for violent actors to talk. The mediation of governments with gangs are to consider 'strategies of reduction and policies which locate violence reduction as the beginning of a broader process of violence reduction which must be inclusive of other key stakeholders other than the gangs themselves' (2013:19). It is also strongly argued by Whitefield (2013:17) that 'the mediation of criminal violence should 'strengthen the rule of law and not undermine it'. Mediators would also encounter various obstacles in the process. However, Religious leaders and institutions also provide for an alternative option for gangs other than law enforcement agencies. Whitefield (2013:17) importantly believes that 'in El Salvador religion appears to fulfil a particular need for gang members who wish to move away from violence to do so within a framework that offers recognition that they are victims of society as well as victimisers'. Any anti-gang strategy should therefore strongly consider 'a realistic outlook of the end state or the lack thereof'. There is also an urgent need for further research to build a firm foundation towards the legitimisation of what seems to be a controversial initiative of gang mediation. The role of local authorities, their ability to take ownership and collaborate with civil society, the private sector, and the international community is paramount (2013:17).

The elements of this contribution by Whitefield (2013) is more relevant in the context of the EC scenario. One of the fundamental discussions and paradigm shifts must be executed within the heart of the provincial social transformation cluster to ensure a much deeper understanding of gang mediation strategies and approaches elsewhere in the world. For instance in the roll-out of key crime prevention programmes the involvement of gangs or at least key players in gang circles could be detrimental to the development or implementation of a Provincial or National Strategy. This should be done within reasonable boundaries of prescripts and

legislation. The advocacy for the progressive interpretation of these laws with the aim to provide some solutions to the complex challenge of gangsterism cannot be overemphasised. It is also critical that the social partnerships between government role players and the religious sector should be more formalized and targeted to address this challenge.

CHAPTER FIVE: **RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

> 'In everyday life we search for knowledge that will help us cope better with the challenges and demands of each day …. In the world of science our aim is to generate truthful (valid/ plausible) descriptions and explanations of the world'.

(Babbie & Mouton: 2012:7)

5.1   Introduction

Gangsterism in the Northern Areas of PE has become the subject of research projects over the last decade. With some research done by Olivier and Cunningham (2004) and Petrus (2013), there are still wide gaps of opportunity for further exploration of this interesting but destructive phenomenon. Petrus (2013:71) argues that: '…in recent years there appears to have been a significant increase in the reports of street gang violence and other criminal activities associated with gangs, with some most recent reports emanating from the Northern Areas of PE, SA'.

This specific research explores the important contributions by the non-governmental sector in Helenvale. This area along with Manenburg is one of the country's most affected by the scourge of gangsterism. The aim of this research study is to highlight the effect of the NGOs in the sector in order to reduce its devastating effects on the youth, their families, and the community at large through the evaluation of various intervention strategies to provide some recommendations towards a safer community. Drawing on the foundations from the social science paradigm, the research was undertaken under strict supervision of the NMMU Conflict and Transformation Programme and seeks to make an addition to the limited literature on the subject of gangsterism in the Northern Areas of PE with the emphasis on various contributions by theorists in the field of conflict management. Gang violence is one of the most destructive forms of conflict in SA's urban areas and requires the urgent attention of policy makers and academia to assist in effective and sustainable intervention strategies going forward.

5.2 Methodology

The research undertaken is firmly based on the qualitative paradigm of social research and the methodology was developed in line with scientific principles in order to execute the project successfully and produce the accurate and valid results for its purpose. Qualitative research in this context 'refers to that generic research approach according to which research takes its departure point as the insider perspective on social action' (Babbie & Mouton 2001:53). The research is characterised by principles of 'understanding' and is rather an explanatory perspective based on 'prediction and behavioural observation' as its key focus. Therefore, conducting focus groups with research subjects, as well as gaining critical insights from relevant documented information is a prominent part of the methodological outlook. The analysis of the scientific data is based on grounded theory (Babbie & Mouton 2007:53).

Focus groups are used to 'find information which would otherwise not be accessible'. This method also allows for greater meaning amongst participants in the research project. The shaping and reshaping of ideas is off great significance and may reveal new thinking or ideas and a new set of data. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), researchers utilizing the focus group approach should consider three to five groups of eight to twelve respondents each. It is further important to indicate that:

> 'The comparative advantage of focus group interviews as an interview technique lies in their ability to observe interaction on a topic. Group discussions provide direct evidence about similarities and differences in the participants' opinions and experiences as opposed to reaching such conclusions from post hoc analyses of separate statements from each interviewee' (2007:292).

Gibbs 1997 believes that 'the main focus group research is to draw upon respondents the attitudes, feelings believes, experiences, and reactions in a way which would not be feasible using other methods for example observation, one-to-one interviewing, or questionnaire surveys'. Therefore through this approach the researcher could 'elicit a multiplicity of views and emotional processes within a group context' (1997:1).

5.3   Sampling

Newman (2011:241) argues that 'we sample to open up new theoretical insights, reveal distinctive aspects of people or social settings, or deepen understanding of complex situations, events, or relationships'. The stratified sampling method has been applied to the Helenvale Community as the targeted population on which the study is based. Babbie and Mouton (2001:91) maintain that 'the ultimate function of stratified sampling is to organise the population into homogenous subsets' and that stratified sampling allows for higher levels of representivity which decreases the probable sampling error. In this context, 6 groups of not less than ten adults consisting of different age and gender groups have been randomly selected from the Helenvale community to participate in the study as part of focus group discussions. Utilizing the 'snowball technique', participants were identified with the assistance of NGO's working in the area (Babbie and Mouton 2012:97). The snowball technique refers to acquiring respondents through networking and chain referral of other respondents attracted to the study. This has been an appropriate approach for the study of which a 'crucial feature is that each person is connected to another through a direct linkage' (Newman, 2006:223). The DoSL provided a copy of the draft PCPS which came into effect after April 2014. The department have been approached with the aim of targeting 'information rich cases' and to collect relevant data to achieve the objectives of the study. The goal is to extract as much information as possible about the current developments, consultations, and the Department's position on the phenomenon of gangsterism in Helenvale and surrounding areas. The SAPS provided gang related crime statistics for the 2010/11, 2013/14 and 2012/13 financial years in order to provide factual information to assess the status quo for purposes of the research. However, although the Gang Unit did not participate in the research to provide more in-depth information which would have been more beneficial to the research outcomes, a parliamentary response provided some insight.

5.4   Data analysis

According to Terre Blanche, Durrheim, and Painter (2012) the qualitative paradigm of social research does not pinpoint 'when data collection stops and analysis begins'. There is thus a gradual 'fading of the one and the gradual introduction of the other, so that at first you are mainly collecting data and towards the end you are mainly analysing what you have collected' (Terre Blanche et al 2012:321). Data constitutes

a 'thick description with a thorough description of characteristics, processes, transactions, and contexts that constitute the phenomenon being studied' (2012:321). It is further argued that 'interpretive and constructionist analysis should not be seen as a separate phase that starts only after all the data has been collected, but rather where the different phases shade into each into one another'. In this context, a combination of interpretive and constructionist data analyses were applied to complete the study. However, interpretive data analyses specifically require researchers to stay close to data in order to interpret 'from a position of empathetic understanding', (Terre Blanche 2012:328). This would be consistently applied by the researcher throughout the data analyses process.

Importantly, Straus and Corbin state that:

> 'A grounded theory is inductively derived from the study it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through systematic data collection and analyses of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analyses and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge' (2001:498).

It is in this context, that the study to evaluate gang intervention strategies in the Helenvale area is grounded on a firm conflict theoretical background in an effort to provide possible solutions to the complex challenge of gangsterism as displayed in the previous chapters and looking to particular methods and strategies of the theory to provide insight into possible resolution possibilities.

The study further seeks:

- To highlight some successes by the NGOs in reducing gang violence in the area;

- To influence the PCPS to recognize gang violence in the area as a threat   to peace and stability in the Province;

- To augment the understanding of state institutions mandated to service this community;

- To emphasize the need for government to enter into strategic partnerships with NGOs and other sectors of the community and to make necessary recommendations for policy formulation in this regard; and

- To draw key lessons and experiences from other areas with similar challenges.

5.5   Limitations of the study

One major limitation of this approach is that very little has been researched on the specific topic and there is limited information available for this purpose. There is also much negativity about the area as a 'no–go' area due to high crime rates and its violent nature and subsequent security risks as well as the underground nature of its respondents which makes extracting data difficult. Therefore, although the researcher is familiar with the area and its surroundings, a careful and sensitive approach to the research was highly necessary. The study took more than the estimated six months for completion of the mini dissertation as a result of delays. The dominant language of the community is Afrikaans, which meant that the researcher had to consider constructing and collecting data in the same medium. For these many reasons the research could not cover a wide variety of aspects in more detail.

Various factors such as a lack of primary information on gang intervention strategies in the area, as well as limited units of analysis for purposes of this study were some of the obstacles encountered by the researcher. The envisioned participation of the SAPS Gang Unit as an important source on gang intervention strategies could not be realized due to the withdrawal of Gang Unit members from the interview for reasons of confidentiality. However, the delay in acquiring the necessary permission to conduct the research from national and provincial levels of the SAPS served as a major setback for the research, especially taking into consideration the confidential dynamics surrounding the withdrawal of the members of the Gang Unit. The research also envisioned the provision of comparative analyses between the area of study, and Manenburg, and Eldorado Park. However, due to the bureaucratic nature of obtaining permission from these additional stations this option was reconsidered.

The following matters would require more time and dedication as part of providing a more complete understanding of the extent of the socio-economic crises facing Helenvale and its surrounding areas.

These are:

- An exploration of the criminal justice system and various challenges it faces to secure successful prosecution of gangs and gang-related criminal activity

- An in-depth look at the limitations of the witness protection programme, as well as its negative impact on the family and community units with reflection on current witness protection regulations.

- Reflection on current legislation on gangsterism noting specifically the limitations of the Prevention of Organised Crime Act 121 of 1998 (POCA) and other applicable pieces of legislation.

- A more in-depth look at the interrelatedness of drug-trafficking and gangsterism.

- The challenge of domestic violence and alcohol abuse as part of the bigger problem.

- An examination of the Correctional Service system and its limitations in the rehabilitation and reintegration of prisoners or prison gangs in to society.

5.6   Ethical considerations

This research project complies with the standards of the NMMU Ethics Committee on scientific research. Amongst the several philosophical approaches applied to the ethics of research is that which Terre Blanche et al, (2012:67) refer to as 'principilism'. The following four key principles would be critically important to the research: Firstly, autonomy and the dignity of persons: The protection of the identity and confidentiality of persons, organisations as well as community members should be at the forefront of data collection. At no point should this research study reveal the identity of any of its respondents due to the sensitive and violent nature of the environment which is under study. Secondly, nonmaleficence: To ensure that there is no harm on the research subjects as a result of the research. Thirdly, beneficence: To ensure maximum beneficiation of research outcomes amongst all its participants.

Finally, justice: To ensure equity and fairness on the selection and participation of subjects of the research' (Terre Blanche et al, 2012:68).

The sensitivity of the study topic and the area where it was conducted is held in high regard by the researcher. There is an urgent need for properly crafted and supported gang intervention strategies due to contemporaneous and historical developments. All participants were thus treated in accordance with principles of informed consent, voluntary participation and anonymity.

5.7   Dissemination of the results

The research results will be disseminated to relevant Local, Provincial, and National government departments including the SAPS and the Portfolio Committee on Safety and Security in the Province. Presentations to strategic governmental, non-governmental, and interested private sector role players, in addition to the participants will also be done to raise awareness about the outcomes of the research.

5.8   Demarcation

The research was carried out in Helenvale, PE, SA. Most of the targeted NGOs conduct much of their work and programmes in and around this area. Furthermore, the participation of staff from the Gelvandale Police Station is significantly linked to its jurisdiction to police Helenvale as part of the immediate policing precinct.

CHAPTER SIX: ANALYSIS, COMMENTS AND INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

> 'As long as children who live in gang-infested communities see this lifestyle as a shortcut to financial and personal success, the problem will continue. A holistic and integrated approach that incorporates all spheres of civil society must be actively implemented – as this is the only workable alternative to the punitive one that is currently operational'.
>
> (Olivier & Cunningham 2004:101)

6.1   Focus group characteristics

Six focus groups were conducted with four NGO's mostly at the premises where they run their daily organisational offices except for one which was held at the Arcadia Secondary School. Two community groups drawn from the Helenvale community also participated in the research. Focus groups were conducted to gather scientific data to assess the contributions of civil society organs towards the reduction of gangsterism and its associated violence, as well as to gain deeper insight from the community itself on the extent of the problem and how they were affected. Specifically, the research was aimed at evaluating intervention strategies into gangsterism in the Helenvale area. These focus groups were conducted within the University's ethics framework and with the highest form of confidentiality. All participants signed the University information and consent forms to ensure voluntary participation with the option to withdraw from the research should they become uncomfortable. These processes were thoroughly explained to all six focus groups. The NGOs also provided the researcher with written consent to avail volunteers to participate in the research project. A sample of 51 individuals was drawn from the area of study for purposes of this research project. These consisted of 16 males and 35 females with ages ranging between 20 and 60 years.

Due to the sensitivity of the research topic, it was challenging to locate community members willing to voluntarily participate in this important research project. However, the leaders and volunteers of targeted NGOs were extremely positive about the interest of University researchers to explore such an important topic. One group consisting of 10 young adults, with ages ranging between 20 and 36 years, with 3 males and 7 females participated in the research through the assistance of the MBDA offices located in Gelvandale. These were mostly young adults who had taken some initiative to mobilise the youth towards the realization of greater

consciousness through participation in the arts, sports, dialogues and other youthful activities. This group of young adults drawn from all four voting districts of Helenvale had started to critically engage their peers in youth dialogue platforms to seek solutions to the challenges faced by the community. A second group of 9 community members, consisting of a mixture of young and older people with ages ranging between 20 and 56 years with 1 male and 8 females was drawn from a job readiness programme presented by a local NGO. These individuals were directly affected by the scourge of gangsterism either through the death of a family member, friend, or some close community member in Helenvale. The focus group coincided with their graduation from this ground-breaking programme.

Most of the NGO's and their volunteers which participated in the focus groups were faith based organisations. One NGO consisted of some religious leaders from the Christian faith and some former gang members with extensive experience in prison and street ministry as well as gang mediation and intervention. Six volunteers with ages ranging between 41 and 44 years, consisting of 4 males and 2 females participated in the research. The second group of NGO volunteers were drawn from a youth empowerment organisation, whose core focus was on empowering the youth to escape the vicious cycle of gangsterism through various projects. They consisted of 8 volunteers with ages ranging between 20 and 42 years and made up of 3 males and 5 females. The third organisation is a predominantly Moslem Faith based organisation which focuses primarily on providing support to families of drug abusers in the broader Northern Areas. This focus group actively engages those with drug addiction and problems in the area and consisted of 6 participants with ages ranging between 57 and 60 years and consisting of 4 males and 2 females. Volunteers of the fourth NGO, were made up of a group of street patrollers, predominantly female. Out of 12 participants, 11 were female and only 1 male with ages ranging between 30 and 57 years. It must be noted for purposes of the research that the Helenvale community has approximately 20 active and non-active NGOs and civil society organs, as well as women street patrollers. Importantly, the Helenvale Youth Enrichment Programme (HYEP) is one of the most active NGOs in the area. Furthermore, some NGOs such as the NAPDI and the Families Against Drugs (FAD) are not necessarily based in Helenvale, but have made a substantial contribution to transform the area through various projects such as transforming dumpsites into play

grounds for the children, and advocating for a more conscious community for a need to support families with drug abuse related challenges. It must however be stated that organisations participating in the research were carefully selected based on their consistent work and active contributions to the struggle for a better Helenvale community and in order to gain greater insight from a broad range of community stakeholders in addressing the research topic. Hence not all Helenvale-based NGOs participated in the research.

For purposes of the specific research outlook and attention to the current policy framework to curb gangsterism in the EC Province, the researcher also undertook major efforts to seek permission from the National and Provincial SAPS to grant permission to interview the Gang Unit which is based at the Mount Road Police Station. Unfortunately, this could not be realized due to some challenges faced by the Unit which cannot be stated due to its confidential nature. Such an interview would have however focused on the state of the Gang Unit, its challenges, successes, and resource allocation as well as to expose community perceptions about police involvement and responses to the gang problem. However, the withdrawal of the Gang Unit from the research amidst the long awaited granting of permission from national and provincial offices of the SAPS, raises some fundamental questions about the psychological state of its members, and highlights the seriousness and importance of the research project, and emphasizes the urgent need for national and provincial interventions to address the visible challenges faced by the members of the Unit. It must however be acknowledged that the Gelvandale Station Commander provided his full support for the research project.

The Department of DoSL agreed to participate in the research to assess the understanding and policy positions of the department as the custodian of the PCPS which was under review. The purpose of following the review of the PCPS was to seek greater insight into departmental composure and approach to the specific challenges of gangsterism in Helenvale and its surrounding areas. On the 6th of February 2014, the department hosted a youth dialogue to create a platform for young people to find solutions to the high crime levels in the Northern Areas.

6.2 Focus group discussion questions

The research questions were focused on assessing community perceptions regarding the role of community structures in the reduction of gang violence in the Helenvale area of PE. Participants of all focus groups were briefed on the aims and objectives of the study, which was to provide a primary research base for the improvement and understanding of gang intervention strategies by NGOs in the Helenvale area. The NGOs that formed part of the study were mostly from the religious fraternity. This research documents their efforts and contribution towards reducing gang violence and becomes a resource for other research projects of this nature.

Participants were then requested to respond to open-ended focus group questions and to provide additional information as the focus group discussion deepens (see Questionnaire (Annexure A)). This approach allowed the researcher to gather the much needed information to boost the research outcomes.

6.3 Focus group results

Although the focus group questions were appropriately structured, in many instances follow-ups, clarities and further elaboration were required. The participants often deviated from the topic due to their own frustrations. The differences in experience, age, and area of specialization were also an important factor.

6.3.1 Niche areas of specialization

From the four focus groups conducted with different volunteers of NGOs there were certain features and themes which emerged strongly throughout the focus group interviews. For instance, all these organisations have developed their own niche area of specialization although there are some overlaps where they all complement the advancement of a common cause towards peace, development, safety and security, and drug rehabilitation. There are, however, distinct characteristics in age, religion, and focus. Community perceptions on the impact and extent of gangsterism are of particular importance. The verbatim inclusion of focus group responses seeks to put to rest speculation and generalization of the problem in Helenvale specifically. Furthermore, the inclusion of perceptions of policing in the Gelvandale police precinct in the analysis chapter would enhance the understanding of the SAPS on the subject matter in order to initiate and implement an effective turnaround strategy.

6.3.2 Brief introduction of NGOs participating in the research

The four NGOs that participated in the study are now described in more detail.

6.3.2.1 NGO 1

This organisation has been working in Helenvale and the broader Northern Areas Community for more than a decade. The organisation formalized its operations in 2011 after realizing the importance of gang intervention but had emerged earlier at the height of gang violence which has claimed the lives of a substantial number of young people in the area. Most of its members have been involved in social upliftment projects and working with youth at risk in their individual capacities. The NGO has seen some positive results from the efforts of the organisation in the mediation of protracted gang conflicts and promoting peace in the community. From these experiences, the organisation has developed itself as an important player in gang mediation, negotiation and as a fierce advocate for focused, targeted job creation opportunities as an exit strategy for the gang-trapped youth, not only of Helenvale, but for the entire Northern Areas of PE.

6.3.2.2 NGO 2

The entity was found in 2005 and formally registered as an NGO in 2006. The organisation formalized its operations in 2011 and emerged after realizing the importance of gang intervention especially at the height of gang violence which has claimed the lives of a substantial number of young people in the area. Recognizing the social ills of the Helenvale community, such an initiative provided the skills and human resources to gather and utilize scientific information towards the upliftment of the community. The organisation had many successes working with gangs, as well as spearheading women empowerment initiatives. With the help of these NMMU students, the organisation was able to conduct a needs assessment which formed the basis of its formalization. The capacity to implement youth initiatives, such as skills development, transfer, and job creation, was a major challenge due to a lack of funds. However, the organisation implemented a street soccer programme between 2006 and 2007 which was a highly successful intervention creating a platform for rival gangs to vent their frustrations on the soccer pitch. The chairperson of the organisation at the time had intervened in gang conflict in the Helenvale area and managed to find some resolution to the on-going conflict. Of critical importance is

that gangs which had existed during this period had disintegrated through these efforts and it was during the same period that the Gelvandale Police Station reported a reduction of gang-related crimes in the area. The organisation has also successfully utilized sport as a crime combatting tool and has never looked back since. The organisation's youth enrichment philosophy is aimed at addressing the huge number of school dropouts and teenage pregnancies in Helenvale as this will give the youth the opportunity to lead a productive and meaningful life in the community.

6.3.2.3   NGO 3

This organisation was founded in 2011 after realizing the need to provide support for families of drug addicts who were the victims of drug abuse. It was also based on the concern that there was no such support in the province. The desire by parents to provide some form of intervention for their children who were addicted to drugs pushed the organisation to rethink its initial position on the support for struggling drug addicts in the community alone. The organisation had to enhance its knowledge base on drug abuse and addiction for this purpose. This included some interaction with other organisations, such as South African National Council on Alcoholism and Drug dependence (SANCA) who educated members on various aspects of drugs. A lecturer from the NMMU, a social worker who has provided great insight on drug habits, and a tutor with over 40 years of experience with different kinds of drugs, as well as the school principle of a Magaliesburg school which is based in Johannesburg, provided the much needed support to strengthen organizational capacity. With the growth of the organization, came the establishment of a Narcotics Anonymous (NA) service which is run by a member of the organisation (a former drug addict of 25 years who has been clean for 7 years). The organisation has also entered into talks with a farm in the Green Bushes area where the organisation has started with drug rehabilitation.

6.3.2.4   NGO 4

The organisation has been in existence for eight years with the aim of making the Helenvale community a safer place. With that aim, patrols are carried out during weekends from 17h00 pm into the early mornings. During the week, the organisation also conducts safety patrols at three primary schools and one secondary school in

the area. Observations are consistently carried out to establish where there are stone throwing, knife or gun related conflicts, in order to make interventions. The organisation also voluntarily provides security services at big festivals such as the Annual Northern Arts Festival, and Easter Soccer Tournaments, School Sports Events, as well as School Graduations. Volunteers have also received free weekly training from lecturers of the Safety in Society Programme at Dower College. The College has for instance provided the organisation with valuable security tape because in most instances, volunteers of the organisation are the first to be on crime scenes. Affected areas are able to be secured to avoid the damage of crucial forensic evidence at crime scenes. There are 32 volunteers of the organisation of which only 4 are males. Most of these volunteers are middle aged with only one pensioner. The organisation states that most of the younger generation and males are afraid to actively participate in street patrolling as they are easily targeted by gangs.

6.4   Comments on the extent of the gang problem in Helenvale

From the focus groups conducted with these four NGO's and the two groups drawn from the Helenvale community directly, gangsterism poses perhaps the most serious threat to the peace and security of this generation. For these reasons and because previous research on gangs focused rather on the broader Northern Areas, the following responses from the focus groups to describe the status quo provides some important insight for purposes of advocating a well-considered anti-gang strategy for the EC Province as a whole. It is important that it is recognized that there are other pockets of less visible gang networks throughout the province which require further research. It is however notable and of great importance that Helenvale and immediate surrounding areas be recognized as the nucleus of the gang problem in the EC and that this demands the urgent attention of policy makers, law enforcement agencies, and civil society organs.

Focus group participants from the NGO 1 describe the gang problem as follows:

Respondent 1

> 'There are a number of problems that lead to the gang violence in the Northern Areas and we can't completely blame everything on the circumstances of the community. But to some extent these

circumstances have a contribution to these problems. Many see gangsterism as the only way out as it provides a form of income. At the same time they are being used by some people to do dirty work. It is all about the choices that people make'.

Respondent 2

'There is a very big challenge of gangsterism in Helenvale. There are no employment opportunities for our people. Young men associate themselves with groups to create some opportunities for themselves. It is for these reasons that we started the project to teach people and create better opportunities'.

Respondent 3

'Law enforcement has differed with the organisation in terms of the type of gangs which operate in the area. From our perspective we have gangs which operate in syndicates. Then we have your Mafia type of gangs which operate like family entities like the 'Ahshene Gang'. The leadership structure is occupied by brothers of the same family. In Lawler Street for instance we had another gang, the 'Bomb Sqaud' which was run by two brothers with 4 other brothers who acted as the Lieutenants of the gangs. In Helenvale in particular we have the Bongos, Fila Street area, a gang leader who have been involved in gangsterism since the late 60's early 70's. Growing from being a leader of the mafia gang to now being involved in drug trafficking and criminal activities of the current generation. His sons and even his grandson are now in charge of the gang. So we have our syndicates who specialize in motor vehicle theft, hi-jacking and the drug trade. They have now become leading specialist in house robbery which is one of their leading forms of income generation. A lot of the armed robberies taking place in the Metro involve gangs from the Northern Areas and sometimes involve black gangs from the township to perpetrate crimes for them. Then we have very active in our community the prison gang system where young people feel they need to be a prison gangster in order to have any clout or respect in the street gangs. So we have actively had in our community the Street Gangs, for instance we have kids as young as 14 chasing each other with knives and rocks in Helenvale. When these Street Gangs fight, you can expect anything between 10 to 60 guys per side and at any given time you can have 20 or 30 to a 100 boys fighting at once in this mass gang war. So we have Street Gangs, Prison Gangs, Mafia Gangs, and we also have Police Gangs. Police officers who are on the periphery of these gangs. They are the ones informing the gangs of what's happening when there are searches, raids, roadblocks, or anything. The problem is vast as the average ages

of gangsters range anything in between 11 years and anything up to 60 years. Your hardcore gangsters range from ages 19 to late 20's. In some schools we have worked with, you have gang related activity in grade 2 and 3 already. In one school we had gang fights between Grades 2 and 7. So we have a great challenge'.

Some respondents from the NGO 2 focus group describe the gang problem in Helenvale as follows:

Respondent 1

'We have a challenge with multi-power components in our community, which are rooted in gangsterism and poverty. Unemployment also contributes to the revival of old groups and the formation of new groups. However, I believe that we can only manage to rectify the situation by educating the youth, and capacitate them with skills so that they can be empowered. Our community cannot solve problems without violence, especially in our schools'.

Respondent 2

'You know, for example, where I stay in the 'Gaat, two out of three streets have rival gangs and the core of the problem is the families. It's a situation of 'you killed a member of my family ten years ago, now I'm old enough to be part of a gang, and I will therefore kill one of your family as revenge'. It's like family feuds'.

Respondent 3

'Where I stay there is not a lot of gangs but I agree that there is problem. For instance in the Barcelona area where I stay there were no gangs but there are people from other areas of Helenvale who in the past have harmed their families who resides there. So they always come there to fight with young people of the area and this has led to the formation of new gangs. These two school gangs often go to schools to target youth from their area. The matter cannot be resolved because their parents are always taking their side'.

Respondent 4

'Well, there is an issue of territory with the drug-lords here. If I live on one side of the community, I cannot come into another drug-lord's territory for instance because you're gonna mess with my money'.

Respondent 5

'I think this problem is actually deeper than we really know or understand. This is because before the time that we and the organisation have been in operation, there were gangs that had been formed in other areas outside of Helenvale. We also know that many of the inhabitants of Helenvale which one of the oldest areas came from South End and Fairview, whereby there were no services brought to people. People then moved to Schauderville and Helenvale. There was therefore always a contestation between those considered to be the so-called 'haves' and the so-called 'have-nots'. This created jealousy, and rivalry between families, and people tried to find ways and means of making quick money to be better off than the next person. So this is how drug trafficking infiltrated our community because people wanted to make money – they didn't care how they made it. Secondly, there is the notion that once one makes the money, one needs to protect this money – this is where the weak links in society are identified. The problem is deeply rooted in that you will find a situation where children are born addicted due to drug and alcohol use during pregnancy. The children are then born into a vicious cycle of substance use and addiction, and a whole generation is corrupted. So when one is to implement something aimed at dealing with the drug issue, it is wise for one to target young people and those at a much earlier age in order to get them out of the cycle. The problem is that we don't have a successful way to prevent new gang groups from coming up. 20 years into a democratic SA, we are left with the remnants of Apartheid – this is an after-effect of what the apartheid regime has done to our communities. We therefore need a combination of short, medium, and long-term solutions that is going to tackle this issue of drugs and gangsterism, in order to make sure that the next generation of children within that community are educated, motivated, and free from any generational curse. There is so much hatred about the loss of life. There is no place where we can deal with victims of crime. Where people can talk and receive psychological counselling. So this lack of intervention leads to this hatred being carried over from generation-to-generation'.

Respondent 5

'I only know about the 40 Thieves Gang, and Mongrels, and the Mafias Gang. Then there are groups such as the Lollipops, and The Sunsets who fought against some guys on the 'Stoep' which later became The Untouchables. Then there was also Die Stoep and Kamertjie, however Die Stoep became part of The Untouchables.

There was also the Boom Shaka's and the Talibans gang. The latter emerged during the time when the international media's focus was on Afghanistan; as well as the Von Boeties, the Paparazzi's and 16 Honde, Shota's, Room Rats, Fat Cats in Shauderville, the Upstand Dawgs … actually there are many of them, one just needs to apply one's mind to remembering all of these groups. All of these groups are linked to other groups outside this area. For instance, we had a situation with a group from Bloemendal called Spot Bouers and Kak-Makers: these guys are working together with the groups on this side'.

Respondent 6

'People look at our community in a different light now – they are afraid of even catching taxis that drive through our community because of fear of being caught in a cross-fire, or being robbed. I feel bad because this is my area, this is where I grew up. We get judged because we are from this area, due to the high incidence of gang violence. There is also so much hatred because of loss of life. Even when we are rehabilitating people to change for the better, others still believe that they will never change because they keep this pain and hatred bottled up. So even a small incident triggers a big response because of the burdens that they carry, and it is transferred from generation to generation. It has become so bad such that some people cannot solve anything without violence or violent interventions. For instance, in the schools, there is so much violence because these people are so used to violence in their homes. The negative perceptions of Helenvale also manifest itself outside of the community even at University campuses for example'.

Focus group with participants from NGO 3 describes the gang problem as follows:

Respondent 1

'The kingpins or drug dealers have been around for more than 20 to 30 years. These people work smart; they don't get their hands dirty. The so-called gangs are 15 years old and above, very young and are the so called delinquents or outcasts of society. Out of their sense of belonging, they would execute any major task such as murder and feel proud about it. The so-called boss or gang members would praise them saying, 'you've taken out so and so, and he becomes the man. To anybody who is a dropout in society and who found a place of belonging, that is great. There are also the influences of prison gangs. The number gangs etc. There is even a website from which PE gangs operate'. For these youngsters to kill someone is easy, they don't have a conscious except to belong to a gang. Drug bosses use their 'travante' to peddle drugs. These peddlers are now found on every

second corner throughout the Northern Areas. If you look at how long Tik has been used in Cape Town, and consider that it is only in PE for 5 years, there is a huge concern. When it came to PE it exploded. These guys must really have a brilliant marketing strategy to the extent that there are thousands of kids on Tik at the moment. The youngest according to SANCA is only seven years old. From all the drug awareness programmes at Mosques, Karate Clubs etc, the first response to who knows about drugs? What drugs do you know about? The one that always comes up is Dagga and Tik. Tik has definitely overtaken all other Drugs. However, 60% to 70% of the youth of Helenvale are either on glue or on dagga. There is also this notion that anything goes in Helenvale. There is no direction. It's almost safe to say there's no culture in Helenvale, just mere existence. It has become the norm to use derogatory terms for instance. It's just so sad'.

Respondent 2

'The problem is big in Helenvale because the unemployment is high. It's not just Helenvale, its all-around PE. Due to the number of school drop-outs huge numbers of young people wander the streets of Helenvale throughout the day. Their operative word is 'Skarrel' (Hussle). Trying to get anything in their hands, as long as the money comes'.

Respondents from NGO 4 describes the gang problem in Helenvale as follows:

Only Respondent

'Gangsterism is a big problem in Helenvale. The focus of the drug lords has now shifted from adults to the younger generation, especially school dropouts. These are the vulnerable young people from 11 years old upwards who is targeted by these gangs to conduct crimes like burglaries. For robberies there is rarely anyone over the age of 20 years. So these crimes are conducted by teenagers and this is what makes the problem worse'.

6.4.1 Responses by focus group with graduates of the Job Readiness programme as presented by NGO 1

Respondent 1

'There is a big problem with gangsterism. Just before we arrived for this session there was a fight in Vooysen Street where I live. But the parents of these gangs are always taking their sides'.

Respondent 2

'The reintegration of prisoners into society is very critical as these prisoners are vulnerable and must have projects to keep them busy. Family support is also important'.

Respondent 3

'There is a challenge with school dropouts. These kids form groups. For instance there is a group of these young people in almost every street and when they fight it starts with stones and eventually ends up with guns. Unemployment is also a problem as these youngsters have nothing to do and they get involved in mischief'.

Respondent 4

'My sister's grandchild was shot and killed and it was difficult for his mother and grandma to deal with the situation. There is no measure to maintain discipline in our schools. The teachers also do not provide feedback to parents about the behavior of their children during the day. Only at some schools deviant behavior is picked up and communicated to parents but in most cases kids do not go back to school and end up as gangsters and become very quickly involved in drugs'.

6.4.2   Focus group responses from young adults drawn from the Helenvale community with the help of the MBDA

Respondent 1

'We are very afraid and use to move freely but now gang violence is all over. My right to move freely has been taken away'.

Respondent 2

'The people feel unsafe in their own properties. For instance just to do something very basic like going the shop is a huge risk. For the kids to play in the park is also a risk because they can be caught in the cross fire at any time. Gangsterism has had a very negative impact on the community. It has limited our freedom'.

Respondent 3

'They are always at the shops and target our kids when we sent them to buy something'.

Respondent 4

'There are some of my family that is part of a gang but I'm too scared to approach him about it'.

Respondent 5

'Some time ago gangs use to pick their fights with gang members only. However, if you're a relative of a gang member, you are also targeted. During those times we also did not see such a rapid increase in young people participating in gang activities. Today mobs of almost 200 youngsters can attack you. If they are aware that you are related to one of their enemies, you are will be targeted. To be safe, the only solution is to turn to the Lord. They at least have some respect for you if they are aware that you are saved'.

Respondent 6

'If you are known to be friends with certain gangs, you can also not move freely, even if they are family. There are cases where family members belonging to different gangs get into fights with each other. For instance two weeks ago two brothers were shooting at each other. As a result one of them cannot go to his own home'.

Respondent 7

'The average age for kids to join gangs is 10 years and the norm these days is stone throwing and the use of firearms. These are the gangs that operate in our area. It's more about territory and mostly minors who are at the forefront of the violence. Movement is extremely limited once involved in this violence. People cannot go to school and have to be escorted by their parents. But even the parents are now being targeted by these youngsters. They are no more afraid of anyone. The parents are too afraid to get involved with the gangs. Gangsterism is now grown out of control because the Police are not involved. The Police don't have the manpower to address this problem. The police have indicated that their hands are tied. We have to start with the parents for them to take up their parental responsibility. The gang problem is a very big problem. The challenge with the rehabilitation by correctional services is that they do not rehabilitate the community. Therefore gangsters frequent in and out of prison and it is rare that the families and gang members close to the victims of crime would forgive them. They have no choice but to move out of Helenvale'.

Respondent 8

> 'There are no rules for kids. For instance, they are allowed to play in the street until very late at night. Parents have no control over them'.

6.5   Gang Intervention Strategies by NGOs in Helenvale

From the responses of focus group participants it is evident that the situation has deteriorated to unacceptable levels with severe negative consequences for basic human life. The following condensed version of the various strategies and programmes advanced by these entities is an important part of the research. In essence, these findings juxtaposed to conventional policing and crime intelligence apparatus of the SAPS provides an important, unrecognized and poorly supported picture of the intervention strategies by ordinary citizenry to reduce gangsterism. It is also true that in most instances, the organs of civil society and members of the community being firmly grounded in these circumstances are making a fundamental contribution to the reduction of gangsterism and gang violence in particular. The following are the programmes and intervention strategies as revealed through the focus groups.

6.5.1   Intervention strategies applied by NGO 1

One of the key programmes of the organisation is its weekly Monday sessions with different groups of gangs in the area. During these sessions, volunteers of the organisation visit different gangs to engage with them about their well-being, take prayer requests, and pray with them. The engagement ventures into very confidential and personal level matters affecting the gangs, how they see the gang conflict, and with intense advocacy for the need for peace in the community. This process requires the highest levels of trust and ethical conduct by the volunteers who work with different and often rival gangs. The most important aspect about this approach is to maintain the trust relationship. It is also evident that gangs over time gain great respect for the group and the work done to preach peace. These gangs would for instance leave everything they were busy with, switch off the music, put aside occapipes, to lend an ear to the conversation. They often have a desire to listen to those who do not judge them on their involvement with gangs and show interest in the genuine message and compassion displayed by volunteers of the organisation. In most instances it was found that some gangs were willing to change and begin the peace process, but fear how the other gang would respond if they

handed in their firearms, for instance. Some gang members also refuse to open up to the group. In this regard, the fear of what could be communicated to rival gangs is always a major concern.

The NGO has developed a high level of trust which allows volunteers to engage freely in negotiation or mediation processes with rival gangs even during the height of gang conflict. Another important strategy in the approach to gang mediation and negotiation is to provide them with the facts and negative impact of their violence on the community. For example, how many innocent people were affected and the impact on the community is often communicated during the process. The question of how they would respond to the concerns of the community is always put to the gangs. Gangs are also provided with basic negotiation skills to engage with their rivals on possible resolutions to a conflict. Once they have found common ground, the organisation sets up separate meetings and brings them together to facilitate peace agreements. This is a process that takes time as some peace agreements take between 9 to 12 months to finalize. There are therefore no quick fix solutions to gang mediation or negotiation and at various instances these gangs also test the organization's long term commitment to solving the problem.

6.5.1.1   Job Readiness Programme

The programme borrows from the philosophy of the Home Boy Industries based in East Los Angeles which advocates that targeted job opportunities could serve as a key exit strategy for many who are trapped in this vicious cycle. When gangs are taken off the streets there is a need for compassionate rehabilitation and reintegration into the community. At this crucial point they are still caught in the way of life they are used to when part of a gang. The Job-readiness programme is aimed at providing people affected by gangsterism an opportunity to find a job through dealing with some of the basics of job readiness. This programme has also attracted people from the community.

6.5.2   Intervention strategies applied by NGO 2

The organisation has implemented a Non-Centre Based Early Childhood Development Programme (ECDP) which is funded by the DoSDev. The programme is aimed at children who cannot afford the ECDP. The programme is offered at the homes of these vulnerable children and is aimed at stimulating their mental, physical,

emotional, and psychological faculties. The programme seeks to address the lack of early childhood development through a ground-breaking home based learning system. The programme provides for an important building block to break the cyclical negative socialization attributes of a gang ridden community. One of the important elements of the programme is to provide workshops to parents on the developmental stages of their children which seek to enhance their understanding of problem areas and possible solutions, such as access to special schools. Through this programme the organisation seeks to detect various challenges at an early childhood development stage which the organisation believes would ultimately lead to a reduction of gangsterism in the community.

The organisation initiated the establishment of street committees and women patrol groups in the area in 2008. Some of these patrollers have registered as security companies and NGOs and have created a number of jobs in the area.

The use of religion such as reading from the bible to gangs has made a major impact on how the gangs view the organisation.

6.5.3   Intervention strategies applied by NGO 3

The organisation has not worked directly in the Helenvale community but have identified the need to work closer with various other organisations to reach out to families who are the victims of drug abuse. However, the organisation has mentioned that there are other organisations working in the area with a different focus which is more centered on the drug abusers themselves. Members of the organisation are working with other stakeholders in addressing the shortage of food through the implementation of feeding schemes for the children of Helenvale. Through their observations Helenvale has been identified as an area which has seen little growth in terms of development through education and social mobility. It is said that other areas such as Schauderville have seen much more growth and more people have improved their lives through investing in education and accessing job opportunities. Although the prevalence of gangsterism and drugs has been identified as a major social challenge in the area, very few families have reached out to the organisation. The organisation has also identified the problem of dysfunctional families as a major challenge to be addressed if there is to be any visible change in the area. The family unit has deteriorated to an extent where some parents have no control and do not

care about the wellbeing or whereabouts of their children. In an example it was pointed out that children would for instance go missing for weeks and return as if it is normal without any reprimand from the parents. The organisation has highlighted the usage of vulgar language even amongst the very young of the Helenvale community. The organisation argued that there is a need to pay more attention to restore the values of the community. They argue for instance that it is of no use to coach soccer to a nine year old child if the child uses excessive vulgar language. This must be addressed through coaching passionately to address the broader shortfalls of society to which these children are exposed. A combination of using sport to teach values and respect and the strengthening of the family unit through addressing the scars of drug abuse and gangsterism was recommended.

6.5.4   Intervention strategies by NGO 4

The organisation as one of two patroller groups in the area has played a fundamental role to enhance safety and security in the Helenvale community. There is particular resonance in the role of women in the fight against gangsterism. For instance similar to the mothers of gangs who took to the streets during fatal gang violence on the streets of Chicago, ordinary women patrol the streets of Helenvale on a daily basis.

6.6   The challenge of firearms and gang alliances during peace agreements

The removal of firearms from the streets when a peace agreement is reached by two rival gangs is important. During one such peace process gangs were requested to bury their firearms at discrete locations which would not be easily accessible during a lapse in the peace process. It was however during such a period that these gangs intensified the robbery of security companies in the NMBM area to gain access to some firearms to further their battles. It is mentioned that gangs prefer 357 revolvers which do not leave behind too much ballistic evidence like other handguns and pistols, to cover up their tracks. There is the emergence of the 'Schoolboy Gangs' who are eleven year old boys from the area and who have grown into firearm users. It must be taken into consideration that these gangs fight in groups of 50-60 members at a time, and that even if there is only one firearm available, the prospects of possible loss of life or severe injury is great. The research

confirms that firearms have now become easily available to these youngsters.

6.7   Responses by gangs to NGOs

There is a general positive response by gangs to most of the organisations. The organisations are well informed about the different gangs which foster some level of mutual trust and respect. However, the risks involved in gang mediation have exposed some groups to the vulnerable edge of human aggression. For instance during violent attacks, the presence of the mediating group can be confused and lead to serious injury or even loss of life of the mediators or the gang they are engaging or praying for. NGOs mediating these difficult and violent conflicts have also led to their members becoming victims of gang violence. These attacks are mostly carried out by members of gangs who see these organisations as a threat to the success of their illegal activities.

6.8   NGO responses on the role of the religious fraternity in the fight against gangsterism in Helenvale

There has been a general outcry to the religious fraternity to take center stage in leading the community. For instance a meeting called during the launch of the Helenvale Community Centre invited 23 Churches but only 5 attended the important event. There is a concern that religious leaders often condemn gang violence especially during gang funerals, but there is little commitment to eradicating it after such events. A respondent from the Focus group with NGO 1 argued that:

> 'There is some commitment from different religious leaders to engage with the community through a structure called Men of Honor consisting of different church leaders. This effort is aimed at improving relations amongst themselves and with the community in order to collectively attend to various issues such as this strengthening of marriages or any challenge faced by the community. The main purpose of the structure is to unite churches to address the challenges of gangsterism and drug abuse. The structure meets once a week to engage on the status quo and to strategize for possible interventions'.

Respondent 3 (NGO 2)

> 'There is no unity in the church. They fight over positions and they are not a good example to encourage the youth. It is for this reason that the

church is struggling to draw young people to the church because they can see what is happening and the church falls apart'.

Respondent 4 (NGO 2)

'There's a group of young people accompanied by pastors who walk the streets of Helenvale every Sunday at 14h00 to pray against gangsterism, rape, crime or anything that affects the community negatively'.

Respondent 4 (NGO 2)

'For me personally, I think it is really just a drop in the ocean because some religious leaders are trying to make a difference in the community. But if leaders and religious leaders could only put their differences aside and join hands to fight this thing together, it can make more sense. But because people have personal issues like if I cannot lead this initiative then I'm not gonna be part of it'. But there are religious leaders and churches who really want to do this thing but it is shocking and actually very disappointing that Helenvale has more than 60 churches and yet we are sitting with a problem like this. It really raises questions about the motives why people go to church and serve God but they cannot make a change'.

6.9   The challenges facing NGOs

There is consensus in all focus groups conducted with NGOs that there are various challenges with the DoSDev. Most of these challenges relate to recognizing the important role of these organisations in crime prevention and the reduction of gang activities in the Helenvale area. The bureaucratic nature of the departmental processes to apply and acquire resources to fund programmes is also a major setback for these entities. However, these challenges could be a result of a lack of clear understanding or non-recognition about the extent of the socio-economic challenges of the Helenvale Community. There is also the challenge of adjusting NGO programmes to the tailor made programmes of the department. This requires NGOs to almost redefine their core values and vision in order to obtain funding. One of the most important matters raised about Helenvale in the focus groups is a matter which has echoed in the corridors of the local and provincial spheres of government as well as the public discourse over and over again, namely the overcrowding of houses and the lack of housing in general. This is a huge challenge which has contributed to the negative

patterns of social engineering and the breakdown of the family unit with severe consequences for the generations of Helenvale residents over many decades.

6.10 NGO responses on policing and community policing in Helenvale

Respondents from various focus groups made the following statements on Policing and Community Policing:

Respondent 1 (NGO 4)

> 'One of the greatest challenges in Helenvale is police visibility. We can call them numerous occasions but they never arrive. On other occasions they would arrive only to be attacked by the community'.

Respondent 2 (NGO 4)

> 'There are no CPF activities. We haven't had a CPF general meeting for three years in Helenvale although we have requested meetings to no avail'.

Respondent 3 (NGO 1)

> 'If I can describe SAPS in one word it would be 'suppression'. Their work entails suppression, our work entail kinship developing as we call it redemptive relationships. Building relationships with people so that they can find their future, so that they can get liberated, so that they themselves can find some form of freedom shot, a lifestyle lived by them. So in a sense we work as different spokesmen and as much as we avail ourselves, we are seen as a threat because we are seen as friends of gangsters. We are not seen as people who are trying to get gangsters to prison, but rather people who want to get gangsters to heaven, according to some of them. They are trying to get gangsters locked up, we're trying to get gangsters to heaven. So there will always be friction, we are stuck in the middle. There is distrust from the Police and there is distrust from the gangs' side. Most gangs think we are too friendly with the police and most of the police say we are too friendly with the gangs. But in order for us to make a change in the heart of a gang member, we need to love them unconditionally. We make it clear to them that we don't like what you are doing, we don't like your actions, we don't agree with your choices, but as a person we see potential in you'.

Responses from NGO 2

Respondent 1

'We don't have a relationship with SAPS. Because the police always arrive after the crime'.

Respondent 2

'I don't think anyone has a relationship with the police because they are just not doing their jobs properly. It is as if the police is scared to arrive on the scene when the crime is in motion. So they take an hour and only arrive afterwards. So I don't think they are giving their full cooperation'.

Respondent 3

'This Saturday 09th of November 2013 the 16 Honde gang broke into someone's house in 'Sewende Laan. She took out a knife and ran outside but was overpowered by the 3 gang members. When the police arrived she told them that the gang is inside the house and they must arrest them. The police responded and said that they have to wait for reinforcement even if they had two vehicles present. The woman then threatened to take the law into her own hands and argued that she would stab them to death because they are inside her house. Only after the third van arrived the police acted accordingly'.

Respondent 4

'I think the reason why the community don't have a relationship with the police is because they are friends with the gangs and they are the cause why gangs fight and threaten members of the community through providing them with information. For instance the gangs would come straight to you and provide details about what was reported and by whom'.

Respondent 5

'I just want to add to the discussion and say from a community perspective that there is a very bad relationship with the police. They would arrive on the scene, take statements and everything but it won't be long before the file goes missing. For instance, I was at the Law Courts on Monday but there was no docket even if we witnessed the statements being taken by the very police. So there is also some corruption perpetuated by the

community and the police. Also, the police always plea with the community to be their informers and that they will protect our identities, but in the background they identify us to the gangs and in that way the crimes are not resolved'.

Respondent 6

'The police also arrest people with stolen goods and take it to the station. For instance, they confiscated some stolen goods and a list of items which was signed off by me, but when the items were returned, there was some items missing. It means they have possibly helped themselves to the goods. They are corrupt'.

Respondent 7

'In the past when we ran the street soccer programme we had a good relationship with SAPS. Even the traffic department was a part to our events. But over the years the relationship has deteriorated. The CPF is also non-existent. I think it's also to do with the staff at the Gelvandale police station. When Brigadier Keith Meyer was stationed here we worked together nicely. But since then things have deteriorated. We even tried to engage the current station commander but nothing came from it. We believe that there's a leadership problem. The police try to compete with the community and especially with NGOs who are running crime prevention initiatives. They will not be part of your programme if they cannot be in charge. They don't allow the community to lead. For instance, there was a concert which was run by the police, but the programme was just to showcase how everything they do is based on their reports. It was not a genuine intervention where community organisations are taken on board'.

6.11 Comments, recommendations and prospective interventions

6.11.1 Reflections on gang intervention strategies

Firstly, from the research responses to evaluate gang intervention strategies in Helenvale, there is substantial evidence that the area as the nucleus of the much bigger Northern Areas Community of PE is indeed faced with a huge challenge of gangsterism. Compared to other areas faced with similar challenges and over the same time period: Manenburg had 29 murder cases and 60 possession of illegal firearms and ammunition and 3672 drug-related crimes (Coetzee, 2013). The Gelvandale area which includes Helenvale and Schauderville had 23 gang related

murders, 4 possession of illegal-firearms, and 92 attempted murders (SAPS, 2013). Furthermore, gang violence has spread from its conventional Northern Areas based territories into the more affluent areas such as Summerstrand where 3 suspected gang members were killed at 'point blank' range (Wilson, 2013:6). These assassinations were believed to be carried out by some gang members from Cape Town and further confirms the link between gangs across provinces. The gang problem is also not confined to Helenvale. Recent incidents of gang violence have been reported in Schauderville, Kleinskool and the Bloemendal areas.

However, at the heart of managing the problem of gangsterism in the area of study is the need to mobilize greater support for programmes on job readiness, early childhood development, drug-rehabilitation, gang mediation and intervention. It is recommended that the DoSDev develop closer relations with these organisations and provide a much friendlier environment for these organisations to further their work in terms of crime prevention. However, the creation of job opportunities should be considered to form a primary feature of any future anti-gang strategy. It is for these reasons that the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) must be on board to create strategic job opportunities as part of a gang exit strategy. Without realizing possible exit avenues for many youngsters, they would remain trapped in gangsterism with the police and civil society chasing a moving target as gangs grow from strength-to-strength.

6.11.2 Comments on Policing and Community Policing

These responses overwhelmingly confirm the challenges of Policing and Community Policing at a station level. The views of participants were also echoed in the focus group sessions conducted with the two community groups which participated in the research. However, it also highlights the various challenges of the CPF which should be a leading player in the mobilization of the community against the scourge of gangsterism. Importantly, the research with specific reference to the policing of gangsterism in the Helenvale area exposes some failures by the SAPS to work closely with the organisations which have over some time voluntarily put their lives and the lives of their loved ones at stake in the struggle for a better community.

Without the recognition of the work done by these organisations, such as the efforts of intelligence gathering and acknowledging the mediation efforts and expertise of civil society during gang conflict, policing efforts would remain in the main responsive and do not interface successfully with the efforts of civil society and the community to address the problem holistically. The Station and its Commander, supported by the Cluster which remains responsible to provide proactive policing interventions to the challenge of gangsterism, should work closer with NGOs and the community and allow these structures to continue their contributions. The Station has to grapple with its shortfalls in terms of policing and account for the criticisms leveled at a lack of leadership currently. This research confirms a clear enthusiasm of the youth and civil society organs to work closer with the SAPS at the Gelvandale Police Station. Thus, there needs to be a much greater effort to strengthen the CPF in the Gelvandale police precinct which has become vulnerable due to its dependence on police resources. The CPF, as one of the recognized community structures in terms of the Police Act is encouraged to support, unite and play a leading role in the establishment of safety and security initiatives in the area. The challenges facing community policing in the EC Province found some expression in the Policy Speech of the MEC for Safety and Liaison (2014:31) who recently stated that, 'These interventions include the support of the Community Police Board in the development and implementation of a strategic plan as well as exploring a legitimate funding model for the activities of the CPF'. In the same vein, the challenges' facing the SAPS in the EC requires a much more robust and open transformation process. However, without dedicated resources and political will to address transformation challenges in the SAPS, transformation may not take place and this is vital for greater change to take place beyond station level.

The challenges facing the SAPS gang unit also requires urgent intervention. These relate to the psychological state of its members and to address concerns of the community which has identified some police members as gang members.

It is recommended that similar to some University models of Transformation Units, that the SAPS adopt a clearly spelt out transformation trajectory which also addresses the resistance to police oversight as reflected by the portfolio committee on safety and security in the Eastern Cape Province.

6.11.3 Comments on the role of religious leaders

The research also confirms some challenges and disunity amongst the various church organisations in the Helenvale area. At the same time the amount of work done by certain pockets of the religious community cannot go unrecognized. Given the very religious nature of the Northern Areas, it is only through the leadership and influence of religious leaders that a more cohesive religious fraternity can address the vacuum of moral values in the Helenvale community. Without realizing the power of the church beyond its walls and the greater community, the challenge of gangsterism will undoubtedly continue to destroy the lives of the young which is a direct threat to the Helenvale community as the direct constituency from which the church draws its congregation. It is recommended that any comprehensive strategy to address the gang problem should involve the religious fraternity. Most of the NGOs which participated in the research are faith based organisations. However, it is not only those who subscribe to Christianity but also those with strong foundations in the Moslem faith who have shown compassion for what is a very broad and daunting challenge for the entire Northern Areas community. Therefore, whilst the research exposes a very negative reflection of the role of some of the religious entities, the commitment displayed by various faith based NGOs and some churches could provide direction and facilitate a more united religious fraternity.

6.11.4 Policy implications

The draft PCPS recognizes that gangsterism poses a serious threat to the Province. It states that:

> 'Gangsterism is rife in the Northern Areas of PE. Sporadic incidences of gang related violence results in additional murder, attempted murder, assault with grievance body harm, burglaries and illegal possession of firearms and drug related cases being registered. Statistics on this phenomenon is not readily available on the corporate system of the SAPS, but are correlated at the affected stations for operational purposes' (EC PCPS, 2014:19).

It is, however, necessary to provide more direction as to how the problem could prospectively be managed. The JCPS and the DoSL should strongly consider the drafting of a Provincial Anti-Gang Strategy which must form the core of its programmes and agenda.

Although there is now some recognition of the problem of gangsterism in the PE area at a national level, there is a need to share some key lessons from the Eldorado

Park presidential intervention with the Gelvandale and Bethelsdorp Police Precincts to restore public confidence.

CHAPTER SEVEN: **CONCLUSION**

> 'Deep-rooted conflicts cannot be contained or suppressed in the long term, but can be prevented or resolved only by the satisfaction of basic needs through conflict resolution'.

> (Fisher 1997:6)

The research highlights that the Northern Areas has a rich protracted political and social history which deserves much more attention, acknowledgement, and direction from authorities, policy makers, and researchers. SA's protracted history is of critical importance in understanding contemporaneous gangsterism challenges facing many of our communities. Gangsterism is becoming deeply imbedded in our society. It is for these reasons that the theoretical perspectives have to provide possible solutions to past and current challenges. Importantly, the Helenvale area lies in the center of the Northern Areas, and is thus pivotal to the solution of gangsterism in the EC. As such, this research provides details about the extent of the gang problem and the role of the community and civil society in Helenvale in particular.

The literature review discussed the roles of government and civil society in overcoming gangsterism on a global and local scale. It is thus able to deduce that organisations have made a substantial impact to reduce gangsterism in the Helenvale area. It can also be concluded that government's efforts, if better coordinated and directed, together with the development of key policies, could provide the urgent, short term interventions needed, as well as strengthen longer term strategies towards the reduction of gangsterism in the area. It is also noteworthy that the role of the SAPS and the CPF cannot be over emphasized, especially in the Helenvale area, but notes the broader transformational challenges which negatively affect the day-to-day running of both these entities must be urgently addressed. However, the lack of participation of the SAPS in the research limited the understanding of the researcher of a policing perspective. The full cooperation of the SAPS during this research project was seen as a key instrument of the state in terms of policing tasked to deal with the phenomenon of gangsterism and could have provided valuable insights to the extent of the problem and some solutions to the Helenvale challenge. That being said, it also presents an opportunity for a similar

research project with their perspective as the primary focus and this could inform the matter greatly.

The researched literature provided some critical insight into defining the phenomenon of conflict and putting into context the Human Needs Theory of Burton (1988), Sandole (1990), as well as the biological perspective as articulated by Fromm (1973), with some core theoretical arguments on the hierarchy of needs debate. It is from these theoretical inputs that a much deeper understanding of how societal values, norms, as well as biological and human needs impact on individual and group behaviour within society.

The section on Human Needs Theory also strove to some extent to place the phenomenon of gangsterism into the social science paradigm through specifically drawing on Burton's (1997) observations of what compels the individual to join street gangs and how the needs and desires of gang members remain the needs and desires of a particular segment of human civilization which cannot be ignored. When society enforces upon individuals its dominant values and norms, such a process leads to inevitable levels of conflict with law enforcement agencies and some pockets of the community. One of the key observations drawn from theory is the argument between the dilemma of coercing dominant values and norms versus the need to acknowledge the human needs of individuals. It is therefore simply not possible to find solutions to complex societal problems such as gangsterism without considering key biological and human needs aspects. The need for identity and security also comes to the fore strongly. Hence providing some solutions to the gang problem throughout the Northern Areas is closely linked with the restoration of the identity and human dignity of its people. Therefore, the provision of enough work and economic opportunities to address issues related to security remains a key priority. Fisher (1997) believes that it is inevitable that when the basic needs of individuals or groups are denied, that it would be very difficult to find solutions when these groups are involved in conflict as they have a burning desire to 'participate in decisions that affect them and to determine their own destiny directly' (1997:6).

It is also noteworthy to recognize the divergent theoretical arguments about human needs theory. The study found that the social make-up of the Northern Areas society, community and Province constituted dichotomous perspectives, some of whom

believe that those who participate in gang activities are the deserved outcasts of society, and others who subscribe to a more optimistic view that change is possible and that these are our children even if they remain troubled and deviant.

It is therefore argued that the consideration of these important theoretical arguments and a stronger youth intervention strategy through NGOs could prove to change the current destructive trajectory of gang conflict in the Helenvale and surrounding areas. With this in mind there also needs to be a strong focus on communication between the different stakeholders of these communities with particular reference to gangsterism: the community, NGOs, the gangsters, as well as SAPS, national and provincial government. The NGO sector in particular needs the commitment of government not only in terms of funds, but in terms of strategy in order to strategically manage this complex phenomenon.

The research engaged with the management of gang conflict through highlighting some key theoretical arguments on Conflict Management and Transformation approaches such as communication, negotiation and mediation, and looked at the role and approaches to the mediation of gang conflict by referring to some international examples.

This work therefore highlighted key theoretical arguments on negotiation and mediation as instruments of peace. From these arguments, it can be deduced that there is a need for a more in-depth understanding of gang related conflict scenarios especially in the South African context. The role of civil society and governments and their roles in the initiation, negotiation, and mediation initiatives for gang conflict has been emphasised through drawing mostly from important international lessons for this purpose. It should also be argued that there is a need for further research with regard to the governmental policy and aims in terms of gangsterism in the Eastern Cape Province. Further to this research, however, it is crucial that the community based conflict practitioners be empowered as skilled negotiators if this problem is going to be dealt with holistically. The research also found that there is already a critical base of organic knowledge as a result of consistent and passionate work by NGOs with different gangs over time. However, while the Workplace Readiness Programme is vital to preparing community members for employment, there is a need for an entrepreneurial focus.

It cannot be overstated that proper coordination of governmental and non-governmental efforts along with consistent support and recognition by government and all its agencies will go far towards providing solutions to this complex problem.

It is the position of the researcher that a much more concerted effort to address the Northern Areas challenge of gangsterism in particular is possible through the urgent prioritization of a Provincial Anti-Gangsterism Strategy which should be executed in close collaboration with the NGO sector.

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ANNEXURE A

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

General Introduction – Please provide a brief introduction

1. Please provide some background about the organisation. I.e. How long has the organisation existed? And what is your core mandate

2. How would you describe the gang problem in Helenvale and its surrounding areas Please elaborate

3. What programmes have you implemented to address this challenge?

4. What are some of your major achievements to reduce gangsterism?

5. How are these programmes sustained?

6. What are some of your challenges?

7. Do you think the church and other religious institutions have played a role in raising consciousness?

8. Do you have relationships with other NGOs in the area? Please elaborate?

9. Do you have a relationship with the SAPS? How would you describe it?

10. Which other state departments are playing a role to reduce gangsterism?

11. What do you think is the solution to the problem of gangsterism and drug abuse in Helenvale?

12. What has been the attitude of gangs towards your organisation?

13. What levels of support have you received from government institutions so far?

14. What is the level of support received from the private sector?

15. What is the level of support and reaction from the community?

16. Do you have or need any formal training in mediation and negotiation?

17. What are some of your approaches when you intervene in crises situations?

18. Please provide any other information you think would be of interest.

ANNEXURE B

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: SAPS

South African Police Service ✠ Suid-Afrikaanse Polisiediens

Private Bag	X 7471	Fax No: 040-6088691
Privaatsak		Faks No:
Your reference/U verwysing:		OFFICE OF THE PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER
My reference/My verwysing:	3/34/2	SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE EASTERN CAPE
Enquiries/Navrae:	Brigadier De Klerk Colonel Gweyi	
Tel:	040 – 6087420	

B Jonas
5 Potgieter Street
Breidbach
KING WILLIAMS TOWN
5600

Dear Mr Jonas

ACCEPTANCE LETTER: RESEARCH PROPOSAL: AN EVALUATION OF GANG INTERVENTION STRATEGIES IN THE HELENVALE AREA: NELSON MANDELA METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY: RESEARCHER B JONAS

Kindly be informed that, the Provincial Commissioner South African Police Service: Eastern Cape hereby approves your request with regard to the above mentioned subject.

The Research Proposal has been found relevant and in accordance to the strategic objectives of the South African Police Service.

The Researcher intends to to provide research towards the improvement and better understanding of gang intervention strategies by committed NGO's and the religious fraternity in their efforts and contribution to reduce gang violence, specifically gang related deaths, and fatalities as a result of escalating gang violence over the past two decades. The Gelvandale police station area has been selected for this purpose.

Data will be collected by means of face to face, semi structured interviews.

This office approves the study in terms of our prescripts, National Instruction 1 of 2006.

Yours sincerely

_____ MAJOR GENERAL
f/PROVINCIAL COMMISSIONER: EASTERN CAPE
Z MKI
Date: 2013-09-26

ANNEXURE C

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: DOSL

Province of the
EASTERN CAPE
SAFETY & LIAISON

COMMUNITY SAFETY
Old Commissioner Building • Independence Avenue • Bhisho • Eastern Cape
Private Bag X0057 • Bhisho • 5606 • REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA • Website: www.ecprov.gov.za
Tel: +27 (0)40 609 2376 • Fax +27 (0) 40 639 1918 • email: imogen.scholtz@safety.ecprov.gov.za

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Date: 15 July 2013   Ref: 10/6/1(07/13)   Enq: Neil Naidoo

Mr B Jonas
MPhil Candidate
Conflict and Transformation Management
Nelson Mandela Metro University

SUBJECT: REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH ON GANG
INTERVENTIONS IN HELENVALE

Correspondence dated 02nd July 2013 regarding the above mentioned matter is hereby acknowledged and refers.

Please be informed that I am available to assist with the intended research you wish to conduct relating to gang intervention in Helenvale.

For more information do not hesitate to contact me directly on 082 578 1436.

I wish you well with your studies!

Regards

Mr N Naidoo
Director
Social Crime Prevention

PGDP
EASTERN CAPE

Kwawa ehqqqmbileyo!

Growth and Quality of Life through Safety & Security

1 of 1

ANNEXURE D

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: ENDANGERED SPECIES

ENDANGERED SPECIES

A Member of The Zanithemba Charity Foundation – Section 18, NPO #061-457

P.O. Box 12338, Centrahill, 6006   Justin A. Oliphant: 0847116686   endangeredspeciespe@gmail.com

Attention: Mr Branton Jonas

Endangered Species project considers it an honour to be a participant in the research project which you are embarking on. As a community organisation on the forefront of gang intervention, mediation and rehabilitation; we are keen to find amicable solutions and exit strategies for youth in conflict with the law.

With every blessing,

Justin A. Oliphant

Programme Co-ordinator

Vision

To be a catalyst for effective transformation in communities affected by gangsterism, crime & drugs.

Mission

To cultivate a culture of civil obedience; moral renewal; and social mobility among people at risk, and people choosing to renounce gangsterism and crime.

ANNEXURE E

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: EYETHU SAFETY PATROLLERS

18 July 2013

To Mr. B. Jonas
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
Conflict and Transformation Management Masters Candidate
31 Dinsmore Road
Schauderville
Port Elizabeth
6020

Dear Mr. Jonas

The Helenvale Eyethu Safety Patroller Group herewith agrees to participate in your masters research project on gangsterism. We are looking forward to participate in your programme and thank you for approaching our organisation for this purpose.

Regards

Mrs. Rina Potgieter
Chairperson Eyethu Safety Patrol Group

ANNEXURE F

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: FAD

In the Name of Allah/God, the Beneficent, the Merciful

F.A.D

Families Against Drugs (Est. March 2011)

NPC 2013/102859/08

Al Ansar Building, Bell Rd. Parkside

Tel: 071 898 8354/ 0824932204

www.familiesagainstdrugs.co.za   email: familiesagainstdrugs786@gmail.com

16 July 2013

To whom it may concern

Families against Drugs is a non-profit organization striving for the upliftment of the youth in our community, thus far having helped numerous children and young adults overcome their addiction as well maintain their sobriety by means of regular meetings.

We are willing to assist in you in your research in order to complete your project.

Thanking you

A Ahmed

Secretary (0722694905)

Please forward correspondence to email: docaadil@gmail.com

ANNEXURE G

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH: HEYP

14 July 2013

Mr. Branton Jonas
Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
Candidate MPhil Conflict Transformation and Management

Dear Mr. Jonas

Our organization has the pleasure to provide consent to participate in this important research project. Gangsterism has largely affected the Helenvale Community very negatively. You are most welcome to work with our organization and the community at large to find solutions to this problem.

Regards,
Desira Davids (Projects Coordinator)
071 129 5839/073 340 7011

ANNEXURE INFORMED CONSENT FORM

NELSON MANDELA METROPOLITAN UNIVERSITY
INFORMATION AND INFORMED CONSENT FORM

TO BE HANDED OUT PRIOR TO SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS/FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS, APPENDIX (1a), AND
TO BE HANDED OUT WITH QUESTIONNAIRE(S), APPENDIX 1(b) and APPENDIX 1(c), AND TO BE COMPLETED AND COLLECTED SEPERATELY FROM
QUESTIONNAIRE IN ORDER TO KEEP CONFIDENTIALITY AND ANONOMITY

RESEARCHER'S DETAILS	
Title of the research project	AN EVALUATION OF INTERVENTION STRATEGIES INTO GANGSTERISM IN THE HELENVALE AREA
Reference number	
Principal investigator	Branton Jonas – Student Number: 203018400
Address	Eastern Cape Provincial Legislature Independence Avenue Bhisho 5600
Contact telephone number (private numbers not advisable)	0406080179

A. DECLARATION BY OR ON BEHALF OF PARTICIPANT		Initial
I, the participant and the undersigned	(full names)	

A.1 HEREBY CONFIRM AS FOLLOWS:		Initial
I, the participant, was invited to participate in the above-mentioned research project		
that is being undertaken by	Branton Jonas	
from	Conflict Transformation and Management Programme	
of the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University.		

THE FOLLOWING ASPECTS HAVE BEEN EXPLAINED TO ME, THE PARTICIPANT:				Initial
2.1	Aim:	The overall aim of this study is to evaluate the intervention strategies used by the NGO community, religious organisations, in the problem of gangsterism in the Helenvale area of Port Elizabeth. The following research question could then be formulated: The research questions that guide the study will focus on establishing what the perceptions are regarding the role of community structures in reduction of gang violence in the Helenvale area in terms of: • The role of NGO's operating in the area • The role of the Church or Religious Institutions • Support of government institutions in the above		
2.2	Procedures:	Participation will be in the form of participation in focus groups and/or taking part in individual semi-structured interviews.		
2.3	Risks:	n/a		
2.4	Possible benefits:	n/a		
2.5	Confidentiality:	My identity will not be revealed in any discussion, description or scientific publications by the investigators.		
2.6	Voluntary participation / refusal / discontinuation:	My participation is voluntary, and I understand that I may withdraw at any stage without penalisation.	YES	NO
		My decision whether or not to participate	TRUE	FALSE

2.7	Participation in this study will not result in any additional cost to myself.	

A.2	I HEREBY VOLUNTARILY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE ABOVE-MENTIONED PROJECT:		
Signed/confirmed at	Port Elizabeth	on	2013

	Signature of witness:
Signature of participant	Full name of witness:

B. STATEMENT BY OR ON BEHALF OF INVESTIGATOR(S)

I,	Branton Jonas		declare that:		
1.	I have explained the information given in this document to		Name of participant:		
2.	He / she was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions;				
3.	This conversation was conducted in	**Afrikaans**	X		
4.	I have detached Section C and handed it to the participant		YES		NO
Signed/confirmed at			on		20
Signature of interviewer					

C. IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO PARTICIPANT

Dear participant,

Thank you for your participation in this study. Should, at any time during the study:

- you require any further information with regard to the study, or
- the following occur

(indicate any circumstances which should be reported to the researcher)

Kindly contact	Branton Jonas
at telephone number	073 4666 840