Trust, security and participation;
A qualitative study of security in urban South Africa,
Gordon’s Bay, Cape Town

Irene Frimanslund

Master in Public Administration
Department of Administration and Organisation Theory

UNIVERSITY OF BERGEN
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ABSTRACT

The issue of human security and the managing of it has been, and continues to be, of scholarly importance in relation to democratic development. In South Africa this issue has always been of concern, not just during the apartheid era, but also before and after. Since the transition to democracy in 1994, the country has experienced massive challenges in their quest for democratic development. Issues such as race, poverty and inequality are all issues to consider when one is a student of security in the South African context.

This thesis explores security in relation to trust, civil society and the relative context in which the security regimes in South Africa have been forged. The study explores how informants from one community in Gordon's Bay experience their feeling of security in relation to their own social context.

The empirical findings in the study are based on interviews with 10 people situated in Gordon's Bay, South Africa. The interviews were conducted in May 2010.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABCD</td>
<td>Asset-Based Community Development</td>
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<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
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<td>CAPS</td>
<td>Chicago Alternative Police Strategy</td>
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<td>CPD</td>
<td>Chicago Police Department</td>
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<td>CPF</td>
<td>Community Police Forum</td>
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<td>GEAR</td>
<td>Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy</td>
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<td>EPG</td>
<td>Empowered Participatory Governance</td>
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<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union</td>
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<td>CCID</td>
<td>(Central City) Improvement District</td>
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<td>NCPS</td>
<td>National Crime Prevention Strategy</td>
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<td>PSI</td>
<td>Private Security Industry</td>
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<td>RDP</td>
<td>Reconstruction and Development Program</td>
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1 INTRODUCTION

15 years after the end of apartheid the issue of security is still a highly potent issue in the political context of South Africa. The transition to democracy has been long and painful as well as challenging for the entire country. It has in this respect become evident that democracy entails hard work, and is not something that presents itself automatically by voting in regular elections, it is something that transcends the whole state and the people living in it.

Traditional security regimes of the South African state have had difficulties with meeting the challenges of crime and security since the democratic transition of 1994. Not only has the police force itself been proven to have severe, systemic faults, but the tensions amongst the different ethnic groups\(^1\): blacks, coloured\(^2\) and whites are still real and noticeable. As the South African state's public approach to security governance has failed, scholars have tried to distinguish new modes of governance derived from more participatory forms of democracy. In the South African context, a special emphasis has been put towards the models of dual policing as well as the model of community policing. (Brogden et al. 1993; Rosingaunet, 2009).

As a scholarly experiment, the model of community policing has also been moved into the field of practice. The Zwelethemba project from 1997 (Gerits, 2004; Rosingaunet 2009) focused on enforcing security in townships through the use of locally appointed peace committees. Community policing is therefore not a new concept, however it has not been as successful in its implementation as one would wish. Still, in relation to the South African context, there seems definitely to be a place and need for the involvement of actors from the private sphere in the process of security governance. As Brogden (et al. 1993:10) puts it: “...policing is now everybody's business...”.

This thesis will take a closer look upon how one particular local community in Cape Town, South Africa deals with issues of security. The thesis will explore the residing perceptions on security and community participation within the community of Gordon's Bay.

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\(^1\) Any racial characterisations made in this thesis, should not be regarded as the author's own constructions. They do not reflect the opinions of the author in any way.
\(^2\) In this thesis the term 'coloured' will refer to the people «...found by white settlers in the Cape, who later mixed with whites and Asians...» (Gordon, 2006:xiii)
1.1 Defining concepts: human security and citizenship

This section will focus on defining three important concepts that will be explored and discussed throughout this thesis. The three concepts are human security and citizenship. As well as being dynamic and context dependant, the three concepts are interconnected and is best understood in relation to one another. As such they are essentially contested concepts (Heywood, 2004:5).

1.1.1 Human security

The concept of security figures prominently in debates and discussions related to issues concerning governance and public administration. In relation to human security the UN provided the following definition in 1994:

“‘freedom from fear and freedom from want’ and characterized as “safety from chronic threats such as hunger, disease, and repression as well as protection from sudden and harmful disruptions in the patterns of daily life – whether in homes, in jobs or in communities”’(Tadjbakhsh, 2008:1)

This definition has been accused of being both too abstract and imprecise, but it has also been praised its adaptability (UN, 2010). The main focus of the UN when defining human security in the above manner was to be able to tie it directly to other important issues in the UN Developmental Framework including: “...poverty, armed conflict, high food- and energy prices.” (UN, 2010).

Furthering the notions of the UN, King (et al. 2001-2002) defined the concept of human security in a more scientific way:

“...the number of years of future life spent outside a state of “generalized poverty””

In this respect generalised poverty is understood as: “...when an individual falls below the threshold for any key domain of human well-being.” (King et al. 2001-2002:585). Furthermore, they argue that this definition will provide better research in the field of security, especially in relation to “...risk assessment, prevention, protection and compensation...” (King et al. 2001-2002:586). Both definitions are relevant and useful, and it is therefore difficult to determine which one should be judged the better. As one definition is based on engulfing the broader span of human security, while the other focus on the research ability of the concept, the two seem to complete one another. The most important notion, noted by King (et al. 2001-2002:585-589) is that any definition of human security needs to have a base, and perspective, in the individuals that are involved.
1.1.2 Citizenship and participation

An important notion in relation to debates concerning democratic development is the concept of citizenship. There are different ways in which citizenship may be conceptualised, but the definition we do attribute to it will also be relative to the kind of society and political community we want (Jones, 2000:1). The idea of citizenship is also related to the idea of humans as humans doing, not only as human beings. This idea is described through the concept of human agency:

“To act as a citizen requires first a sense of agency, the belief that one can act; acting as a citizen, especially collectively, in turn fosters that sense of agency.” (Jones, 2000:1).

As such the notion of citizenship also becomes relevant to the notion of community participation. This is because human agency may be viewed as manner of enabling people to act as agents, thus fulfilling their obligations, and enjoy the rights of being a citizen (Jones, 2000:2). The role of citizens in terms of direct involvement in the processes of governance – direct participation – has been of particular interest in the democratic discourse focused on market liberalisation. As such, in relation to citizen participation within the state, there exist an essential belief that the individual will forego its own needs in order to produce a favourable outcome for the common good (Jones, 2000:3).

Citizen participation may also be conceptualised as an entity related more to the sphere of civil society than within the constraints of the state itself. As such, the focus of attention shifts towards the community, where local participation between individuals may contribute to the improvement of their own future. In relation to this theory, the concept of citizenship is also important due to its ability not only to include, but also exclude. As such, the concept of citizenship may easily fall prey to prevailing discourses of oppression, such as apartheid. In that sense the question presented by Jones (2000:5) becomes relevant: “...how can particular groups develop unity, consciousness and political strength on the basis of shared oppression and need...?” As such the notion of community, where citizenship is enforced, relevant. In this thesis, the community refers to a social construction, that indicates shared solidarity, practices and traditions as well as emotional connectedness:

"They are the environments in which modern citizens work and play and live - environments where we should feel safe and secure." (Gordon, 2006:180)
1.2 Personal motive

My personal motive for engaging in these types of question is a real interest in political issues and democratic development in general. However, the politics of the African continent seemed difficult to get a grasp on as they seemed ever interconnected as well as constantly changing. Still for the work of my bachelor thesis, I chose to write a review article of some of the experiences related to democratic development in Africa. It was only a 20 page paper, but it spurred my interest. As such, I wanted to explore more of the theme during the work for my master thesis and when I was invited to South Africa to explore the country first-hand, I grabbed the opportunity. The writing of this thesis has definitely made me more aware of how acute the security situation is, not only in South Africa, but considering recent developments, also on a more global scale.

1.2.1 Intention

The main intention of this study is to gain insight in, and understanding of, how it is possible to find alternative ways to govern security in small, urban communities. The importance of this understanding seems essential, as many of the community based security initiatives seems either to fail completely, or fail after being implemented for some time. As community based initiatives grows more and more common, it seems that an understanding of the mechanisms that lies underneath, before actually implementing a project, can be of great value.

This thesis is based on arriving at an understanding of why local security regimes are so difficult to foster and maintain in urban South Africa. In that respect the thesis will provide both a theoretical and a contextual overview of relevant issues. Furthermore the thesis will provide an analysis of the empirical material, based on the 10 in-depth interviews conducted in the proximity of Gordon's Bay. Finally the thesis will provide a broad based discussion of some of the analysis' main findings. As a guideline the thesis will keep in tone and relevance to its main question:

*What may be some of the factors to explain the lack of a functioning, local security regime in urban South African communities such as Gordon's Bay?*

1.3 Outline of the thesis

The thesis will start with an overview in chapter 2 of the relevant theories related to participatory democracy, civil society and social capital. In chapter 3 the South African context will be outlined
and developed. Starting with issues related from the colonial times, through apartheid and finally notions relevant to the post-apartheid era. Chapter 4 relates the method and research strategies used in this thesis. Chapter 5 presents the analysis according to the main question of the thesis. The analysis will be presented and outlined through relevant categories. Chapter 6 picks up on the findings in the analysis and discuss them in relation to the theories and context presented in the previous chapters. Finally chapter 7 ends with a brief summing up of the thesis, with some special remarks regarding the study's possible implications for further research in the area.
2 THEORY

This chapter will provide an overview of the relevant theories that will be used in the chapters concerning analysis and discussion. The chapter will focus on presenting democratic theory with a participatory perspective. Some practical applications of participatory democracy in relation to community policing will also be discussed. Finally, the chapter will explore the sphere of civil society and social capital.

2.1 The demise of liberal democracy

The most common application of democracy, is liberal democracy. One of the core features of liberal democracy is the concept of representation. Although the exact link between liberal democracy and representation may be of an obscure and debatable nature (Pitkin, 1967:2), the associated understanding has become the following:

"...a form of government which combines a limited involvement of the people in their government, mainly through periodic elections, with a rigorous separation of the people from their government in most other respects." (Hindess, 1997:80-81)

The advantage of tying the understanding of liberal democracy to the concept of representation is the focus it awards to accountability from the government towards the people (Hindess, 1997:81). As such, the understanding of liberal democracy has reached the point where it can no longer be supplanted, only supplemented (Chambers, 2003:308-309). Being a European invention, originally, the properties of liberal democracy have been mostly directed towards that of solving Western problems (Wallerstein, 1997:1). However, as liberal democracy has expanded, so have the criticisms towards it:

"Why is liberal democracy compromised? Because liberal democratic representative governments offer low levels of government accountability, structurally restricted policy choices because of the party system, and low levels of public debate and citizen participation." (Hirst et al. 1991:134)

Scholars have deemed the attempt to make liberal democracy a world system of governance not only flawed, but also Eurocentric because treating it like a one-size-fits-all-type of theory is faulty when it is in many cases...ill suited to the novel problems we face in the 21st century."

4 Eurcentrism treats the European history as its touchstone in relation to historical experience. As such, everything that is not European, or western, in its essence may be deemed as "unnatural" or "unfavourable" (Mamdani, 1996:12).
Although liberal democracy continues to be the most popular form of democratic governance, some scholars see it mostly as: “...an unfinished project...” (Dryzek, 1996:475) Because of this fact, a shift in the democratic literature has been evident; from spreading democracy to assessing the quality of them (Dryzek, 1996; Chambers, 2003).

**2.1.1 A deliberative turn**

The pluralist nature of the democratic project makes it an essentially contested one (Heywood, 2004:225). As such, not to acknowledge its multiple meanings may put one at the risk of becoming victim to a misunderstanding related to the whole of the social-and political science field (Stoker et al. 2002:3). However, this pluralist nature also leads to some inherent ambiguities within the nature of the concept itself:

“...where the one acknowledges the natural liberty of the person and aims to defend it against external obstacles, the other threaten to undermine that liberty in the name of what they describe as collective interests and priorities.” (Hindess 1993:304)

The blend of two doctrines, limited government and individual freedom, are amongst the controversies within this concept that have led to important contributions to normative, democratic theory. Dahl for instance has focused his attention towards the problem of self-governance in modern societies where one now finds “...social pluralism inside and outside national boundaries...” (Bailey et al. 2003:100). Taking this into account, Dahl recognises the need for traditional democratic thinking to be incorporated in the contemporary political world, in order to tackle important, political problems. Especially those concerning the issues of participation:

"The persistent aim of his thinking is to find ways in which rank-and-file citizens can effectively participate, even when...they can exercise vanishingly little influence one by one as voters..." (Bailey et al. 2003:101)

Chambers (2003) suggests that the turn towards a more deliberative approach in democratic theory presupposes that the concept of democracy naturally should involve, deliberation. The deliberative understanding of democracy, involves an inherent normative assumption that allows us to better deal with the political pluralisation, than what more realist models of democracy may suggest (Chambers, 2003:308) The shift from what Chambers terms “voting-centric” towards “talk-centric” forms of democratic theory, represents a view of democratic theory based upon features such as accountability and discussion. As such, the perspective from which one chooses to understand democracy is also related to important questions related to how deliberation might impact our
preferences and self-interest, and thus lead to consensus (Chambers, 2003:309).

2.2 The issue of governance

Related to the issue of democracy and its deliberative turn, is the governance debate. The process of globalisation has been an important factor in contributing to the spread of liberal democracy around the globe. This development may be understood in relation to the relationships between "...actors, mechanisms and principles." (Braithwaite et al. 2000:15). This argument follow Elster's understanding of social sciences in relation to causal mechanisms. This argument is relevant in the understanding of democratic development, because even if one manage to identify the causality of certain events, it is always difficult to completely ascertain why one mechanism was triggered, instead of another.

Furthermore, Braithwaite (et al. 2000:16) argues that the mechanisms at play are highly actor dependant, manifesting conscious choices relative to the principles guiding the actors.

“They are principles in that they constitute an agreed standard of conduct. They propel action in a certain direction.” (Braithwaite et al. 2000:18)

As such, the process of governance is relevant to the concept of citizenship and human agency, mentioned in the introduction, in terms of human agency being about the presence of a conscious capacity of the individual (Jones, 2000:1). The process of governance, in these circumstances, does not only include the activities of government, but also the adjacent spheres that interact with government. Thus, the notion of participatory governance puts a special emphasis on the inclusion of people in the process, and their capacities to to activate causal mechanisms through conscious choices. In particularly those who are marginalised:

"It emphasizes the need to introduce mechanisms to encourage the involvement of those we do not find it easy to participate in state structures and processes because these are generally far removed from their own cultures and practices... Participatory governance implies the engagement of government with a group with interests beyond those of a single individual..." (Danida, 2004:3)

The complex interplay between politicians and civil servants in the governance process is of special interest because many actors are dealing within the same political spheres and demands legitimacy in doing so. As such, some actors will inevitably oppose new structures that may seem threatening to their status as elected officials or civil servants acting on a volunteer basis. From a citizen
perspective, the focus of governance through participation may improve the legitimacy of government actions as people are brought together to realise common objectives. However, this will require new ways of thinking within the existing institutions, as well as new rules for interactions between organisations (Danida, 2004: 5). This is no easy challenge to take on, as it involves a total restructuring of the way social problems are to be solved, both in the ways of thinking and acting. Several attempts have been made on local levels, in different regions and continents, indicating that a clear purpose and strategy is necessary in order to achieve this type of efficient participatory governance, where also the needs of the most marginalised groups are met (Danida, 2004:5-6)

2.2.1 Governance and democratic experimentalism

As the discourses of deliberation and participation have become more important new, key principles have emerged. Instead of democracy through representation, the phrasing around the improved modes of governance is evident. The key words in theories in this direction are: participation, increased accountability and decentralised power. One of these theories is democratic experimentalism:

“...in which power is decentralized to enable citizens and other actors to utilize their local knowledge to fit solutions to their individual circumstances, but in which regional and national coordinating bodies require actors to share their knowledge with others facing similar problems.” (Dorf, 1998:267)

As such, the point is to reduce the impact of the inherent ambiguity related to liberal democracy by reducing the distance between the ideal of limited government, and the governing institutions that are meant to keep them in check. This theory of democratic experimentalism is particularly directed towards the relationship between the institutions of law making and law executors (Dorf et al. 1998:267). It is thus the idea that this type of democratic thinking better protects constitutional ideals, due to its focus on the interchanging relationship between social and institutional actors, and relieve the pressure of a strained judiciary branch (Dorf et al.1998:268).

Although conceived in the institutional terrain of the US, the relevance of this kind of thinking may also be connected to other parts of the democratic world. For instance, Sabel (2001:122) connects this theory to the practices of the European Union (EU). The extensive use of expert committees beyond parliamentary control is arguably one of the first and foremost reasons for the democratic deficit of the Union. The remedy for these dilemmas concerning public accountability where the relationship between government and judiciary is blurred, is thus to move forward with a more
deliberative approach to governance. This mode of governance supposedly draws upon local knowledge in order to achieve democratic development. The role of the state is, thus, to define the broader political projects, as well as provide general standards as to how these projects are to be executed (Sabel, 2001:123).

### 2.2.2 Pragmatism in deliberative democracy

The argument in favour of a more deliberative approach to the question of governance is deeply entrenched in the belief that the new aspects of modern life needs a new governance approach (Dorf et al. 1998:283). In the 21st century the conflicting issues consist of everything from economic interests to the provision of public services, to debates concerning moral differences. The theory of democratic experimentalism is based on pragmatic principles derived from the understanding that theories are dependent on the experiences that leads up to them. As such pragmatism may function as a guide because it has the ability to cut across various spheres of human activity. It may thus also be what links emergent solutions in both public and private life:

“Today, when private solutions often seem to work and public ones often do not, this inquiry, limited and tentative though it remained, invites us to consider the possibility that the explanation for what we observe may lie not in the intrinsic features of the public and private spheres, but rather in historically contingent and publicly corrigible differences in the problem-solving methods currently applied in those spheres.” (Dorf et al. 1998:286)

The major point to acknowledge from this theoretical construct is the aim towards changing the conditions for participation in civic life. As such, one may arrive at a democratic form that is both more effective as an instrument for solving problems, as well as it is more faithful to its purpose of assuring the autonomy of free and equal citizens (Dorf et al. 288-289).

### 2.2.3 Participatory democracy

A pragmatic model of governance may have different ways of manifesting itself. Fung (2004) has presented a model focusing on extended accountability from the government towards citizens, as well as principles of participatory governance derived from the early model of Cook (et al. 1971). Fung (2004) has, in this respect, focused on the extended accountability from government towards citizens, based upon principles essential for democratic experimentalism, as well as principles of participatory democracy derived from the early model of Cook (et al. 1971). The model Fung (2004) presents is termed Empowered Participatory Governance (EPG). His model of EPG may

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5. Theoretically, the model of EPG is derived from a reform family referred to as Empowered Deliberative Democracy.
thus be considered as a version of democratic experimentalism in practice.

Cook (et al. 1971) arrived at a deliberative form of democracy already in 1971. The model was created as a result of the ever expanding of public bureaucracy, as well as a growing distance emerged between state officials and the regular man in the street (Cook et al. 1971:2). Two important notions were essential to this early version of participatory democracy: First, power need to be moved down in the bureaucratic hierarchy, closer to the people. Second, more localised, representative structures needed to be created, in order to include citizens in the decision making process (Cook et al. 1971:4). Furthering these important notions of participatory governance, Fung (et al. 2001) created the governance model of EPG. The basis for his main study concerning EPG was a study of local governance in urban communities in Chicago (Fung, 2004). A special attention was given to the efforts laid down by these communities in order to re-empower themselves:

"...mustering the leadership, organization, staff motivation, and community commitment to imagine and implement such changes is itself more difficult than any particular change." (Fung 2004:1)

As such, this is a suggestion of how participatory democracy may be executed in practical terms. Like the early model of Cook (et al. 1971) it is a result of the perceived inadequacies of the more conventional modes of governance where the notions of representation and electoral victory are the same as governance control (Cook et al. 1971:23). Although, such models have been accused of "...using participatory democracy to undermine representative democracy as well as other features of the status quo." (Cook et al. 1971:11), their own claim is simply to "...seek a fuller realisation of democratic values than competitive representation itself can attain." (Cohen et al. 2004:23). As such, this model focuses more upon citizens and their capacities to govern themselves. As a bottom-up initiative, presupposing the participating of citizens in administering their own life, this model echoes the traditions of civic engagement conceptualised by Toqueville (Fung, 2004:4):

"...participatory in that they invite ordinary individuals to take part in crucial governance decisions about the goals, priorities and strategies...this participation is empowered because...decisions generated by these processes determine the actions of officials and their agencies. Finally, decision-making...has become much more deliberative in that members...make decisions through a process of structured reasoning in which they offer proposals and arguments to one another." (Fung, 2004: 4)

(EDD). This reform family includes a number of cases where different types of reform have been conducted, the point being that they have a enough commonalities in their reform efforts to warrant a new type of democratic model that can be termed EPG (Fung et al. 2001:17)
The first principle of participation is related to the importance of having an active citizenry in the sense that people want to partake in the governing process. No method may ensure total participation from all citizens. Neither, is there a guarantee that deliberative practices will in fact ensure the common good for all. In this respect, all one may hope for is a snowballing-effect that may happen when citizens engage with each other, arriving at a common discourse (Goodin, 2008:19). Therefore, an absence of marginalised groups may lead to a systemic failure of this model, although Fung (2004:28) suggests that people from low-income communities will participate when it has a tangible link to their own areas of concern.

The second principle focuses on the empowerment of the citizens by delegating authority to local units. The key point is that the innovation happen from a bottom-up angle and as such allow citizens to take control and participate in a process of decision-making that affect their day-to-day life (Fung 2004:9-10). As such, the whole point is to increase the capacity of local authorities through different support structures and thus make them accountable for their own actions (Fung, 2004:11). Applied correctly with the right support from central authorities, this model may create genuine empowerment of local communities across the lay and professional participants (Goodin 2008:15). The third principle states that the decisions made should be a result of a deliberative process. It is therefore a point that a discussion amongst the members in the deliberative discourse takes place, and that a process of reasoning is in effect. The important thing is for the participants to find reasons that they, themselves, are willing act on behalf of the greater good (Fung et al. 2003:17).

In relation to this model, there is a concern that there exists a tension between the use of the concepts of deliberation, and participation where the two concepts seem to involve the same principles. However, these two notions are in fact two strands of the democratic project that has grown from different traditions (Cohen et al. 2004:24). In fact increased levels of participation, does not necessarily yield an increased quality of deliberation. However, the deliberative notion may also prove only to be an overall principle of guidance, representing a move away from strategist methods such as command and control, aggregative voting and strategic negotiation (Fung et al. 2003:18) In this sense it may have a practical validity that surpasses conventional, democratic institutions in relation to "...enhancing the responsiveness and effectiveness of the state while at the same time making it more fair, participatory, deliberative and accountable." (Fung et al. 2001:8)

In essence, this model suggests that by using these principles to create strong, local authorities, central authorities may be relieved of some of the pressure related to local governance. As such,
central government may focus on the bigger scheme of things. As such, the concept of accountable autonomy puts an explicit focus towards the importance of local values and knowledge when it comes to public decision making (Fung, 2004:11-13).

2.2.4 Community policing: A practical application of participatory democracy

The case study (Fung 2004) in which the model of EPG is derived upon concerned the development of more accountable structures in the Chicago Police Department (CPD). In 1995 they embarked upon an initiative called the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy (CAPS). The key notion of this initiative was the extensive involvement of ordinary residents, as well as street level police officers, in determining the strategies. As such, the community and the police entered into a partnership that enabled them to discuss public safety issues, and arrive at solutions that were both wide-ranging and efficient (Fung, 2004:3). Furthermore, Fung (2004:172) found that the participatory and deliberative reforms that were put in place created new avenues for communication, interaction and accountability. It was also noted that these reforms were successful despite the lack of resources and support from central agencies. As such, they managed to spur civic engagement, arrive at an administrative model of deliberative problem solving, which in turn increased the accountability of local officials towards residents, thus promoting trust between these residents and their street-level public servants (Fung, 2004:172).

Dorf (et al. 1998:328) suggests that this type of effective citizen participation in community policing may prove that democratic experimentalism may serve two specific functions: First, they have the ability to make existent hierarchical networks and organisation become more open to the outside. Secondly, these networks and organisations may, in turn, foster participation through the validation of local knowledge and capacities. In this respect, they may prove to be avenues for those whom are normally considered unable to participate. As such, a shift towards more deliberative structures may be the answer to the dilemma described by Dorf (et al. 1998:328):

“Then there are the apparent incapacities of the citizen users most in need of better police services. Crime concentrates in distressed neighbourhoods whose residents, impoverished and without much formal education or skill, would seem unqualified for, as well as disinclined to take part in, voting and the other routine forms of participation in representative democracy. How are these residents to meet the manifestly greater demands of directly problem solving under favourable conditions, let alone in collaboration with organizations as rigid, hierarchical, and separated from the broader public by rifts in understanding and culture as the police?”
2.3 Civil society and social capital

In relation to the themes and issues that have been discussed so far in this chapter one notion becomes particularly important: the role of civil society. According to Hyden (1997:4) the introduction of the market ideologies and neo-liberal thinking also introduced democratic theories in relation to development, indicating that democracy in itself was good for development. Having figured out that top-down approaches did not produce the wanted effect, the discourse shifted towards a logic of community empowerment. Another issue in this respect was the associated link between political apathy and /or lack of organisation: "Democracy requires organization, organization requires an interest in public affairs." (Hyden, 1997:4). As such, a possible bottom-up strategy needed a stronger base in civil society to develop:

"...civil society is more than just society. It is that part of society that connect individual citizens with the public realm and the state. Put in other words, civil society is the political side of society." (Hyden, 1997:5)

Furthering the issue of founding a strong civil society as a basis for community action, is Putnam (1993). His theory of social capital suggests that in order to foster collective action mutual (social) trust and cooperation is necessary. This cooperation is thus made possible through a contract of trust between actors (Putnam, 1993:165). The main point is that social trust may arise from two possible sources; either through norms of reciprocity, or by the creation of networks of civic engagement. In relation to the first, this takes shape of a continuing relationship, involving an expectation of future repayment. This is called generalized reciprocity, and allows communities to resolve internal social problems of collective action (Putnam, 1993:172).

In relation to the networks of civic engagement, this angle suggests that cooperation between members of specific networks are fostered through some important features: Networks reduce the risk of social transactions by creating negative sanctions for possible defectors. They also foster norms that absorb through the network and, thus, reinforces it through the mutual expectancy to follow them. Furthermore, they eliminate uncertainties concerning the actors through the open and reliable communication between the network members. Lastly, they take into account past successes, and use them as important guidelines for future collaborations (Putnam, 1993: 173-174).

Successful social networks are, in this theory, horizontally structured and based on distributing social trust through weak ties that link different social groups together in collective action. On the opposite end one finds vertical networks based on patron-client relationships, using strong ties to
link particular groups together in a hierarchy (Putnam, 1993:175). In this manner Putnam (1993:167) arrives at his definition of social capital:

“...features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks, that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.” (Putnam 1993:167)

As other concepts in this thesis, the use of social capital is dependent on the contextual frame in which it is put. The key notion is the creation and upholding of social trust between the members of the civic community. Institutions are put in place to manage this trust in order to enable citizens to perform coordinated actions (Putnam 1993:165). Stressing the importance of trust produced through the relationship between actors in a community, the affect social capital may have on democracies and their performance, needs to be taken into account when relating to any democratic theory, and especially participatory democracy:

“Social networks matter... Trustworthiness lubricates social life. We describe social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity as social capital, because... social networks create value, both individual and collective...”(Putnam et al. 2002:6-8)

This theory has, naturally, received some criticism. Firstly, it is suggested that Putnam's interpretation of civic associations, in terms of the quantifiable accumulation of associations as a guarantee of social cooperation in a given community, is too general (Boix et al. 1996:3). In addition they suggest that Putnam is too concerned with social capital as a constant, positive feature. However, it may also be relevant how members choose to use and distribute the accumulated capital. As such, a society that consists of associations determined to work for other ends than what may be determined as the greater good, may be of limited use and value when it comes to promoting community-wide cooperation (Boix et al. 1996:5). Furthermore, it is suggested that the use of social capital faulty undervalues the importance of the state and other political factors (Evers, 2003:13), as well as the role of government, in which case, one needs to focus more upon the relationship between civil society and government:

“Governments... shape the conditions in which voluntary associations – and social networks more generally – thrive (or do not).” (Lowndes et al. 2001:4)

However, showing that social capital may have practical application relative to the issue raised by Lowndes (et al. 2001), is Mathie (et al. 2002) in their thesis on asset-based community development
(ABCD). Suggesting that social capital is a latent asset available for the individuals in a community to increase or deplete, the implications towards a practical theory of governance is clearer:

“At the core of ABCD is its focus on social relationships. Formal and informal associations, networks, and extended families are treated as assets and also as the means to mobilize other assets of the community. By treating relationships as assets, ABCD is a practical application of the concept of social capital.”

(Mathie et al. 2002:9)

The setting of the ABCD initiative is both urban neighbourhoods and rural communities. Like the model of EPG, this one focus on stronger, accountable forms of governance that are locally based and that uses the capacities of local citizens to govern (Mathie et al. 2002).

2.3.1 The strength of weak ties in community organisation

In his theory, Putnam (1993) refers to networks affiliations in terms of how their members are connected, through strong or weak ties. This is the extension of Granovetter's (1973) theory of social networks. In his article "The strength of weak ties", he suggests that social networks need to focus more explicitly on the establishment and furthering of connections based on weak ties. His analysis of how small-scale interaction translates into large-scale patterns, stipulates that the strength of interpersonal connections (weak ties) is key to understanding different aspects of human's social organisation (Granovetter, 1973:1361). The question thus remains: How may one evaluate whether a tie may be defined as a weak tie, as opposite to a strong one? The following definition is provided:

“...the strength of a tie is a...combination of the amount of time, the emotional intensity, the intimacy..., and the reciprocal services which characterize the tie.” (Granovetter, 1973:1361)

The distinctive advantage of focusing on weak ties is that a larger amount of social information may pass through weak ties in a more efficient way, and thus reach a larger number of people across various social distances (Granovetter, 1973:1366). An important notion is the aspects concerning community organisation. His analysis involves figuring out:

“...why some communities organize for common goals easily and effectively whereas others seem unable to mobilize resources, even against dire threats” (Granovetter, 1973:1373)

His finds that the formation of certain cliques, “...such that each person is tied to every other in the
clique and to none outside” (Granovetter, 1973:1373), is a problem in terms of community organisation, especially in relation to the formation of small groups because information distributed in one such clique has no guarantee of reaching another. As such, an idea penetrating a complete network of such cliques seems unlikely. Instead the idea “...would have to develop independently in each one to insure success.” (Granovetter, 1973:1374). The issue of trust is related in terms of trust in leaders, where it is stipulated that trust in a leader is dependent on how he is connected to the other people in his network. As a general idea:

“Leaders, for their part, have little motivation to be responsive or even trustworthy toward those to whom they have no direct or indirect connection.” (Granovetter, 1973:1374)

It seems therefore imperative that the network in question focuses on establishing as many connections as possible to avoid network fragmentation, as well as increasing the level of social trust in the relations (Granovetter, 1973:1374).
This chapter will provide an overview of the context related to the thesis. The overview will include a brief history of South Africa focused on both colonial legacies, as well as the development of different security policies put in place both during the apartheid and post-apartheid era. As a final point the chapter will provide an introduction to the case of Gordon's Bay in relevance to the issue of crime and security in Cape Town.

3.1 Colonial legacies

The first free and fair elections of the democratic South Africa was held the 27th April 1994. The key objective was to embrace non-racial democracy and celebrate the final rejection of the apartheid regime (Gordon, 2006:1). The length and persistence of the struggle for arriving at democracy suggests that the post-apartheid era should include something more than just regular elections:

“‘post-apartheid’ is conceived...in terms of the emergence of new ways of thinking about how to organize and administer political, economic and everyday life.” (Singh, 2008:4)

As such, the activists of South Africa not only sought procedural change in government politics, but also identified particular institutions for immediate reform; in particular the police and the justice system. The special importance attributed to the reforming of these institutions was because of their role as enforcers of the apartheid system. In order to understand the need for these changes as well as the social affects that the apartheid system has had on the South African society; it is necessary to understand the institutional inventions of the colonial era. It was these initial structures that resulted in the system of apartheid through the “...logical culmination and intensification of previous centuries of law enforcement...” (Gordon, 2006:23), and that still remains intact today (Mamdani, 1996:4).

As such, it is not the issue of racial segregation in itself that should be of interest, but the extent to which this racism was used as a principle in order to keep native institutions native (Mamdani, 1996:5-6). Two major justifications laid grounds for this segregation policy: the first one was the simple need to sustain and control a black workforce. The other was the extensive belief in a natural white supremacy. These two rationales were fused in an effort to construct a perpetual master-servant relationship based on the racial difference between black and white (Gordon, 2006:24). However, the policy of segregation rendered an unstable relationship between native and white society, and the need for stability resulted in a more institutional approach to the policy of racial
segregation. One that offered the white minority a manner in which to rule natives “...through their own institutions” (Mamdani, 1996:7). In this manner the structures of power created in this era forged a multi-ethnic state where the peasants were governed by native authorities through customary laws, that in turn were controlled by white officials from the centre (Mamdani, 1996:287). This system of indirect rule was, in essence built upon the practice of participation without representation:

“Without an accent on participatory forms...the tendency is for representation to turn into its opposite: instead of a representation of popular strata in the state, the representative turns into an agent of the state power to popular sectors.” (Mamdani, 1996:299)

The breaking of the apartheid regime the 1940's was the result of a culmination of events that distressed and worried the Afrikaners. The National Party, in turn, responded with a campaign focusing on the promotion of the “Afrikanerdom”; marketing the system as representing Christian principles of right and justice (Gordon 2006:53). However, for the blacks and coloureds, the result was strict confinement to such an extent that they could neither live, work nor travel freely. The apartheid state had become nothing more than state lawlessness:

“...the law functioned principally to maintain the economic exploitation and political exclusion of blacks that were the priorities of the state. The ideal of law in a constitutional system as constraint on government was turned on its head; unconstrained by an independent judiciary, law became an enabler of tyranny.” (Gordon 2006:54)

This tightening of the noose demanded a more specific and present role for the institutions of justice. In order to keep the system of separation in check, the capacities of both the military and judiciary system was put to task through the use of extra-legal law enforcement (Gordon, 2006:52). This wicked legal system legalised the principle of racial segregation through an intricate system of procedural laws (Dyzenhaus, 1997:1). The police were similarly abused in terms of being “...front line runners of the apartheid.” (Gordon, 2006:5). The result was an even more thwarted relationship between state and citizens. This relationship is one of the factors that may help the understanding of the present status quo in terms of crime and policing (Gordon, 2006:82). At the same time, it is clear that reforming these instruments of the state from symbols of autocracy to service providers for the people, is not something that one can do only by the introduction of a rights-oriented constitution:

6 'Afrikaners' is the term used by the Boers to define themselves: «...urban descendants of Dutch settlers....» (Gordon, 2006:25)
"...organizational traditions run deep...the history of state formation in a society is a particularly powerful and durable determinant of how police will be structured and operate, even following subsequent change in the political system...in general the core organization and functions of police and courts changed very little."

(Gordon 2006: 6)

3.1.2 The rural in the urban

Having explored the colonial beginnings of the current relationship between the state and civil society in the last section, it is interesting to do the same in relation to how it developed during apartheid. According to Mamdani (1996) the key social link between politics of the state and politics of civil society was the migrant worker. The story of the migrant workers of South Africa is also an account of shifts in political thinking between the urban and the rural. As such, their importance is unequivocal:

“It is urban-based migrant labour and township-based educated youth – the two native social strata that grew with the prosperity of the apartheid economy – that would bring to a close its much heralded decade of peace through a spectacular resurgence of urban resistance” (Mamdani, 1996:231)

As previously mentioned, one of the rationales for enforcing a policy of segregation was in order to be able to sustain a black work force to continue the operation of the mines and farms. With the apartheid regime the rules and regulation that controlled the movements of the migrants were tightened even further. Through a combination of poor working conditions and a rising resistance movement, the migrants found themselves at the centre of the pivotal actions that marked the ending of the apartheid era: the Durban trade union strikes and student revolt (Mamdani, 1996:233).

The political importance of the migrant workers was due to their connection with both the rural and the urban; the periphery and the centre. As mentioned, the relationship between the central government and native authorities was one of control. As such, people were confined to movement within their designated area, regulated by strict pass-laws. However, the migrant workers were granted the opportunity to move between the rural and the urban areas. Their ability to move these two separate spheres of society made them: “...a class in civil society, but not of civil society.” (Mamdani, 1996:219). As the rural discontent grew along with the urban activism the migrant workers' function as a conveyor belt, proved to be the one that effectively realised the pending

7 Pass-laws: Put in place in the Cape area, following the abolition of slave trade. The pass-laws basically indicated the designated area in which the “worker” were allowed to move; breach of the pass laws were a penal offence (Mamdani, 1996:68-69).
revolution:

“Not surprisingly, just as migrants carried forms of urban militancy from towns to reserves in the 1950s, so they did the flame of revolt from the rural to the urban in the coming period: the so-called decade of peace...” (Mamdani 1996:221)

In short, the coming trade union strikes and the urban politisation of the migrant hostels made the migrants a broad based force of the civil society that was to be reckoned with. After having faced several strikes, with the final uprising of Soweto in 1976 the apartheid government decided to take action. A near future consistent of continued revolt, with even more politicised strikes, that had the effective ability to bring together township residents and union workers were not a tempting one. As such, in 1977, two government commissions were appointed, and after two years they emerged with a recommendation two end the system of independent unions because if they remained unregistered:

“...they would in effect function as “power groups” that would “force employers...to negotiate outside the statutory system” but without being subject to any official supervision. This would no doubt “constitute a rallying point for underground activity: an industrial relations problem would become a security problem.””. (Mamdani, 1996:243)

3.1.3 Civil unrest and forced removals

Furthering the argument of the importance of the migrant worker during the butting efforts of a revolution is also the political discourse related to crime during the same period in time. Super (2010) notes in her account of crime between 1976 and 2004, how crime became a highly politicised issue. As urban activism were spurred on in the 1970s, the discourse concerning crime changed. From having largely been victimising whites, portraying them as helpless people in the hands of dangerous, black perpetrators, the crime of importance were now political. A new element that was introduced with this change was the use of the word unrest, in the terms of civil unrest, and it made part of a political discourse that criminalised all forms of political protest (Super, 2010:167). As such, the discourse of crime and politics became mixed making it hard to differentiate between crimes that were truly motivated by politics, and other more common criminal offences.

This kind of discourse also spurred on the extended call for community participation in crime prevention which started in the 1970s (Super, 2010:170). The developments of the 1970s into the
1980s may also be put in connection with the active trade unions that were starting getting a strong community base at this stage. The emergence of a new trade union structure, the shop stewards' councils were entrenched in community life and focused on issues far beyond the grievances of just workplace demands:

“In the process, the councils ended up highlighting the need for a community-based structure.” (Mamdani, 1996:249)

Another important issue during the security strategies implemented in the 1970s, is the so-called forced removals (Gordon, 2006:65). The forced removals came about as a result of prime minister Botha's attempt to restore law and order through the enforcement of a strategy based on the rationale of maximum force. Included in this strategy was the removal of coloureds and blacks from the centre to the periphery. Often promises of improvement in living conditions were given, but never fulfilled (Gordon, 2006:67). As such, it was the total embracing of the apartheid ideology, as the word apartheid literally means apart-ness (Lemanski, 2004:102). Steinberg provides an illustrating perspective on these events:

“And so, between 1966 and the early 1980s, tens of thousands of people were wrenched from their lives in the inner city and dumped in satellites on the edge of town. Extended families were dispersed to all corners of the Cape Flats, and everybody shared their cramped streets with strangers.” (Steinberg, 2004:105)

The main point of the forced removals was to reverse the urbanisation that had taken place, and to gain back the control over the migrant workers in an effort to restructure the industrial workforce. The surges of forced removals resulted in the fact that by 1990, half the population was situated in the Bantustans. Furthermore, it is estimated that over 3,5 million people fell victim to the removals. In addition several townships were incorporated into other neighbouring ones. As such, the real point of the forced removals, were to retrieve the original relationship between white supremacy and black subordinates:

It amounted to creating white chiefs in urban areas: personnel who would dispense an administratively driven justice, a practice of hitherto considered the hallmark of the administration of customary laws in the reserves

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8 As the factories became less migrant in their workforce, a new type of leader emerged; younger, urban militants. Amongst such leader, shop stewards were mostly dominated by educated, younger people (Mamdani, 1996:247)

9 Forced removals in its literal sense. People in illegal squatter camps were effectively arrested by the police during night-time raids (Gordon, 2006:65)

10 Bantustans: Designated “homelands” in which the black population were confined to live, work and move within. The rationale for these “tribal areas” were anchored in the apartheid ideology, defining every native as a Bantu (Mamdani, 1996:96)
The social ramifications of the forced removals were beyond imagination, not only for the individuals that were removed, but also for the society in general, as well as the political climate of today. The democratisation of South Africa suffers from the previous struggles not so much between races any more, but amongst them. As more and more whites joins the ANC the divide between privileged blacks and the marginalised ones, residing in shacks, become more profound and obvious (Gordon, 2006:277).

3.1.4 Neopatrimonial tendencies

A common association when it comes to considering recent developments in African nations is the notion of patrimonialism and neopatrimonialism. Bratton (et al. 1994:459) suggests that not only is neopatrimonialism a feature in African politics in general, it is the core feature. The argument suggests that the nature of a pre-existing regime shapes the manner in which a new regime is able to function (Bratton et al. 1994:454). Their understanding of patrimonialism and neopatrimonialism revolves around the fact that the right to rule is prescribed to a person rather than an office.

According to Mamdani (1996:20) patrimonialism was previously used as a tool to enforce the urban-rural link from the top-down. As the bifurcated state rested its power on native authorities as governing institutions, the point was to strengthen the tie between these institutions and the centralised state power. Ironically, this also meant the strengthening of an early civil society. However, there is doubts about the concept of patrimonialism as an explanatory factor. The doubt resides in the danger of producing a false causality of events. There is no reason to automatically suggest that previous events have a direct causal effect on modern developments in history. Doing that, might result in a faulty cycle of argumentation, and provide only a history by analogy, instead of history by process (Mamdani, 1996:12). In a more recent article Erdmann (et al. 2007) suggest that the whole concept of neopatrimonialism portrays an “...uncritical attitude...” (Erdmann et al. 2007:96) and has almost become a “...catch-all concept.” (Erdmann et al. 2007:114) Their aim is to provide a clearer definition of the concept, as well as distinguish it from the original notion of patrimonialism:

“Neopatrimonialism is a mix of two types of political domination. It involves a conjunction of patrimonial and legal-rational bureaucratic domination. The exercise of power in neopatrimonial regimes is erratic and unpredictable, as opposed to the calculable exercise of power embedded in universal rules (...). Public norms
under neopatrimonialism are formal and rational, but their social practice is often personal and informal. Finally, neopatrimonialism corresponds with authoritarian politics, whereas legal-rational domination relates to democracy.” (Erdmann et al. 2007:114)

The notion of neopatrimonialism is usually associated with its corruptive practices such as nepotism and the fostering of patron-client relations. Clientelism is in essence a manner in which a patrimonial structure may harness a relationship between a centre and a periphery. In the theory of social capital, patron-client relations are closely linked to the creation and upholding of vertical networks that is based on linking asymmetrical agents to each other through strong ties.

Such networks may be described as networks of dependence (Putnam, 1993:173). In South Africa, the confidence of the institutions of the state is severely breached as many citizens have experienced some sort of corruption (Gordon, 2006:274). According to Médard (2009:379) the corruption in Africa is both systemic, in the sense that it is “…the rule and not the exception…”, and generalised because it permeates “…the whole of the political, judicial, administrative sectors”. In relevance to the institutions of South Africa, this may be explained through an act of negotiation that takes place when the police attempt to police the rural townships of Johannesburg:

“To negotiate means to sell something: information, the obstruction of justice, the assurance that they will not intervene...The more police officers negotiate, of course, the more they begin to resemble other, private users of violence, and the less they look like police.” (Steinberg, 2008:21).

3.2 Crime and justice in South Africa

The understanding of security must also be seen in correlation with an understanding of politics. As mentioned, the element of crime has been a highly politicised element of the security governance in South Africa. As such, the use of fear was an important element in the apartheid propaganda (Super, 2010). This also portrayed itself in the crime statistics:

“The statistics produced were thus related to political changes and ideological shifts – categorizing on the basis of race did not contribute to the state project of creating a compliant black middle class.” (Super, 2010:166)

The thwarted relationship between state and citizens of South Africa has had deep affects in relation to the crime and justice domain. The most important precondition for policing is the given consent of the people to being policed. The problem in South Africa, resides not so much in an opposition to
being policed in itself, but in relation to whom they are going to be policed by (Steinberg, 2008:22). The role of the police and court system in apartheid has led to a deep rooted mistrust towards important public institutions of justice. As such, people turn towards other avenues of security, making room for a business of policing, in which private enterprises may thrive, blurring the lines between public and private domains (Gordon, 2006:181-182).

Internationally, contributive factors to inefficient police- and judiciary systems are seen as issues related to the transition to a market society (Europe), military repressive traditions (Latin America), corruption and vigilantes (Africa and South America), as well as a general lack of trust in the police system (Gordon, 2006:182). Furthermore, crime has proven to be relatively independent of the policies of containment, both in western democracies as well as those in transition. The reduction and containment of crime will, therefore, be more or less inefficient due to inherent contradictions in constitutional democracy (Gordon, 2006:184).

As such, complementary crime prevention strategies have taken root. The problem with these strategies is that they are mostly situational. In stead of taking on the structural elements in a community in order to reduce crime, the priority centres around securing the law-abiding citizens (Gordon, 2006:189). This backdrop of inefficiency has thus seemingly been the drive for major policy shifts within this domain, but the trends in question seem more or less to hold each other back, instead of working in an efficient symbiosis. Accordingly, two main policy directions have been evident: the first one embraces harder approaches and zero-tolerance by the state. The other direction involves a fragmentation of policing, involving both public and private enterprises in a mix to combat criminal activities, based on the idea that “...policing is everybody's business...” (Brogden et al. 1993:10).

A third, alternative direction has also paved its way through a focus on a more equitable mode of security governance. This approach calls for a rationale that is more consensual than competitive. Partnerships where officials such as police, prosecutors, probation officers and the like work together with local community workers and residents sharing information, may make them able to create more long-term strategies in order to promote security in the community, as well as address quality-of-life issues (Gordon, 2006:191). The unique elements of such models are considered to be that of public empowerment through the extraction of local knowledge and capacity (Rosingaunet, 2009:134).
3.2.1 Post-apartheid security policies

The first policy program to be initiated in the post-apartheid South Africa was the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP). This program was based upon six political and economical principles drafted from the ANC’s Freedom Charter of 1955, focusing on sustainability, involvement of the people, provision of peace and security for all, and the deepening of democracy through reconstruction and development (Rosingaunet, 2009:66). The goal of this people centred program was to encourage nation-building through the involvement of an active civil society. The centre point was to foster democracy through an active process where people would be enabled to contribute in the nation's development (Rosingaunet, 2009:67).

As a bottom-up democratic approach, it was still criticised of being too vague, and a more market-friendly, neoliberal approach was soon introduced in the shape of the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy, even if this indicated a breach of the promises made by the ANC to build democracy through a strong social platform (Rosingaunet, 2009:72). The argument for this strategy was primarily based in the need for economical growth in order to stem the increasing unemployment rates. However, the direct effect of this policy shift was that power became centralised, depriving local governance structures of their autonomy as well as reducing the influence of community based organisations, leaving them to the act of voting:

«As a result of the GEAR strategy, democracy and accountability is not balanced between power and citizenship. Accountability has shifted upwards and not downwards to the people, as representatives and presidents have become accountable to powerful elites and international interest...» (Rosingaunet, 2009:69)

Furthermore, this policy shift may also be accused of hindering socio-economic developments for the poor and marginalised constituencies. The result seen in the context of globalisation and the embracing of market ideologies, is that we now do not have a segregation based on race, or colour, but one that is based on a have/have-not onslaught between rich and poor, or what may be termed “...a socio-spatial apartheid structure...” (Rosingaunet, 2009:70).

As the need for a more equitable structure of policing and crime prevention became evident, scholars returned to the initial principles of RDP and this resulted in a dual system of policing. Contrary to the previous neoliberal thoughts, this system focused on the fact that South Africa not necessarily needed to import western ideas in favour of its own experiences (Brogden et al. 1993).
In order to provide a form of policing that goes beyond the apartheid logic of *us* and *them*, as well as that of affirmative action, the strategy implemented should not only incorporate the police, but also encapsulate the whole judiciary system:

«...democratic criminal justice in South Africa requires a direction that empowers citizens to make crucial decisions about responding to crime and disorder – a national program that gives them the freedom and the resources to participate in making their communities safer.» (Gordon, 2006:179)

In essence, the dual policing strategy shifted the locus of attention towards a more scientific approach, in understanding of the complex mechanisms at work, thus requiring a more pluralistic approach when solving them. Although criticised for its blend of state and civil society, the furthering of these thoughts resulted in a practical policy of community policing (Rosingaunet, 2009:76-78).

### 3.2.2 Community Policing in South Africa

The relevance of a community policing policy was seen as especially favourable to the context of South Africa. Drawing upon the some of the same elements as that of dual policing, this type of policy enhanced features such as: community-empowerment, -control and -conflict resolution (Rosingaunet, 2009:79). As such, the community policing policy drew upon the features of the relationships between the community, its citizens, and the police. This three-way relationship was most significantly market by its middle ground:

«The third way, which lies in the middle of the two poles, represents community policing initiatives that operates parallel to the police, independently or initiated by the police themselves.» (Rosingaunet, 2009:79)

As a bottom-up strategy, the relationship between the communities and police resources was to be one of mutual respect and shared control. Democratic values such as accountability, even distribution of resources, representativeness, transparency, professionalism and constitutionalism was all a part of the 1992 ANC policy document on community policing. (Rosingaunet, 2009:81-82). Although, partnership focused, the problem became that of the actual implementing of it. As the South African Police (Services) (SAPS)\(^{11}\) viewed it more or less as a formality regarding the organisational structure of the policing institutions, its success became dependant on the particular local context it was to be implemented (Rosingaunet 2009:83).

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\(^{11}\) Renamed South African Police (SAP) after the apartheid ended (Rosingaunet, 2009).
The final policy drafted in 1997 took into account the developments and findings made and created the «Community Policing Policy, Framework and Guidelines». These guidelines stated that the major objective of community policing was indeed to establish a full-on working partnership between the police and the communities. The guidelines included points such as client-centred police service, partnerships between different structures involved, problem solving approach, empowerment of the people, and accountability towards them (Rosingaunet, 2009:84).

One of the emphasised tools for the community police policy is the structure of Community Police Forums (CPF). This structure was created in order to secure the bottom-up practices of the local governance of communities. As such, they were designated with the actual task of improving the relationship between the police and the communities (Rosingaunet, 2009:86). However, as the immediate success did not avail itself, the assigned task soon changed into a more communicative one. As of 1995, the CPFs were to:

«...promote communication and co-operation between the service and the community, and to improve accountability and transparency» (Rosingaunet, 2009:87)

Although a new path was set out for the CPF, the actual function and effectiveness of the forums has been left questioned by several scholars. As Rosingaunet (2009:87) notes, this is something that has to be seen in relation to the interaction between both state institutions involved, as well as the community entities. Problems in terms of the CPF structure include the lack of organisational rebooting towards the new values of democracy, accountability and legitimacy. This basically resulted in the upholding of the traditional police force, instead of conforming to the new perspective of community policing (Rosingaunet, 2009:87). Also, the changing role of the ANC made it clear that being a liberation movement was very different from that of being a functioning government where other skills than what paramilitary training had provided for (Rosingaunet, 2009:80-81).

In terms of the community, although having been somewhat successful in the more affluent communities, the CPF was accused of being a forum of conflicts of interests in terms of policing strategies. This in turn resulted in power struggles among the political parties both within the forum and throughout the communities (Rosingaunet, 2009:88). This combined with the return to a more centralised policing strategy has resulted in the degrading of the CPF from having a democratic
In so far the success of the forums go, Rosingaunet (2009:89) ascribes some of this success to the fact that there are more actors present within these communities, and as such a more proactive partnership has been established in order to solve the problems at hand. In the case of the more marginalised communities, these seem less organised and without the necessary problem-solving capacities. With little support from the ANC regime towards the civil society, the effects have resulted in increased crime among the affected groups, especially the young who are given fewer opportunities (Rosingaunet 2009:88).

3.2.3 Sector Policing

The National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) launched in 1996, effectively reduced the role of local governments in local crime prevention, leaving behind a long term goal of fostering a local state, initiative of crime prevention. The new strategy included a tougher approach in relation to crime (Rosingaunet 2009:90). This approach was mainly focused on rural areas, leaving the more urban, white areas, to fend for themselves. The result was not only a shift away from democratic and accountable forms of policing back to that of policing by force, it also proved an escalation in the private security industry (Rosingaunet 2009:92). Evaluating this strategy, scholars have suggested that South Africa has been to eager to adopt, rather than adapt, models from the west.

Following the failures of the this strategy, the goal of the government from 1998 and onwards was to consolidate community policing with sector policing. The main purpose of the sector policing strategy was to ensure efficient and pro-active crime prevention in the nexus of the community it dealt with. Sector policing was said to be especially advantageous for marginalised communities inflicted with high-levels of crime and violence, due to the factor of collective responsibility. However, this precipitated the presence of two important principles: the involvement of local stakeholders in identifying security needs, and the enabling of a station commander to tailor a service that would “...meet the unique needs of every individual within the sector communities” (Rosingaunet 2009:96). Furthermore, it proved a difficult task to separate this strategy from that of community policing, as it for many has proven to be more of the same (Rosingaunet 2009:97).
3.2.4 Non-state police initiatives

According to Baker (2002:29) the extent of the private security industry (PSI) in South Africa is so large that it evades the normal boundaries of such services. In South Africa private security has known to be engaged in, amongst others: patrolling, guardianship of properties, controlling law and order, search and detection, surveillance, traffic control, risk management, armed response and personal protection. As such, this industry may be considered a real policing force. Arguably, this importance granted to the PSI demonstrates that the problem of crime is not simply that of a natural environment in which security is a feature. It is the principle object of the regulatory strategies of the PSI: “...crime is targeted as a marketable resource...” (Singh 2008:37). However, as Baker points out, giving room for a non-state policing structure is not without problems. The point in this respect, is not whether or not the policing is being done by a private security company or a vigilante group, because:

“Non-state policing, whatever its form, is shaped, not by the national public agenda, but largely by its clients, who individually or communally provide the financial and/or social support for the groups to operate on their behalf. The whole spectrum, therefore, arises from similar roots, similar needs, similar relationships and even at times employs the same people.” (Baker, 2002:30)

Furthering this argument, Steinberg (2008) describes how a local, non-state policing actor have the opportunity and power to police a township that the police not even comes close to being able to control. However, through this group the police has now got an invitation to come back to do their job:

“...they are the backbone of this community, its very substance. Of course it is they who are bringing the police back; of course it is they who are stitching together a normal relationship between a township and a democratic state.” (Steinberg, 2008:55)

Through this patron-client relationship, the inefficiency of the police is described. Accordingly, there are two main reasons for these inefficiencies. The first is the fact that the police as an institution was never really forgiven for their role under the apartheid regime, and as such does not own the trust of the people, which in turn will not be policed by them. The second revolves around the recent economic class struggle in South Africa, where their reputation as scavengers, prone to corruption and nepotism simply leaves them unable to do their job (Steinberg, 2008:24). Without being able to do their job in a satisfying manner, the result has been a major plight from the police
force and into the private security industry (Rosingaunet, 2009).

As such, have the boundaries between public and private spheres been blurred with an apparent loss of accountability (Baker, 2002:31) However, the continued blurring between state and non-state policing domains, has arguably been in effect for the past twenty years. The overlapping forms of recruitment from one sector to another means that the state police may in fact be hired by private security firms and vice versa (Baker, 2002: 33) As such, the private security industry has put emphasis on their role as partners in the crime fighting regime, as opposed to being a competitor, with real merit and jurisdiction (Singh 2008:37).

Historically, the South African government has been known to support the expansion of the commercial security industry in order to reveal pressure on SAP. As a part of the apartheid protocol black areas were both neglected and harassed, and often left in the hands of militant groups supported by the system (Baker 2002:32). As such, failed protection of citizens by the government led to an uprising of various groups with a policing intention. Later on, the rise of the PSI in urban areas may also be seen as a result of faulty government policies that (for a time period) focused exclusively on security measures in townships and rural areas. As such, the more wealthy, white areas were left to fend for themselves, giving room for a private security industry where public security failed:

“In addition, affluent urban neighbourhoods rely more on private security than on public policing, creating the impression that the state condones a system that protects its citizens unequally.” (Gordon, 2006:15)

Although faulty government policies may have been responsible for creating a niche for the private security industry, market regulations have kept it alive. Although, the move away from the apartheid system may have eased the tensions between races, it has fuelled those between rich and poor. The result being that wealthier people enclose themselves in gated communities, or by the use of other private security measures. As such, the increased fear of crime becomes almost more important than the crime itself (Lemanski, 2001, 2006).

3.3 Security in Cape Town

An important part of the literature concerning crime and security, in the South African context, is the element of fear. As mentioned, in the apartheid era crime was effectively used as an element in the regime propaganda (Super, 2010). As statistics show a rise in crime since the transition to
democracy, Baker (2002:51) argues that surveys conducted suggest a doubling of crime experiences after the transition\textsuperscript{12}. In a paper and article focused on the setting of Cape Town, Lemanski (2004, 2006) focuses on the consequences of this increased fear of crime. She suggests that by effectively trying to displace crime, wealthier, urban, areas make use of poorer, rural, areas in order to:

“...create exclusionary spaces that thwart the post-apartheid drive for integration and desegregation.” (Lemanski, 2006:787). As such, security is managed and evaluated through the absence of fear. Furthermore this sort of risk management is increasingly driven by private forces, and relates more to the organisation of social spaces than anything else. In Cape Town this is reflected in a type of spatial polarization:

“...dominated by the juxtaposition of centrally located affluent suburbs and economic centres alongside poverty-stricken and overcrowded settlements on the city edges.” (Lemanski, 2004:103)

Lemanski (2006) argues that although, not a sole factor, citizens' response to crime, play a big role in determining the residential protection strategies that they will choose. Her research is conducted in one security village\textsuperscript{13} and one Improvement district (ID). The initiative of the improvement district is defined in the following manner:

“The Central City Improvement District is a private-public partnership formed by the property owners of a defined geographical area to provide top-up or complementary services over and above what the City of Cape Town provides.” (Cape Town Partnership website)

The ID-model is an attempt to fuse public and private efforts, between property owners and businesses supported by the City Council of Cape Town. It is a budgetary effort based on the contributions by the partners to the project (Cape Town Partnership website). As such, the attempt of this effort is really to improve the area in terms of upgrading buildings and green areas. The area that Lemanski (2006) has examined is the area of Muizenberg, Cape Town. The ID-model came as a response to the increased experience of fear after the arrival of Cape Flats-gangsters as well as the “...mass of immigrants from elsewhere in Africa...” (Lemanski, 2006:794). A note of interest is that the ID initiatives is focused on social improvement through physical upgrading. However, the initiatives is also clearly directed towards affluent communities, and the direct removals of the problems:

\textsuperscript{12} Baker refers to Humphries (2000:4) for these numbers

\textsuperscript{13} Lemanski (2006) defines a 'security village' (also referred to as a 'gated community') as a community in which a cluster of houses are protected by electric walls. A security gate, operated 24 hours by a security company marks the only entrance to the community. This thesis will focus more on the experience connected to the ID model.
“As run-down buildings were renovated, their tenants (predominantly Black African immigrants...) were evicted either as part of the upgrades or because they could not afford the increased rents of a renovated building...” (Lemanski, 2006:795).

The findings of the Muizenberg experience is a furthering of the argument presented in the previous work of Lemanski (2004), suggesting that the impact of fear in the city of Cape Town leads the (affluent) citizens to self-segregate in consistency with apartheid rules. Security is, thus, provided through a socio-spatial segregation that might effectively hinder the government's attempt to overcome the legacies of the apartheid era (Lemanski, 2006:799). In addition to the citizens' responses, it is also necessary to look at the development in light of the transition towards democracy, with the following impact of globalisation. Notably, the South African state policies have moved in the direction of increased centralisation of power through the creation of compact city designs, such as the ID-model, in order to increase economic growth within urban areas:

“This in turn has increased the socio-spatial difference between urban and rural areas, where the urban areas have gained strength at the expense of rural areas. In the same manner as the old apartheid regime exploited cheap labour from the Bantustans and expelled black and coloured townships situated at the brink of urban towns, so does the contemporary urban cities.” (Rosingaunet, 2009:71)

3.3.1 Gordon's Bay

As a village Gordon's Bay is not so different from Muizenberg, as described by Lemanski (2006). Gordon's Bay is also a non-gated sea-side suburb that attracts plenty amounts of tourists in the summer. The town of Gordon's Bay is situated about 50 km from the centre of Cape Town, in the Helderberg region that is situated just below the Hottentots-Holland mountain range. Gordon's Bay is home to the Naval College of the South African Navy. Closest neighbouring area to Gordon's Bay is Strand and Somerset West.

The population of Gordon's Bay is predominantly consistent of whites (80%) and coloureds (17%), with most of the population being between the age of 18-54 (55%). Although Gordon's Bay has to be considered an affluent community with about 50% of the population having a moderate income level of around R6000 each month. Around 30% earn a salary in the ranges between R6000-R25000 each month. At the same time, 17% of the population in Gordon's Bay are in the range of

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14 All the numbers are collected from the City of Cape Town Census of 2001. Crime related statistics are gathered from the Crime Information Management of the South African Police Service.
earning less than R1600 each month, and as such this group makes out the less fortunate of the Gordon's Bay population. Although, there are no statistics to show it, it is not unrealistic to believe that most of the lesser earners are part of the small, coloured community of Temperance Town.

The crime rates of Gordon's Bay is not alarming in figures. Notably, the most common offence is in the categories of burglary and theft. Drug-related crime is also quite common, however what type of crime this relates to is not specified. In the category related to crime against other people, assault is the most common. However, the statistics show a consistent decrease between 2004-2009 from 145 to 63 attacks. Murder is almost an unwritten category in Gordon's Bay, with only 1 murder in all of 2009.

3.3.2 The element of drugs

Although the crime rate in Gordon's Bay seem relatively moderate, also in relation to drug related crime, drugs and alcohol abuse is an enormous social concern in South Africa. In marginalised communities, alcohol is still the most common form of substance abuse, as well as the common drugs of dagga (marijuana) and Mandrax (chemical drug). The issue of drugs on the Cape Peninsula is also closely connected with the issue of gangs and organised crime (Gordon, 2006:96). The manufacturing of drugs, and the trafficking of it, infiltrates the small communities in South Africa and may include all members: children, teenagers and adults. They operate their business through freelancing workers of all ages, from all types of communities. As Gordon (2006:95-96) relates, the groups that control these actions are often deeply related, or derived from the prison gangs; in the Western Cape area one of the more notorious ones is 'The Firm'. The activities of their organised crime have been accounted for by Steinberg (2004:282). He relates how the world of the gangs changed as globalisation came to South Africa during the late 1980s and 1990s, when the growing drug consumption moved outside their traditional turf. As such, new drugs, and above all new markets appeared in the coastal villages of the Cape Peninsula:

"It was 1996. The firm had just began moving into the fishing villages east of False Bay... Small-town schoolteachers, general traders and labourers who lived on the abalone belt were sending unemployed teenagers into the sea and getting rich overnight. It was too good an opportunity for the Firm to pass up...They built gaudy, double-storey face-bricks in the fishing villages' coloured townships, and sent dozens of soldiers from the Cape Flats...Their plan was to make the abalone belt their turf, to extract a healthy protection fee from anyone who entered the sea illegally. By the late 1990s they were making a fortune. (Steinberg, 2004:294)

This account, thus relates how the gang related organised crime, not only managed to transcend
itself into new domains, but also how they grew a base of their activities in small, mainly marginalised communities, making them dependant on their services.
4 METHOD

This chapter will focus on presenting the research strategies and methods used in the thesis. There will be a presentation of case studies as a research method and a particular focus will be put upon interview as a research method. In addition some notes on the quality of the material and research ethics will be made.

4.1 Case studies

In relation to case studies Yin (2009:18) suggests a twofold definition where the first part identifies the scope of the study, and the second part to the specific technical characteristics of the study:

“1. A case study is an empirical inquiry that
   • investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when
   • the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident.”

“2. The case study inquiry
   • copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result
   • relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result
   • benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis. “

The point of this twofold definition is in order to be able to identify the mechanisms at work and how to best deal with them in the research. In spite of this definition, the case study approach has been debated over by scholars for a long time. Not only have the case study discipline been questioned as a research method, it has also been questioned in terms of whether or not it is possible to extract knowledge from this type of research. One of the most common problems with case studies is that the term case is used to widely, as such there is no real common understanding of what one refers to when talking about a case (Andersen, 1997:8-10).

The big question, or debate, when talking about case studies is thus whether or not it is possible to generalise from a singular case. Opposite to more quantifiable methods, seeking to measure the strength of particular variables, the case study approach seeks to extract knowledge from the particular case. The goal is thus to be able to say something about the world in general. The problem is therefore simply the size of the study where one needs to deal with a small N. An important notion in this respect is that case studies are not meant to produce universal laws, but
rather to identify common traits that may give us knowledge of the society in general (Andersen, 1997:10). The question of whether one may generalise from case studies has been a frequent concern amongst scientists. In this respect Yin (2009:15) refers to the fact that case studies are meant to be responses to theoretical propositions:

“In this sense, the case study, like the experiment, does not represent a “sample”, and in doing a case study, your goal will be to expand and generalize theories (analytic generalization) and not to enumerate frequencies (statistical generalization).”

4.1.1 Rationales for case studies

The decision to use case studies as a research method is important and should derive from careful evaluation of what one wants to study. An important notion is therefore to understand when a case study approach is useful and when it is not. There are three types of studies, identified by Yin (2009:8) as either exploratory, descriptive or explanatory, and it is possible to conduct a case study for each and every type, however boundaries between them may be blurred and as such they may overlap in purpose.

There are three conditions that are important when deciding which method to use. The first one relates to the type of question is posed in the study. Is it a “who”, “what”, “where” “how” or “why” type of question? The type of question determines the goal of the study, and will help the researcher determining how the study will be conducted. For instance, “what”-questions may lead to an exploratory research: “…the goal being to develop pertinent hypotheses and propositions for further inquiry” (Yin, 2009: 9), where a broad line of research methods may be relevant, while a “why”- and “how”-line of questioning will more likely lead to an explanatory study, favouring case studies and histories (Yin, 2009:10)

Furthermore, having determined the line of questioning that will be used in the study it is also necessary to establish whether one wants to use single- or multiple-case studies. Debatable within the political science and public administration domain has been the subject of referring to comparative case method as a distinctive form of multiple-case studies, a notion that Yin (2009:19) dismisses. Another common notion being dismissed by Yin is the stated difference between quantitative and qualitative method. The reason for this dismissal is that the mere difference in evidence (either quantitative or qualitative) does not alone distinguish the research method. Yin (2009:19) explains in the following way:
“As a related but important note, the case study method is not just a form of “qualitative research”, even though it may be recognized among the array of qualitative research choices...Some case study research goes beyond being a type of qualitative research, by using a mix of quantitative and qualitative evidence. In addition, case studies need not always include the direct and detailed observational evidence marked by other forms of “qualitative research”.”

According to Andersen (1997:16), the reason for wanting to break down the separation between qualitative and quantitative research methods is because of the previous mentioned problem of generalisation. Case studies have long been synonymous with a qualitative research approach focused on the unique case, while more quantifiable methods have been associated with the ability to produce knowledge through generalisation.

4.1.2 Single-case design

This thesis is conducted as a single-case design (Yin, 2009:46). This has to do both with the possibilities for conducting research, which were more compatible with doing a single-case research, even though it is acknowledged that a multiple-case design may prove more reliable (even with only two cases). Still a multiple-case design is more demanding on the part of the researcher in terms of time and resources, and may be more difficult to conduct particular for a single researcher (Yin, 2009:53). As a single-case design this thesis may be said to be contributing to confirm acknowledged theories, but may also contribute to refocusing them towards new dimensions. Furthermore this study may as well be thought of as being more or less a typical case meant: “…to be informative about the experiences of the average person or institution.” (Yin, 2009:48).

Although several rationales may be given for why one should conduct a single-case study, there is a problem with vulnerability in relation to doing so. Changes in circumstances or other relevant factors may lead to complications with the execution of the study. Deciding to do a holistic, in stead of an embedded case design may reveal the pressure of the scientist (Yin, 2009:50). However, this approach may also lead to an analysis that is too abstract with no clear measurable data. Another problem that may arise is that the nature of the study may easily change, without the researcher knowing. As such, the initial research questions may be deemed irrelevant, and it may also prove difficult to change them during the course of the study. Such a shift is one of the more severe criticisms towards case studies, although some claim it proves flexibility (Yin, 2009:52).
Although the logic of replication\textsuperscript{15} gives greater support the multiple-case study the single-case study has the opportunity to describe a situation that is either unique or typical without any particular theoretical guidance. Although this may be viewed as an ideal form, as most single-cases do come from some theoretical knowledge (Andersen, 1997:62), the idea is that a-theoretical case studies put emphasis on describing and communicating the social reality, rather than constructing theories or concepts. Furthermore such single-case studies may also be a reflection of an interest in broader contextual factors that may have led to particular circumstances, and may thus qualify as a reason for choosing a single-case design (Andersen, 1997:63).

**4.2 Collecting the Data**

The main source of information for this thesis have been in-depth interviews of people in Gordon's Bay. The interviews were collected in May 2010 mainly in the Gordon's Bay area. All interviews were conducted individually and recorded by the use of a tape recorder. The advantage of using a tape recorder is that it lets the interviewer concentrate on the theme and subject as well as it may be easier to acknowledge unexpected or interesting points that may arise during the course of the interview. The tape recorder also eases the work of the interviewer who may focusing on noting only main topics, or interesting points, in stead of have to write everything down by hand (Kvale et al. 2009:188).

A usual problem with tape recorders is that the interviewer may experience technical difficulties with the recording leading to difficulties with the analysis, or in the worst case scenario: a completely unusable interview (Kvale et al. 2009:188). During the course of the interviewing process for this thesis, the latter was the case. Background noise, which seemed to have no influence, completely ruined one of the interviews, which proved to be ineligible for analysis. Unfortunately there was no time to redo the interview, which otherwise might have been a viable option. It is in this respect important to note that it was important to conduct the interviews during this particular time period as the interviews were conducted in South Africa, while the transcription and analysis have been conducted mostly in Norway. As such the only possibility for renewed contact has been through e-mail or phone.

As part of the qualitative tradition, the main purpose of conducting interviews during research is to

\textsuperscript{15}This logic of replication differs from that of a sampling logic in the sense that it does not a statistical or representation of an entire universe, rather it gives the researcher a possibility to study phenomena that might not otherwise be examined due to lack of an adequate sampling/representation of the universe (Yin, 2009:54,56)
receive information in order to try and understand the world from the perspective of the informants (Kvale et al. 2009:21).

4.2.1 Interviews
The main purpose of the interview is to produce knowledge. There are several ways to conduct an interview with this intention in mind. This thesis has been built upon the semi-structured interview where the purpose is to collect descriptions of the informants' perspectives of their lives and interpret its meaning (Kvale et al. 2009:23). It's important to note that the interview is an active process of producing knowledge. According to this view, the interviewer and informant produce knowledge together. Knowledge from interviews is produced during a conversational relation which is contextual, linguistic, narrative and pragmatic. The point is thus not to quantify events, but to reach an understanding about the world Kvale (et al. 2009:37).

4.2.2 Interview guide
The interview guide is the prepared manuscript that decides the course of the interview (Kvale et al. 2009:143) As stated the interviews conducted in connection with this thesis have followed a semi-structured design. The interview guide has thus been prepared with a line of questioning within several topics. However, the interview guide has also allowed for the informant to bring new topics to the table with an continued opportunity to explore these accordingly. This technique depends thus on the interviewer's ability to evaluate the necessity of either sticking to, or leave, the original guide; as well as how to develop and follow up new topics that are being brought up (Kvale et al. 2009:143).

The interview guide in used in this thesis has had a mix of both questions focusing of facts about the informants: work, living situation etc. As well as questions focusing on meaning (Kvale et al. 2009:49) concerning their relations and their impression of their community in relation to security and crime. As such the line of questioning has been mostly descriptive where the focus has been on trying to get the informants to relate, as carefully as possible, their experiences and feelings regarding security (Kvale 2009:49).

4.2.3 Informants
The 10 informants interviewed in this study are of various age, sex and professions. The age of the informants varied from 35-40 up to above 60. Furthermore, the professions are ranged as either in the business sector, or in the social domain. Most of the informants, 7 out of 10, considered
themselves active in some form in the community, and as the table shows the ones that were not active were in the business sector. The living- and work situation of the informants ranged from either both living and working in Gordon's Bay, or only working.

The interviews for this thesis were conducted in May 2010. All of the interviews, except one, were conducted in Gordon's Bay or Temperance Town. The interview guide stipulated an average of about 1 hour for the questioning of the informants. The informants included both men and women; 5 women, 5 men. During transcription one of the interviews proved to be unusable due to technical difficulties, so in the analysis the sample consisted of 5 women and 4 men. None of the informants were known to the interviewer prior to the interview, but as most of them were gathered as a part of a snowball sampling there were no specific traces of tension or awkwardness during the interviews. The general impression were that the informants were happy to present and explain their views and perspectives.

4.3 Sampling

Following the choice to do a case study and then the choice of interviews as the primary source of information, it is also necessary to choose what to study (unit of analysis) and who to interview. In this thesis the unit of analysis has been the community of Gordon's Bay, and as such the population has been the community members of Gordon's Bay. As it is usually difficult to conduct interviews on the basis of the whole of the population, it is necessary to select a sample on which to conduct the interviews (Grønmo, 2004:85). There are several ways to sample from the population dependant on what the purpose of the study is, as well as accessibility and resources available for the interviewer. All methods for selection according to probability usually prerequisite that the population is clearly defined, that the units in the population may be identified and that these units are available for selection (Grønmo, 2004:92).

4.3.1 Snowballing

In addition to random sampling, selection by using the snowballing method has been useful. Snowballing is a particular mode of selection that involves the informants in the selection process by suggesting other persons to interview. This continues until the sample is considered wide enough, also referred to as the point of saturation (Grønmo, 2004). The term snowballing, thus, refers to the fact that informants accumulate in the same way a snowball expands when rolling.

16 In this thesis the word 'community members' has been chosen to describe the population as the phrasing “citizens” would indicate that they live there. However not all of the informants live in GB, but they may still be considered community members through business associations, employment or other.
down a hill.

In relation to this thesis, not all of the informants were identified from the start. In order to arrive at an acceptable number of informants, each were asked to identify other people that might be interesting to interview in relation to this study. As such, the sample were able to grow bigger as the study progressed. The snowballing method proved very useful in this case as the population was to be considered small (a small, enclosed community), and it thus proved an efficient way to get in contact with possible informants.

4.4 Transcription and analysis

As each interview was conducted with a tape recorder, transcribing the interviews and form categories was necessary before commencing analysing the material. The reason for transcribing the interviews is mainly in order to structure the material so that the information becomes more eligible for analysis (Kvale et al. 2009:188). Ideally, each interview should be transcribed before conducting the next, in order to retrieve all necessary information. However, as the interviews in this thesis were conducted intensively during a short period of time there was no time to do a full transcription of each interview in between, only a short overview. The full transcriptions were conducted upon completion of the interviews.

The transcripts have been the main source of information during this thesis and the transcription process may be the most important process throughout the study. As Kvale (et al. 2009:192) notes, a transcription is about converging an oral conversation to a written document. As such, the accuracy of the transcription is very important, as it will affect the outcome of the analysis. Although, transcribing is both time consuming and demanding, it also gives the researcher an unique opportunity to get to know the material and the informants in a way that may contribute positively to the study in general (Kvale et al. 2009:189).

This point concerning the accuracy and reliability in relation to transcriptions is, according to Kvale (et al. 2009:192) too rarely mentioned in the social sciences. This is simply due to the fact that listening is subjective, and thus gives room for interpretation when considering when a sentence ends, when it begins, when there's a paragraph and when there's a pause. Also emotional expressions such as laughter, intonation and outcries will affect the outcome of the transcriptions. Easiest way, yet time consuming, to deal with this may be to ask two people to transcribe the same interviews (Kvale, et al. 2009:193). However, the validity of a transcript may be harder to evaluate as no transcription may prove more valid than another. Different transcriptions of the same
interview may simply prove to be different constructions of the same world, dependant on the interpreter (Kvale et al. 2009:194).

### 4.4.1 Analytical categories

When analysing a given data material, there are different methods that are available. The point of the analysis is of course to arrive at an understanding of what the informants have answered to the questions asked. In order to this it is necessary to code the material. In this thesis the analytical categories are developed mainly from a what one may term as data controlled coding (Kvale et al. 2009:209). In essence, this means that it is the data collected that decides the course of the analysis. In Yin's (2009:131) terms this is the case description, as it is the descriptive framework in which the researcher chooses to organise his/hers material. As pointed out, it is not necessarily desirable to let the data control the framework, but in some cases this may be the most preferable dependent on the circumstances at hand.

In this particular case, the case was supposed to be a multiple-case study and a framework was thus developed in this sense. As it turned out, the multiple-case design was not feasible at this point and the case needed to be converted into a single-case design when some of the data already were collected. This is a definite descriptive approach that focuses on providing the analysis with thorough descriptions of the phenomena to be analysed (Kvale et al. 2009:212).

### 4.5 Reliability and Validity

Furthering the notions of reliability and validity concerning transcriptions, is the same notions in relation to research itself. In short reliability of a study refers to the quality of the data used in the study. The reliability is good if the research design and data collection produces reliable results. Normally, the reliability is evaluated based upon the assumption that if the same design were to be used again, collecting the same data, one should arrive at the same results (Yin, 2009:45) However, often it is difficult to perform this test in practical terms, and as such the notion of reliability is used more as an entry point towards a discussion concerning the evaluation of studies in general (Grønmo, 2004:220). Yin (2009:45) also points to the fact that the awareness itself may lead to the researcher's vigilance and willingness to:

“...make as many steps as operational as possible and to conduct research as if someone were always looking over your shoulder.”
In this thesis it may be difficult, as suggested, to test the reliability of the data. There is no guarantee that the informants will answer exactly the same on every question put to them, at exactly the same time. Especially not those that relates to the subjective meaning of the particular informants are quite impossible to challenge, should the outcome prove different a second time around. In this sense, even if every step of the way was noted in a case study protocol, the outcome still could prove different as subjective meaning is easily changed.

Concerning the notion of validity, Yin (2009:40) refers to four tests used when evaluating the quality of research design. In this representation, reliability (mentioned above) is one of those tests. The next three tests are construct validity (referring to operational concepts), internal validity (referring to causal relationships), and external validity (referring to generalisation). Briefly put, validity may be thought of the degree in which a certain research design is equipped with dealing with the questions and problems at hand in a particular study (Grønmo, 2004:221). As such the degree of validity affects in which way the result of a study is to be believed or not, and thus furthers the concept of reliability.

There has been a continued focus throughout this study on both reliability and validity. By following a case study protocol, tracing the steps as thoroughly as possible as well as reviewing and evaluating (as far has have been possible) the data have been ways in which both the reliability and validity has been tried strengthened during the course of the study.

4.5.1 Research ethics
There are certain important points concerning research ethics. According to Grønmo (2004:19), Merton has suggested four important rules concerning ethics in research. The first one is considered openness; that the research is conducted in a public light and that all reports may be subjected to criticisms and evaluation in the public space. The second rule is based upon the notion that research in general is open to criticisms and assessment accordingly. The third rule is independence, the research should not be controlled or manipulated by particular interests in society. The fourth and last rule concerns the universal aspect of research; the produced knowledge should be judged upon scientific criteria, without taking into account the researcher's background or personal abilities.

This study has been conducted in line with all of the criteria mentioned above, and has not been subjected to alterations or manipulation by any other person or institution.
A final point concerning research ethics concerns the completion of studies where the informants are from another part of the world. Cultural differences may impact the study, or the researcher without them knowing. The issues here concerns both language, non-verbal communication and cultural differences in general (Kvale et al. 2009:156).

4.5.2 Confidentiality and informed consent

As part of the study the informants were informed of the main purpose of the study through the use of an information sheet. All of the informants had the voluntary option of not participating in the study. All of the informants also had the option to remain anonymous throughout the study as part of the notion of confidentiality between researcher and informant (Kvale et al. 2009:90). As such no information concerning the informants have been revealed (on purpose) in this study. However, as an ethical concern it might be mentioned that the community of Gordon's Bay in general is a small one, there is, thus, always the possibility (if the thesis is read) that someone will be able to identify a person based upon other merits such as extractions of the interview used in the thesis.
This chapter will provide a thorough analysis of the empirical findings of this study. During the course of the analysis theoretical reflections will be provided. As such, the analysis will first and foremost focus on findings in relevance to the main question of the thesis:

*What may be some of the factors to explain the lack of a functioning, local security regime in, urban communities in South Africa such as Gordon's Bay?*

### 5.1 Analytical categories

The first category focuses on exploring the relationship between the people and community of Gordon's Bay. A special emphasis will be put upon the notion of crime and fear in relation to the impression of the community as apathetic. The second category explores the colonial legacies in relation to trust in governance institutions. The third category focuses on the institutional terrain of police and private security, with a special emphasis on community policing relative to community awareness. However, the arguments will in some cases be interconnected, and therefore may therefore be difficult to analyse as totally separate issues. As such, it is important to note that the analysis will take on a dynamic course; examining new issues as they become relevant. It is therefore also important to consider the analysis as one entity, where all the issues are interconnected and dependant upon one another.

### 5.2 Gordon's Bay: The apathetic urban

The first category will explore the informants' perception of Gordon's Bay as a town, and what they perceive to be the trouble in the area. Three particular notions are evident here; distance between Cape Town and Gordon's Bay, crimes related to drugs and alcohol in Temperance Town, and inability to foster any sense of community spirit. In relation to the first issue, the distance between Gordon's Bay and Cape Town is something that concerns the informants, especially in relation to the ability to foster a working community. One informant focuses on the logistical aspects of a worker, potentially living in Gordon's Bay:

*Extract#1: “From Strand it'll take you 40 minutes to Cape Town. I'm talking during the day. It'll take you from Strand. It'll take you an hour 20 minutes from Gordon's Bay, it is further, it is difficult to exit. So it is not an ideal place for a working person to live.” (Interview 1)*

Another informant is more concerned with the social aspect. In this respect the informant concerns
himself with the problem of the town not being able to create enough movement that might be able to contribute to the social development of the town:

Extract#2: “The problem with the area is that it's not an income generating area, so we don't have businesses in the area that provides jobs. This is a homeward-bound sector, where everybody comes home to the area. Not a lot of industry, job creations in or around the area, which is pretty difficult. It's nice to have a balance of people staying, people coming, people going, throughout the whole day. Then it creates movement, and it's obviously better for business, to have movement, or that sense of purpose. To be on the road that's got movement.”

(Interview 7)

However, it is not just the physical distance between the town of Gordon's Bay and Cape Town that is troublesome. Also the political distance between them is troubling for the informants. As one informant relates:

Extract#3: “Our hick-up is being part of the city. On the one hand it's a good thing, and on the other hand they've taken away all our own autonomy.” (Interview 2)

As such, it is the relationship between the urban city against the more rural area of Gordon's Bay that becomes the focus of attention. This link has been thoroughly examined by Mamdani (1996). To the extent that the physical distance may be of any relevance to the political distance that the informants are experiencing, the link between the rural and the urban is of relevance. As shown in chapter 2, Mamdani (1996:297) contends that without a proper link between the state and civil society, there is little hope of democratising local power and getting rid of residual customary powers. Also, with the current state reforms, where the South African government has been more prone to centralising power than to distributing it downwards (Rosingaunet, 2009) may account for some of the estrangement and frustration that the informants are feeling

Extract#4: “Each community must fix it's own problems.” (Interview 3)

Extract#5: “So that they all sit up there, they got no idea what's going on down here on the ground. The problems is down here. People on the ground. All the problems that they don't know what's going on.”

(Interview 4)

These two quotations illustrate an inherent ambiguity in terms of how the relationship with central authorities functions. On the one hand; there is a frustration concerning the seeming lack of interest in the community on the part of the city. On the other; there is also the obvious presuming that each
community necessarily needs to be responsible for itself. Although, small town, Gordon's Bay has become more and more characterised by its urban features after the shift to democracy, especially after entering into the 21st century:

Extract#6: “...the character of the town. Two-three restaurants, there were one or two shops and the post office and the police, and everybody knew everybody. That was it (…) so all of a sudden Gordon's Bay expanded, you know, and there's houses everywhere (…).” (Interview 1)

Extract#7: “It used to be a very small, quiet village when I moved here. Really very seasonal, you know? People only used to come seasons to town, but it's actually become now... It's lost that village, you know?” (Interview 3)

This urbanisation has led to the entrance of several new features; changes in demography and the introduction of drugs as a new element of crime. The all-encompassing effect of the community, in terms of possible ramifications (Gordon, 2006), is also noted by the informants shown below through three different perspectives: community life, security and socio-economics:

Extract#8: “It's definitely the drugs, drug problems. Drug abuse, alcohol abuse which cause your domestic violence, family violence within communities.” (Interview 10)

Extract#9: “You don't have a great, round, black factor in Gordon's Bay (…) It makes it more safe. It does not make it safe, but it makes it safer.” (Interview 9)

Extract#10: “Densification, under most normal circumstances will change to slumification. If you don't stop it.” (Interview 1).

Their concern is all related to the well-being of their community. However an important notion as such, is how these concerns will affect their daily lives. The heightened importance of safety and security in urban areas in South Africa have been pointed out by Lemanski (2004, 2006) with a special focus on the expression of fear by citizens. She argues that certain responses to increased fear amongst citizens in urban areas lead to increased segregation which may finally result in a new apartheid (Lemanski, 2004:101). Not a government defined one, but a social separation through spacial distance created by the citizens themselves (Rosingaunet, 2009:70). One informant shares his experiences relative to the notion of security:

Extract#11: “In our own experience....At the time, we fitted the house with Spanish bars – burglar bars on the
outside. We had a dog, and I had a gun – we thought we were now safe. They still broke in, despite the burglar alarms and the dog. Then the police said to us: “Forget about burglar bars, forget about dogs. Put in an alarm with armed response!” It ended there and then.” (Interview 9)

This brings back the relevance of the physical distance as a strategy for security. And as such, the small coloured community of Temperance Town is interesting to look at. Most of the informants chose to portray Gordon's Bay as a safe town:

Extract#12: “It's safer than most other places in South Africa.” (Interview 1)

Extract#13: “You still live in a wonderful place. You're safe.” (Interview 2)

Extract#14: “You have a fairly, let's say obedient, community. They stick to the rules, they don't do wrong things. I think it's all very safe to live in.” (Interview 9)

Thus, the town of Gordon's Bay is portrayed as safe, however this safeness does not seem to automatically include the small coloured community of Temperance Town. As one informant related opinions concerning the safeness, the wording revealed that Temperance Town was clearly to be regarded as a separate entity:

Extract#15: “In fact in Temperance Town, which is part of our city, and beautiful. Their biggest problem is that very, very high percentages of the kids are either pushers or drug users, dealers whatever. That, for us, is an enormous concern.” (Interview 2)

The next section will continue exploring the relationship between Gordon's Bay and Temperance Town, as well as some comments concerning the neighbouring area of Strand.

5.2.1 Strand and Temperance Town
Adjacent to Gordon's Bay, one finds, the smaller dwellings of Strand and Temperance Town. In the last section an informant portrayed, through phrasing that Temperance Town is regarded mostly as a separate entity. However, another informant shared the opinions that Gordon's Bay is highly affected by its neighbouring areas:

Extract#16: “The problem is that you cannot look at Gordon's Bay as an entity by itself, because it's affected by Strand, so you have to look at Strand coming into Gordon's Bay, and how it is affecting it. If you look at Gordon's Bay by itself, you're short sighted.” (Interview 7)
The previous section also explored the concept of the rural/urban in relation to Gordon's Bay. In those terms, the domino-effect described above is also relevant. Coming from a history where Bantu laws regulated the laws of life and movement for blacks and coloureds, peripheral areas such as Strand became especially important. As described by Steinberg (2004:104) several of the peripheral areas of Cape Town were used as dumping places of migrant workers and the likes. The forced removals connected the urban population with the peripheral areas; grassy, rich farmland densely populated by clusters of blacks and coloureds. One informant describes Strand in the following way:

Extract#17: “Look, you can separate Strand in two sections: The whiter area. The old established area, and the less established area which is the coloured community. And the coloured community, the houses are much more smaller, almost like a shanty town (…) If you look at it from Google, you see that the size of the plots of the houses gets a bit smaller. They get people. If you could have a heat sensor, you'd see that it becomes far more populated as you get deeper into the area.” (Interview 7)

Furthermore, the weakness of treating a town, in this case Gordon's Bay, as an entity by itself is confirmed in various theories associated with community development. As Mathie (et al. 2002:9) notes, the creation of networks and social relationships, both internal and external may be treated as assets in terms of community mobilisation. Also in relation to how to create and manage a network based on weak ties, an extended social network is seen as a strength (Granovetter, 1973). As such, Gordon's Bay is highly affected by changes in its nearby areas. One informant relates the changes in Strand to something that may also happen in Gordon's Bay:

Extract#18:“The stability of the area trembled, because these jobs dried up. So the area fell into disrepair, and it has been progressively getting worse, and the problem why the crime doesn't get better is because you've taken away it's income stream.” (Interview 7)

However, although close in experience and distance, the impression is that the areas of Strand and Temperance Town stands somewhat in contrast to Gordon's Bay. As one informant simply states:

Extract#19: “It's got decent affordable housing, compared to what you would get in Strand, for instance. Strand, you'll get an area that not everybody would like to live in.” (Interview 9)

Extract#20: Because they made sure now. It's now closed...There won't be a third phase... People must move to Strand or to somewhere else where the government gives us land now.” (Interview 5)
The last quotation does not only portray an unwillingness to living in Strand, it is also directly relevant to the issue of forced removals mentioned above. According to Mamdani (1996:102) the instigating of the forced removals were nothing but a frontal attack on the African population. After having lived through increased pass law control, the spying on children and the immediate arrest of anything not even resembling suspicious activity, the forced removals were the final practical application of paranoia on behalf of the state (Gordon, 2006:65). One informant relates her account of the proceedings, and in turn the beginning of Temperance Town:

Extract#21: “And I said, I'm not going to be living in sects, or informal settlements or where their councillors want to put us in. I fight the owners of the farm...And the people, the community on the farm, they were ready to do as the owner said, and I said: “No people, let's go further. Because these farmers want to move you, and the new development person, they're gonna make you squatters!” And I said: “We are not squatters!”” (Interview 5)

Having fought, and won a court case, the informant's community with a part in the coloured community of Temperance Town. Also the name is instituting of the origin of the community:

Extract#22: “They say in those years, they call it Temperance Town because people were going to live there temporarily until they're fine. That's why they call it “Temperance” Town.” (Interview 5)

According to Lemanski (2001:102) the spatial, actual removal of coloureds/blacks, to the periphery reflected the social distancing from whites, who in turn were allocated larger areas of land. The lines of separation may be invisible, but for the people in question they seem rather intact:

Extract#23: “Taking into account where we come from, with apartheid, there's still that invisible barrier, I would say.” (Interview 9)

Extract#24: “Because I feel that Temperance Town and Gordon's Bay is one. It is one place! There shouldn't be a line!” (Interview 5)

Although the lines of separation may feel intact, the lines of what they separate have changed. As the turn towards globalisation and an expectation that South Africa should adapt to an ideal of modern European states, the governance structure turned out to be one that attempted to compromise between globalisation and a social democracy (Rosingaunet, 2009:69). The result of this compromise has been a furthering of the geographical inequalities that existing during apartheid, but with an explicit economic focus. As such the issues of class and race are highly
interlinked and relevant in today's political world of South Africa:

Extract#25: “Colour doesn't worry a white man at all any more, thank God. We're long past that. It is the “haves” and the “have-nots” And the “have-nots” are growing in numbers every day. And the “haves” are keeping it.” (Interview 2)

Extract#26: “So one can understand that now Gordon's Bay is being pushed, because it is growing, it's spreading out. So, it pushes into the affluent, or “the haves”, the “have-nots” want to take.” (Interview 7)

As such, the urbanisation of Gordon's Bay and its surrounding areas, has also brought about a reminder that class differences in terms of haves and have-nots have become a severe source of differences in the community. The ambiguity towards how the urbanisation has affected the area of Temperance Town is evident:

Extract#27: “Temperance Town used to be the coloured community. Now Temperance Town is surrounded by expensive houses, and industrial area on the one side, so I think Temperance Town actually improved because of that.” (Interview 9)

Extract#28: “Then Temperance Town, there's other problems with community. Such as family problems, I think because of the unemployment rate. And that the people are relatively poor, in Temperance Town.” (Interview 10)

5.2.2 Issues on crime

As such, the entering into democracy have had implications for how the structuring of society has changed. In this respect Singh (2008:4) suggests that the whole notion of post-apartheid in fact refers less to the democratic transition itself, and more to new thoughts concerning the organisation and administration of politics, economy and basic every day life that went with it. This have in turn meant the tackling of new problems such as poverty, inequality, crime and disease (Gordon, 2006:2). Having discussed the emergent problem of crime, it might be useful to look at the informants perceptions of the criminal activity taking place in their area. One informant relates the difference in terms of how crime in Cape Town differs from that of other cities:

Extract#29: “There's different crimes. Cape Town has a situation that it's drug-fuelled crime based on the influences, all the profits of drugs, and illegal activities (...) Johannesburg has a lot of fraud, lot of high-jacking, goods in transit, movement. Lot of robberies, lot of murders by share numbers. But different type of crimes versus Cape Town.” (Interview 7)
Most of the informants mentioned crime in relation to drugs and alcohol addiction as one of the more severe problems to combat. Also, amongst the informants there was a general agreement that most crime related issues in Gordon's Bay and Temperance Town is connected to the use of drugs and alcohol:

Extract#30: “I mean the kids don't have entertainment, so there's a strong drug problem in Gordon's Bay. And I've seen rehabilitated drug users that come back into the area and fall back into that hold. So that means that hold is strong.” (Interview 7)

The use of drugs amongst the coloured community is extensively related by Steinberg (2004). Furthermore, as Gordon (2006:96) relates organised crime focused on drugs not only takes its toll on the individuals in the community, it may also result in criminal control over the communities themselves. Furthermore the common use of alcohol as a mind-altering drug makes it the most widespread problem in poor communities as well as in more affluent ones (Gordon, 2006:97). Amongst the informants the feeling of expanding crime is duly noted. Crime, as such is no longer just for “the big city”. One informant explains why and how Gordon's Bay are experiencing crime:

Extract#31: “(...) a lot of the crimes that are committed in this area, are people that not even live in this area. They come from Crossroads, they come from Gugulethu, they come from Cape Town. They are NOT from this area, they are not living in this area (...) A lot of tourists come to Gordon's Bay. It's a lot of foreigners. They're easy targets. You understand? That's why they target the place!” (Interview 3)

In the Cape Town-area one of the most prevalent problems in terms of crime is gang related activity (Gordon, 2006:99). As such murders, drug trafficking and the illegal management of 'shebeens' is more often than not, related to gangs. In Steinberg's novel 'The Number' (2004) the setting, in addition to the prison, is the main character's life in the Cape Flats. It thus narrates his relationship with gangs both in and out of prison; in prison he's part of them, on the outside he works against them (Steinberg, 2004:199). An important note to take from this is that in this area, murder is (usually) not an end in itself, but a response to something else: a drug deal gone bad, someone catches you stealing or someone may see you acting on “their turf”. It is no wonder, therefore, why the more serious crimes that have been experienced in Gordon's Bay are contributed to the illegal activities of drug trafficking:

Extract#32: “There's also shooting now. This is the second shooting. They shoot the one last month. That was a shocking thing for Temperance Town. A very big, shocking thing. Because it's violence now.” (Interview 5)
The account that people come from the outside, in to the small communities along the coastline of Cape Town, is not an unusual one. The account Steinberg (2004:294-295) reveals, indicates that the placing of gang members in certain locations in the South African Cape abalone, in the 1990s, to exploit the extensive fish poaching industry that was going on there. The role of the gangs was to make this area their turf, then extract protection fees from the people poaching. As such, it seems that with the abolishment of apartheid, the migration from the rural to the urban, became reversed back to the rural areas as a result of extensive gang related activities in terms of the selling of drugs and alcohol. One informant explains this migrating culture in the following way:

Extract#34: “In a way it's still safe. But it can expand now, you see (…) As parents we stay in by my house. I'm staying by my house, and you're staying by you're house, but children are otherwise now. They move around” (Interview 5)

5.2.3 Apathy and Trust

A general notion when talking to the informants was the feeling of hopelessness in relation to the improvement of the area. As two of the informants pointed out:

Extract#35: “It's probably the most lethargic (…) community that you can ever work in...” (Interview 2)

Extract#36: “Unfortunately we react. We wait for bad things top happen before there is a public outcry.” (Interview 7)

The notions mentioned above suggests that the informants regards their community as unwilling, or unable to take an active part in their own community. The major problem in terms of community participation theory of having a general apathetic community is that direct participation from the community is considered to be one of the most important contributive factors in achieving a functioning democratic regime. It is thus stipulated that absence of citizens in the participation process indicates a serious systemic malaise (Fung, 2004:28). However, to contribute the entire lack of participation to the use of drugs and alcohol is to easy. As such, the unwillingness to participate may reside at a deeper level:

Extract#37: “(...) but I think a lot of people don't want to get involved, you know? It's a question of, you know,
“Why? It doesn't affect me.” But what they don't realise, it's gonna come back one day. It's gonna happen to them, and they wonder why nobody wants to help them, because of their ignorance, and it comes back to bite them in their asses, if I can put it that way.” (Interview 3)

Following this, it is a question that people are not interested in getting involved as long as it is of no direct concern to them. This is theoretically consistent with the findings of Fung (2004:99) where he suggests that the participating democratic structures simply becomes too much for the ordinary citizen to keep up with:

Extract#38: “But many of our people doesn't want to be involved, you understand? It's too much. It's taking too much on people (…) Your time isn't your time because there's so many problems.” (Interview 5)

Likewise, there may be inequalities between the participants which may be difficult to bridge. In relation to Gordon's Bay, this may be relevant to the lack of connection to Temperance Town, as most of the people afflicted by the consequences of drug and alcohol abuse lives in Temperance Town. As one informant states:

Extract#39: “Alcohol abuse is a big problem (…) If you don't have that support group, you just fall back and fall back and fall back.” (Interview 9)

However, Fung (2004:28) also states that his studies show that participation from low-income areas, or otherwise differentiated groups, do participate if the result may have a direct effect in their own lives. Another informant relates to this aspect when it comes to participation in Gordon's Bay:

Extract#40: “The police forums that are successful and operational, is so, because of an event. There was a horrible murder in the community, and then, all of a sudden, all the people jumped up... And if you call a meeting the next night, everybody will be in the city hall, and they will say: “Let's do something as a community” (Interview 1)

The informant speaks here of a direct event that may function as a catalyst towards achieving participation across groupings. Another informants chooses this way of explaining things:

Extract#41: “They don't want to get involved. They don't want to rock the boat, you know. But it's when their boat gets rocked, that they... Suddenly now, their boat has been rocking and it's been a very bad sea. (Interview 2)
As such, the apathy residing in the community may be remedied by creating a catalyst that is not based on singular events, but that manages to keep an interest over time. One of the informants suggest a rather radical solution towards this problem:

Extract#42: “What I'm trying to say, distributing the community too feed them with a bit of bad news... “There's been a break-in. A lady's been attacked” you know? So that they become aware that in our town all is not that well, you know, and then through that message, try and get them energised to participate.” (Interview 1)

The issue of bridging the gap between different groupings may be particularly relevant to Gordon's Bay and Temperance Town. Regarding Temperance Town, one informant puts it this way:

Extract#43: “The coloured community is a very different community, you know. Some are afraid of what will the other one say, or what do they think” (Interview 4)

As such, the experienced apathy may be related to a deeper issue of trust. According to Putnam (1993:168) trust is the basis on which cooperation may take place. As the trust spreads from one person to another in the community, one arrives in the end at a network of trust. Ideally such networks are based on the creation and management of weak ties. Trust, as such, is based on the moral notion of obligation; when you know that you can trust another person to fulfil their obligations, as you will yours. The lack of such trust in relation to Gordon's Bay is illustrated by the following quote concerning physical security:

Extract#44: “So you end up with one or two businesses that have to fork out a lot of money for private security to be able to secure the place. Which is just not feasible. And you've only got two people paying, but the whole complex benefits from it.” (Interview 3)

The last quote describes the free-rider logic that suggests that without an existing regime of mutual trust in a collective, it is in the best interest of each individual to become a free-rider. This is because there is a rational expectation of defection (Putnam, 1993:164). As such, each individual by themselves becomes incapacitated which in turn may lead to a collective apathy. In a community, such as Gordon's Bay, it may very well be that the actual mobilisation must start at an individual level where they, themselves, are the driving force of their own actions. As one informant put it:

Extract#45: “You, as a person, must decide what is important for your community. Pull your finger out of your ass and do it.” (Interview 3)
However, to achieve this may be to depend only on altruistic motives and voluntary action. Therefore it seems necessary that the members of a community are somehow given either an incentive for participating in, or sanction against for defecting from – collective action. As such, social trust may arise either from norms of reciprocity, or networks of civic engagement (Putnam, 1993: 171). In terms of the latter, being able to create such functioning networks of engagement may be key in the case of Temperance Town. Several informant have suggested that there may be an existing interest in the community to participate, but that there is a lack of capacity or knowledge:

Extract#46: “I think Temperance Town people are not bad people. They need guidelines, they need people. And I think they will work together.” (Interview 5)

Extract#47: “There are quite a few of them who really want to see something happen in the communities. Something positive. And they show their interest. And they're also somehow involved.” (Interview 10)

This may suggest that in Temperance Town, the so-called norms of reciprocity have not been developed in terms of being able to foster norms that gives heed to the ones that do participate. According to Putnam (1993:171) such norms have the ability to both restrain opportunists that seek to exploit the network for his/hers own advantage, as well as resolve problems related to collective action.

5.3 Colonial legacies

The previous section explored the perceptions the informants shared related to Gordon's Bay as a small, urban community. Important in this respect were how the character of the relationship between Gordon's Bay and its surrounding area, especially Temperance Town had developed and changed. The final section suggested that the networks of trust have not been properly developed.

This section will focus on why this is, through exploring some of the colonial legacies that may relate to the issue of trust. As mentioned in the previous section, the transition into democracy provided South Africa with new opportunities, but also new challenges. As Gordon (2006:17) points out, the transitional period is something that will take time to overcome both in terms of the criminal justice system, but also concerning other domains. As one informant states:

Extract#48: “So, we're looking at symptoms, the illness is something far bigger than that. And South Africa will have to go through this, and work through this in time.” (Interview 1)
The above quote suggests that the democratic transition that took place in South Africa is still of heightened concern. As Gordon (2006:1) points out, although the transition in itself is to be considered a peaceful one, it has not been a guarantee for a future without confrontations or dilemmas.

5.3.1 Cultural differences
The fact that South Africa is a rather new democracy, as well as the transition into it has a very special history leaves the country in a special situation. As one informant puts it:

Extract#49: “We’re still infants in terms of a democracy. People realise that the only rights that they do have, is to pay taxes and to vote. And to make their vote count takes a long time. The one they don’t accept, and the other they don’t know how to use.” (Interview 7)

As such, it seems that there's a notion, and understanding of democracy as a very limited form of government. One of the issues that make the notion of democracy so complex in this society (as well as any modern society) is the relationship between the different ethnic groupings; white, blacks and coloureds. The interconnectedness and complexity of this relationship is portrayed in the literature. However, it is not the divisions between black and white that is of issue now, it is the internal tensions amongst blacks, and coloureds where the onslaught of rich and poor have grabbed hold and manifested itself along the old lines of separation (Gordon, 2006). Regarding the informants in this thesis, the issue of possible culture did come up as an important part of the interviews. In relation to security, one informant puts it the following way:

Extract#50: “We have a dilution, in which we don't consider coloureds to be as dangerous as blacks. Unfortunately, it's just a misconception and a misunderstanding of their cultures. We haven't had time to analyse, or to even get to know their cultures, and therefore we don't understand their ways.” (Interview 7)

This management by separation as the informant referred to is not something that has happened after the democratic transition. In fact, as described by Mamdani (1996:109-110) this may be regarded as an evolving of the management of segregation based on race as it was developed through customary laws and native authority. Although, the separation in which the informant refers to is no longer an institutionalised segregation, there seems to still exist a separation based on both cultural differences, but also (and maybe more important) a lack of knowledge concerning the customs and lives of others:
Another important factor concerning the act of separation is the result of a history including institutional segregation, combined with a new form of government based on market capitalisation that has been accused of creating class differences in relation to wealth, and as such separate rich from poor:

Extract#52: “South Africa is challenged because we've got a lot of emotional piggybacking (…) It's not a black and white thing it's a class... It's a financial thing. The strongest religion on the planet is capitalism. And that is even stronger between the have and the have-nots” (Interview 7)

In relation to South Africa, Gordon (2006:17) points out that although the transition to democracy have created certain opportunities for an increasing group of middle-class blacks there has also been evidence of a widening interracial gap where many strata of the population has been left poorer than before the transition. An important factor in this respect is the problems related to the exceedingly high unemployment rates that in turn produces problems in terms of drugs and alcohol abuse:

Extract#53: “There's no, like, activities for the children to keep the youngsters, to keep themselves busy and stuff like that” (Interview 5)

As such, the continuing problems during the period of transition, leads some of the informants to suggests that some things were in fact better during the previous regime:

Extract#54: “In the good old days, if we may call it that (…) In those days we had respect, and we had order. Clean towns. We had the community working together. Although we had more people in command (…) they got all the privileges that the white guys got, just on a lesser scale perhaps.” (Interview 9)

However, it seems important to point out that it seems like the informant are missing things that should be fully possible to achieve in a democratic country as well. This is also emphasised upon in the next quote:

Extract#55: “I don't have a problem with race, as such. It's more a question of respect for life, respect for other people's property. It's lacking in those communities, 'cause I mean, not even their own people feels safe there.”
Still, an attitude that is primarily based on fear of others may be of severe hindrance in terms of creating any type of functioning security regime. As pointed out, the spatial implications in relation to such a development towards an architecture of fear. In smaller communities, the penetration of fear into everyday life may affect community approaches to security quite strongly. As Lemanski (2004:102) points out the individual fear may lead more and more to individual citizen responses, rather than a community based regime. Furthermore, the notion of fear in areas where the citizens are predominantly white may also somewhat be contributed to the fear of loosing their modern and civilised lifestyle in the post-apartheid era (Lemanski, 2006:788):

Extract#56: “So we're not longing for apartheid, we're longing for respect of life and respect of other people's belongings” (Interview 9)

Relative to the context of crime, one informant expresses his views on fear in this manner:

Extract#57: “I don't fear crime, I just fear the type of crime. I don't mind getting robbed, I fear getting killed.” (Interview 7)

As such, in South Africa it seems that the fear of crime is mostly restricted to fears of types of crime. This may be viewed in connection with Super's (2010:176) understanding of the South African way of dealing with crime, where the post-apartheid discourse from government largely have consisted on presenting an image of crime as being normal and not as bad as it is made out to be.

5.3.2 Patrimonial tendencies

The perception of security in the present South Africa thus becomes more important than ever, especially concerning how trust between groupings may be created and then channelled so as it may work for the greater good of a specific community. It seems that the historical and societal facts still plays a major role in how people perceive and relate to others. This is also the notion the informers produced concerning possible nepotism and a clientelist culture.

Extract#58: “The government is a reflection of the people, and not vice-versa” (Interview 7)

In relation to the South African context the relationship between the government and the people are
an extremely important one. This is because, one of the biggest concerns amongst the informants of this thesis have been to which extent it is possible to trust the government. Several opinions that expressed mistrust, also indicated that the mistrust was related to the impression that the government was not working for the people, only to their own ends:

Extract#59: “It's very much nepotism. It's favours for friends and therefore you don't have the best people for the (...) job – never! (Interview 2)

As Mamdani (1996:289) points out the thwarted relationship between the rural and the urban during colonial oppression was by far located in the fact that changes in central government (the urban) had no effective impact on the native authorities controlling the rural areas. As such, the re-emergence of a centralised despotism because the central leaders of government were also the ones appointing the chiefs and native authorities everywhere. The creation and upholding of this essentially patrimonial structure where governance happened through the patron-client relations that existed between the urban and the rural is what the new South Africa has to battle in today’s political scene:

Extract#60: “In South Africa our whole political structure is so wrong. So wrong, I can't tell you. Because it is not respected community members who are councillors any more. It is a political party representative. So it's all about the money. It's unfortunate. It's party politics. (Interview 2)

Although, the colonial institutions may have evaporated, it seems like the notions and attitudes attributed to them may be harder to combat. The struggle related to control and power that were important in the colonial era, seems also to be of importance today:

Extract#61: “I would say 70% no delivery, on not anything. I'm not talking about the police. I'm talking about houses, crime, food, everything. Unfortunately, on the moment, given South Africa's situation, it's a question about money and power.” (Interview 3)

The impression that the government system is controlled by other things than democratic value is quite widespread amongst the informants:

Extract#62: “Central government. Central government is at fault. They are not applying the rules, they are constantly trying to change laws to suit the government. In order not to do their duties.” (Interview 9)

As such, central government is under fire in relation to their capabilities to govern the nation. The
accusation that it is not the government that is adapting to democracy, but democracy that gets adapted to the government is quite serious. However, although the accusations might be understandable in light of the shifting perspectives of the government in many government domains, but also especially in relation to crime and security (Gordon, 2006). Although ANC was head of the liberation movement that saw great focus on participation across strata that was even manifested in the Freedom Charter of 1955 (Gordon, 2006:243), the lack of follow up and dedication has been evident. As such, the population has been left in disappointment and despair concerning the liberation party's development in the post-apartheid era:

Extract#63: “I think it's the ANC (…) I mean, however much I was pro-ANC, they are really turned out a rotten bunch. It's very scary. It's like an octopus. It controls everything. If you look at the big businesses, there's always an ANC-wing involved (…) I feel very strongly that the ethics, the morality of the ANC doesn't exist.” (Interview 2)

The lack of handling abilities on part of the government may thus have contributed to the continued development of the culture of distrust that has followed after the apartheid regime, not only within the central government institutions, but also in the extended structures such as the police force (Gordon, 2006:244). As such, the question of democratic accountability becomes relevant, and as one informant points out:

Extract#64: “The point is that he must be put to task. At the moment they become leaders, and they're answerable to nobody. Which is actually ironic, they're actually answerable to the people who have voted them in.” (Interview 7)

An interesting part is that the informants does not seem to expect any more than one should think that a functioning government regime should be able to provide for its citizens:

Extract#65: “Just run our country proper. See to our people. Do what you have to do. We vote you, to be able to become President – deliver! Don't stand there, big talk: bla bla bla. You've been elected and now you do nothing.” (Interview 3)

5.3.3 Social capital
The culture of distrust that have been mentioned in the above section seems to highlight a far-reaching problem within the democratic South Africa. Although the patrimonial structures created in the colonial times, may still be suggested to have some merit today this seems now to be more due to the inefficient development of alternative structures to replace the old ones, rather than a
wish to oppress. As Gordon (2006:14) points out public-empowering reforms may be of special importance in countries that are experiencing conflicts due to misunderstandings, or cultural divisions. Furthermore she suggests that the healing process that happened after apartheid did not include the involvement of citizens in the act of prevention and management, rather they were seen as instruments for upholding social order (Gordon, 2006:10). As such, the patrimonial structures that focused on a patron-client approach to governance did not evaporate with the abolition of apartheid. Rather they changed shapes as to cater for a democratic culture, but kept the internal element of distrust that are now thwarting the relationship between government and people. As one informant explains concerning how this functions in practice:

Extract#66: “Now, we create a committee which create employment to a lot of people. Now, they gotta see that the bank is doing, but you split the responsibility, ’cause who is responsible for the bank: the CEO, or the committee looking after the bank?” (Interview 1)

The lack of trust throughout the system puts it back to the importance of building social capital on the foundation of weak ties. As explained previously the networks of reciprocity (Putnam, 1993) are important in terms of developing such ties. As such, the problem with the old system in South Africa is that it is largely based upon the opposite, which is strong ties displayed in a vertical network. Such an asymmetric relationship have the opportunity and the possibility to effectively hinder the creation of functioning networks of civic engagement because of the fact that they are not based on mutual trust (Putnam, 1993:173). In essence, this means that although the government in question has been given a proper mandate through justified electoral processes, it is no guarantee that the elected people will fulfil their engagement as promised. Several of the informants pointed towards this problem:

Extract#67: “These were all promises made, and these are unfulfilled promises. And that is why the townships are burning. And in this country, you will never have a white/black onslaught, ever! You will have a have/have-not onslaught. (…) So you can understand that colour, on this level, doesn't make any difference” (Interview 2)

Extract#68: “They must put the promise they gave. When the people elected them, then they said: “Vote for me! We will do this and we will do that.” They must keep their promise, that I can say. But once they're there, they don't.” (Interview 5)

This section has explored the colonial legacies of patrimonial structures. As there is still tension between the old and new divisions between class and race, it becomes seemingly more important to establish and develop a network of trust, based on weak ties in order to build the social capital
needed for creating a sound platform of cooperation.

5.4 Security
Previously, this analysis have explored the strained relationship between the different ethnic groups of the population in Gordon's Bay. As well as pointing out some issues concerning crime and policing, thus moving into the area of the creation of social networks produced through mutual trust. This section will thus further the previous arguments of distrust towards the police and government and explore how people's perception of the police may effectively hinder any form of local participation as they turn to more private avenues of security. As a final point the analysis will explore the experiences related in relation to government strategies and community policing in Gordon's Bay.

5.4.1 Police inefficiencies
Having explored how the asymmetrical relationship between the police and the public is in relation to trust, it may be interesting to also look at how this trust is effectively incapacitating the police, thus harming the police in their ability to be efficient service providers. As such, as a result of the lack of trust in the police the private security industry finds their place in the urban communities of South Africa. One particular public instance where this is a problem is the police. As explained, the South African residents have yet to give their full consent to be policed by the same police force that were active during the apartheid regime (Steinberg, 2008), also referred to as an icon of white-minority rule (Gordon, 2006:141). As such, nothing much is expected by the police. As one informant relates:

Extract#69: “From personal experience and the things I've seen, you can't expect much from the police. Let's say out of a workforce from a hundreds: 60% Yes, will understand, knows what it goes about, is prepared to do anything. The other 40% are there for themselves.” (Interview 3)

The trust towards a functioning police that provides for its citizens does not overreach that of the government. However, the informants personal experiences towards the police varies greatly:

Extract#70: “I just find, yes they are trying, but they've got too many people going against them. Too many of their own people committing crimes, too many of their own people looking the other side, not prepared to do anything should you go and lodge a complaint, should you want assistance.” (Interview 3)

Extract#71: “The police are there and they're very friendly. Their approach really changed over the years, over the two years. They're more friendly, they've got a friendly approach. The people like them, and when they
As such, the accounts of the police varies, but as Steinberg (2008:42) relates so does the actions of the police as well. Portraying the police on one hand as passive pieces to be used by the different forces in the townships to keep the status quo. On the other hand a powerful domestic force in which no other authority may outrank. Because they cannot police the strong predators of the townships, they are left to police the weak. This ambivalence within the police structure makes it hard to determine their efforts. The accounts of the informants varies from portraying the police as either brutal, corrupt forces that are only interested in serving their own purposes, to trying individuals who are victims of a corrupted system:

Extract#72: “I think dedication is the answer to every problem, but unfortunately today, with things like unions that run police, which also shouldn't happen, it's the consequence.” (Interview 2)

Extract#73: “There's something like police corruption as well (…) And you'll find that, especially in the poorer communities, people don't really trust the police the way they trusted the police a few years ago.” (Interview 10)

As Gordon (2006:158-159) explains the possible corruption of the justice institutions may be an efficient hindrance towards democratisation. This is because the whole point in shifting the locus of power from an authoritarian regime towards a more democratic one involves the establishment of public trust towards the police and judges that they live and work by the democratic standards set before them to uphold. This feeling of judiciary inadequacy is also noted by one of the informants:

Extract#74: “What is failing us, even more than the police, is the justice system (…) so police work, even if it's good, is not followed up by the judicial system.” (Interview 1)

This informant relates an account of the police that is by far a complimentary one. However, the history of the South African police leave little to inspire such compliments. Steinberg (2008:112), for instance, portrays an image of the qualities of police that is not so much unexpected as it is prejudiced. That is the perception that it is better to deal with a white police man, than a black one. This is because there is a belief that while the white one will retain his professional character no matter what, while the black police man will swerve for no good reason:

Extract#75: “So, there's a lot of people, people that report to me that, some people, specifically that are black... That had a bad experience with a black policeman. (Interview 1)
However, among some of the informants more closely related to Gordon's Bay felt that the issue of keeping their anonymity could represent a problem:

Extract#76: “Now, to go and report this policeman, and he knows he's reporting you... I mean, when he's off duty, he can give you a hard time. So the people would like to report stuff that they won't open themselves up to harassment from the police.” (Interview 1)

Extract#77: “Sometimes I have a strong feeling (...) they take sides; “Oh, I'm not coming out because xxx\(^{17}\) is a troublemaker” You understand, that's also a problem. If I phone the police and there's problems, they should come out because it's their job.” (Interview 5)

The fear of police harassment thus becomes an important part of the relationship between the police and the ones they are ordered to protect. Steinberg (2008:127) also relates to the concept of not trusting the police keeping the anonymity of witnesses. The fear is thus that the detective in question might sell information to the culprit, who will then execute actions of revenge. The result of all of this; the police in general, as a group, is hard to trust. As one informant states:

Extract#78: “The police in general (...) Especially those who knows the families (...) If I have a problem I will tend to phone someone outside the urgent one, yeah? Get somebody who doesn't know you.” (Interview 5)

The importance of having a neutral and objective force in the immediate police force, thus, becomes a quality that is missed in the community which again gives heed to the impression that:

Extract#79: “The police are not as qualified as they used to be” (Interview 1)

This section have explored the patrimonial structures and how these may be upheld, not so much through conscious efforts, but through the lack of alternative institutions that promotes alternative values. The lack of trust also seems an important part of why it might be difficult to bridge a proper partnership between the police and the people they are supposed to police. Although having stated that the general notion towards the police amongst the informants have been that of not trusting the police. However, also on this subject there is an inherent ambiguity, where Gordon's Bay is, again, put up in contrast towards other areas:

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\(^{17}\) Name altered due to issues of anonymity. See chapter 3 on Method and research strategies for more information.
5.4.2 The rise of the private security industry

The development of the private security industry must be regarded in connection with the demise of the police as a result of the government's priorities in other areas. As Super (2010:170), the increased focus on civil unrest at the end of the apartheid era led to the ignorance of what may be termed “normal” law and order policing. As one informant relates:

Extract#81: “We've lost the respect that we had for the police. But again, it's got to do with civil unrest. I just feel that compared to what we were in the past, and what we are now, the police is not respected.” (Interview 7)

Since the transition to democracy in 1994, with the immediate reform of the SAP in 1995 (Rosingaunet, 2009). As such the spread of non-state policing efforts in South Africa may be viewed in terms of the libertarian market-based agenda of the 1996 GEAR strategy with, as Baker (2002:31) notes: the apparent loss of public accountability. Although, it is difficult to note whether the crime rates did increase in the transitional period (Baker 2002:31; Super, 2010:165) the increase in public insecurity did indeed increase (Lemanski, 2004, 2006), and as such citizens were effectively forced to seek protection elsewhere. As one informant notes in relation to Gordon's Bay:

Extract#82: “But with all due respect, the South African Police, at the moment, is our biggest problem. They are, in my mind... They are useless, or there's a great component within the South African Police that are useless” (Interview 9)

The impression amongst the informants that the South African Police really is no good, gives room for the private security companies. As people don't trust that they will get the service from the police that they are entitled to, they turn elsewhere:

Extract#83: “Besides taxis, private security companies is the biggest business in South Africa (...) Both of them is a failure due to lack or failure of government. Government didn't protect trains. Didn't maintain public transport, and they didn't maintain security. And therefore, communities look after themselves, and form their own groupings and their own protection and their own transport, and that's it.” (Interview 1)

The opinion that the private security industry has become such a thriving business due to the lack of government efforts is not so far off in terms of scholarly findings. This is not only because, as the
informant suggests, that the government has failed to maintain the institutions, but also because the state based security (the police) has actively been using the services of such private initiatives (Super, 2010:177). This is something that the informants also can relate to:

Extract#84: “They don't have enough resources. Fortunately in our area, we have a very good security company, Gordon's Bay Security, that assists the police. We've heard of incidents where Gordon's Bay Security has had to go and pick up the police to go to a crime scene” (Interview 7)

The participation of the police in non-state justice and vice-versa is an enabling act of the state in terms of giving non-state actors a legitimised purpose in their activities. Gordon (2006:239) notes that this in a way is the government's way of recognising the inevitability of such self-help from many different sources, and that to a certain extent the non-state actors are filling in for the lacking capacities of the state (Gordon, 2006:240). Following these arguments, the private security industry finds it's space between the government's lack of management and the expressed needs of the people. As mentioned previously the lack of trust towards the police seems evident amongst the informants. This distrust have, in turn, provided the private security industry with a market; people prefer to call their security company in case of something happening:

Extract#85: “ I don't consider them capable of providing me with the safety I need” (Interview 9)

Extract#86: “I find it easier to phone my security company, then tell them to phone the police.” (Interview 7)

The attitude of these informants suggests that the private security industry have proven a better alternative for them; either through the notion that the state cannot deliver, or the one that the security company can deliver on their terms. The problem of the private security industry, according to Singh (2008:3), is that it is largely based on the acceptance of the public that they are, themselves responsible for their own security, which in turn also involves the voluntary engagement in said institutions. Still, as noted by Gordon (2006:195) there is an argument that projects that it is hardly realistic to simply responsibilise the public, providing them with the performance of duties previously assigned to police and courts. In any case the above quotes does not exactly give witness to an extensive culture of participation. Instead it seems like the reliance on private security industry may provide citizens with the lax attitude that in turn may hinder them in an active part in their own every day security. As one informant notes:

Extract#87: “But we must also take ownership of the problem. What are we doing on a daily basis? And that's
where it falls down, because South Africa, our previous government... In our generation we were told what to think” (Interview 7)

**5.4.3 Community Policing**

Several policy shifts have taken place in South Africa in recent decades. One of the policies that have been attributed with a fair share of attention is the model of community policing that focuses upon community empowerment, control and – conflict resolution (Rosingaunet, 2009:79). A policy that in essence gives people a positive association towards policing:

Extract#88: “The principle of “Bobby on the Beat” was exactly that. The police would move around, on foot, so that they would see everything from a “foot” perspective, which makes sense (…) If you have bobbies on the street, cops on the road, it's a good policy.” (Interview 7)

The parole concerning taking ownership of the community as well as a call for 'bobbies on the beat', as mentioned above, is originally stemming from the crime efforts to extinguish the so-called urban crime wave in the 1970s (Super, 2010:169). The focus of community based policing has been in the scholarly debate since then, and to that affect several similar slogans seems to have arrived in the wake:

Extract#89: “Take ownership of your community. Taking ownership of your neighbourhood starts with a small part of the community within your neighbourhood where you live. And begin to become proud of where you live. Definitely.” (Interview 10)

Extract#90: “We as a community should also keep our eyes and ears open (…)The word nowadays is we must take ownership of everything.” (Interview 9)

As such, these informant refers to community participation and involvement in a fashion that is in line with the with the public-empowering justice trend (Gordon, 2006:193) where ordinary citizens are intended to make essential decisions about order and security in their own environment. As Fung (2004:172) notes in his study of community policing, these type of reforms have the effective ability to create not only new avenues of communication between citizens and police, but also restore and strengthen the accountability within that relationship. However, it has been argued that such an initiative is primarily based on the assumption that the communities in question already are based on a strong, interactive civil society movement; an imperative for a successful implemented strategy of community policing (Rosingaunet, 2009:86):
Extract#91: “But you have to interact, because without that it's also not gonna mean anything. Because you see this car driving. You don't know who he is, you don't know what he's doing. There has to be more interaction.” (Interview 3)

As previously mentioned, in respect of Gordon's Bay, the element of apathy comes into question regarding the prescribed necessary interaction. One informant relates some frustrating notions regarding the lack of initiative:

Extract#92: “They must stand up and get organised (…) Connect up with the police, meet up with the police and just do something! I think we mustn't sit back (…) It's that attitude” (Interview 4)

As such, there is a paradoxical element in terms of the awareness of the need for individual interaction towards community participation, and the actual entering into it in practice.

Extract#93: “Security...I do think...I'd say community. That to me is the stronget sense of security you can get. I think that the biggest buffer that you have was if you had a society or community that was collective. Then you've got a bigger buffer.” (Interview 7)

As far as the informant was concerned, this interaction is the responsibility of both the citizens themselves and the authorities in question. One criticism that was related towards the early community police policy was that it would risk to end up as to one-sided in the communication between government and citizens (Rosingaunet, 2009:79), which in turn would risk the development of reaching any form of community participation:

Extract#94: “People who are informed... are partners of whatever you're doing. If they are not informed, they won't budge.” (Interview 1)

Extract#95:“You know, you can't get the community involved when they're not aware of what's going on. You have to make them aware.” (Interview 3)

From the informants point of view the information aspect thus seem fairly relevant. However, if citizen based initiatives presupposes an active civil society, as suggested above, one may provide the perspective that it is the citizen's own responsibility to inform themselves concerning such issues. But as Gordon (2006:199) points out many community police initiatives have left the citizens, not as active partakers in a decision process, but as passive recipients of a service with some possibilities for giving information and support upwards towards the police. As one informant
As is pointed out the actual opportunities for participation in policing relies heavily on the state's ethos and will concerning the structuring of policing (Rosingaunet, 2009:80). This includes not only the economic support in terms of budgetary allocations, but also an interest in educating and training the citizens of local communities. In Gordon's Bay, this would be especially relevant in relation to the population of Temperance Town:

Extract#97: “Because a village like that, I think there is, at one time 84 families. Temperance Town has exploded. I mean, this is now a huge community, you know. People don't know one another.” (Interview 1)

Extract#98: “That is, for instance the problem with Temperance Town also. Temperance Town is a small community. Small community with a civic organisation. Too look after that community. But the disagreements amongst them is dividing that civic organisation in Temperance Town. And the people is not willing to admit that there are disagreements amongst them, and personal issues amongst them” (Interview 10)

These two informants have somewhat different perspective as to the size of Temperance Town. However, the notion that it is now bigger than it used to be, but still so small that disagreements amongst the active citizens will affect the community as a whole, is quite understandable. However, as Gordon (2006:200) notes, a responsible program of community justice, not only empowers the civil society, but also enables the citizens so that they can take an active part in the process.

Therefore, having a civic association that are full of conflicting parts where the contenders are unable to solve their differences will in effect not be very efficient. However, learning to overcome these problems through collective efforts where the community members may learn to trust and work together may work as a form of social education (Fung, 2004:15) As one informant relates:

Extract#99: “If they can sort their differences amongst each other. If they can look at that and sort that out, and they can become a unit in working towards a better future for the Gordon's Bay area, it's going to be a good thing for Gordon's Bay, and the area of Gordon's Bay. But there are at the present moment differences and disagreements between the people who serve on the forums and committees of Gordon's Bay. In the community. And that to me is a problem” (Interview 10)

In order to reduce internal fraction within the police and facilitate community policing, the
community police forums (CPF) were put in place. One informant relates the job of the CPFs in the following manner:

Extract#100: “What they're trying to do, is to create someone that will create a liaison between different departments and the police and the different sections.” (Interview 1)

As Rosingaunet (2009:86) relates this was to ensure that the program of community policing were installed from a bottom-up perspective. Gordon's Bay, as well, has a part in the CPF structure. Accordingly, the CPF structure was meant to both foster and improve accountability and transparency of the state police force towards the community (Rosingaunet, 2009:87). However, the successes of the CPF structure have been debatable, and may also be viewed in terms of just another bureaucratic move, with no real merit to it. As one informant states:

Extract#101: “After 1994, we almost, like suffered, as sickness. We were, like, one to control another, you know. We got parliament and we got a minister. But then we got to create a committee to see that the minister is doing his job.” (Interview 1)

The informant, thus suggests that the lines of accountability were especially important. However, as Gordon (2006:223-224) notes the CPF structure have been through several changes in terms of their potential impact. However, they seem not to have survived as the original accountability check for the police as they were meant, as well as being accused of exacerbating the gap between rich and poor in South Africa. Although catering to some of the more affluent communities in South Africa, such as Gordon's Bay, the considerable problem related to mutual trust amongst the citizens especially in relation to the police:

Extract#102: “The police's trust has been damaged. The police's trust has been damaged to such an extent that people are angry. It was the small percentage of policemen that didn't give people their best of service.” (Interview 10)

As already mentioned in this thesis, the absence of mutual trust between citizens and their institutions represents a severe problem in terms of fostering a commitment that may lead to collective action. Fung (2004:18) suggests that to counteract this dilemma in challenged communities by implementing so-called accountable autonomy. This is supposedly an effective way of managing trust and accountability in local communities due to the fact that it does not involve a bureaucratic separation of state and society, rather it focuses on problem solving on the grass-root
level. As Fung (2004:22) relates it is particularly relevant in the context of public safety in terms of citizens perceiving police practices to deviate from what may seemingly be their real intended function. As such, accountable autonomy is supposed to empower grass roots agents to implement results of deliberation. As one informant relates the issue of security should be a split partnership between the police and the citizens:

Extract#103: “So yes, the community has got a responsibility, but the responsibility of keeping it safe, after being informed, that is the job of the police.” (Interview 1)

This section has explored the notion of community policing in relation to the informants own perceptions. As such the relationship between the police and private initiatives have been explored, as well as the ambiguous relationship between the expressed positive feelings towards the notion of community policing that is dependant on community initiative that is lacking in the community of Gordon's Bay.

5.5 Summary of findings
Of the findings in this thesis some key notions may be pointed out. In the first section the analysis explored the relationship between the people of Gordon's Bay and the community. The findings related a rather strained relationship between Gordon's Bay and the small community of Temperance Town. As such, Temperance Town was portrayed as problematic while Gordon's Bay was the more safe and secure area, suitable for vacations and the likes. This could thus be related back to the issue of social trust, and the possible creation of a new socio-spatial apartheid.

The next section explored the notion of social trust further and looked upon the connection between the lack of trust between citizens of Gordon's Bay and Temperance Town in relation to colonial legacies. Differential issues such as race and colour are still highly potent issues, although they have now also gotten a more economic dimension to it; the rich versus the poor. Notions concerning the building of mutual trust were thus seen in relation to previous government policies and a culture of distrust residing within important institutions such as the police.

The last section explored the governance of security with a particular focus towards the lack of trust in the police, and the loss of accountability in that respect. The demise of the police were thus put in context with the rise of the private security industry. As a final point the notion of community policing were explored in relation to community awareness and expectations.
6 DISCUSSION

This chapter will pick up the findings from the analysis in chapter 5 and discuss them in relation to the main question of the thesis, as well as discuss some future possibilities for participation in Gordon's Bay.

What are some of the factors to explain the lack of a functioning, local security regime in, urban communities in South Africa such as Gordon's Bay?

6.1 Gordon's Bay: A participation thwarted?

The main question of this thesis relates itself to the development of a functioning local security regime. As such, the initial definition of human security becomes relevant in the essence that human security should have a grounded basis in the people that are involved (King, 2001-2002:588-589). The involvement of the people in democratic processes, like that of creating locally based structures have been quite popular with scholars concerned with the issue of governance. Notions such as deliberative democracy and participatory governance have been common in the literature. (Chambers, 2003; Braithwaite et al. 2000). In the South African context the approach to participatory governance have manifested itself through strategies mainly focused on governance through communities. Concerning the strategies of security in the post-apartheid years, the main attempts have been focused around efforts to fuse the domains of public and private practices, as well as giving the community a chance to participate in their own everyday lives (Rosingaunet, 2009).

However, the success has not been too evident. Although some projects have had limited success in some communities, such as the Zwelethemba project (Gerits, 2004; Rosingaunet, 2009) that focused on creating peace committees in relation to the issue of solving problems and disputes amongst the members of the community, the overall success is not impressive. As such, the question of why the efforts are not giving the expected, or wanted, results is impeding.

Having looked at the community of Gordon's Bay, Western Cape, South Africa some findings are relevant to put up for discussions. The first point is related to the notion of community. In the introduction the notion of 'community was linked to that of civil society, which in turn was linked to the notions of democratic development and social capital. The attributed to the importance of achieving a more bottom-up approach to this democratic development have been agreed upon by scholars in general and it is widely accepted that: “...wisdom is lodged not in government
bureaucracies but in local communities and institutions.” (Hyden, 1997:4). However, this attribution to the importance of civil society also encumbers a general belief in the members of the civil society. This means that the community members need to decide individually, for themselves, that they want to contribute to the community efforts. However, to take an active part in the community, also requires both the interest in public affairs and a will to organise oneself accordingly, if not one may state that there is a general problem of “political apathy” (Hyden, 1997:4).

In Gordon's Bay this political apathy is directly manifested, not so much by the lack of interest in public affairs, but the lack of wanting to do something about it. The inherent ambiguity residing between seeing the need for something to be done, and being the one to do it seems to be one of the main problems. As such, it comes down to the organisational part. In relation to security the word itself was directly associated, by the informants' with notions related to community. As informants reported there was indeed signs of the ability of such organisation in the case of extreme events, however organisational efforts having the ability to persist through time seems to be a much more difficult task.

Furthering the arguments concerning the importance of community is the creation of networks, preferably based on the creation of weak ties between actors. As Putnam (1993) relates the building of networks based on social trust in civil society is important in order to achieve cooperation across fractions. The networks facilitate cooperation through the fostering of mutual trust based on the notion of generalised reciprocity (Putnam, 1993:173-174). However, the problem of the social-capital theory is, as with civil society, that it is generally based on the voluntary compliance of the actors in the situation. Putnam's argument is that the threat of a possible negative consequence will deter possible defectors from not complying with the moral trust attributed to them. As such, social capital functions in a cyclic manner that starts with an initial trust, that then is returned back, passed on, and then returned.

However, in a country where the concept of trust is a long-gone issue, the building of social capital is a troublesome issue. As Hyden (1997:6) relates the flourishing of civil society is connected to the individual's ability to “...freely exercise their natural rights.” Having explored both the affects of the colonial era, as well as that of the apartheid it is no wonder that trust is a major deficit in South Africa. As noted by several scholars (Mamdani, 1996; Super, 2010; Gordon, 2006) the problem of trust is not necessarily related to the racial segregation in itself, rather that the segregation has been institutionalised for so long that it transcends the whole system of governance.
In Gordon's Bay the difficulty concerning the issue of trust relates itself to several factors. Firstly, there is a psychological distance between the community of Gordon's Bay and that of the coloured community of Temperance Town. The informants participating related a particular concern directed towards Temperance Town, relating an impression that this community somehow is separated from Gordon's Bay itself. Although, this concern may not be directly translated into a state of fear, it is possible to remark on the differentiating made in relevance to “us” and “them”. Also, in terms of Temperance Town being a, more or less, marginalised community, this experience gives heed to the theory of fear related by Lemanski (2004, 2006). This theory argues that the new way security in the post-apartheid era is managed through the same institutional segregation policies that the old regimes have fostered for so long. As such, security managed by fear through voluntary socio-spatial segregation may be the practical result of failed government policies.

Government policies in the post-apartheid era seem to share one point in common: inconsistency. Between market policies and social welfare the security policies have drifted forth and back between the shifting focuses of social welfare and market liberalism. Where the one preaches virtues such as promoting decentralisation, increased autonomy and public empowerment, all in accordance with democratic participatory projects (Cook et al. 1971, Dorf et al. 1998, Fung, 2004), the other craves more power to the central state as well as cuts in funding of projects supporting the democratic development through the before-mentioned participatory programs (Rosingaunet, 2009).

As such, the introduction of global economy as well as the transition to democracy has not fulfilled the expectation of being a point of release. The rich/poor onslaught that South Africa is now seeing might turn out to be the biggest divider yet, especially if one is too see it in relation to the theory of a “new apartheid”, that might prove to be “…far more effective than the Boers ever dreamt off.” (Rosingaunet, 2009:70).

In relation to Gordon's Bay, the mistrust towards central authorities and the government is evident in relation to their feelings concerning important governing institutions such as the police. Most of the informants expressed some sort of concern in this respect, and no one cared to express any particular trust towards the abilities of the SAP to provide them with an adequate level of security. Most of the informants also held the government accountable for these faults. As such, the attempts of the government to restructure and rebuild the justice system, in particular the police force, do not seem to have been efficient enough. One of the main reasons for this may be the previous mentioned institutionalising of policies of segregation that still lingers in the system. As the police
and justice system took effective part in the enforcement of the apartheid system (Gordon, 2006), there is no reason for the people of any community in South Africa to consent to being policed by them (Steinberg, 2008). Neopatrimonial tendencies are also present, if not in action, at least in expectations. It seems that horizontal networks, based on patron-client relationships have been such a normal way of thinking about politics that it too has become institutionalised (Mamdani, 1996). As such the accountability of the state is next to nothing in terms of being considered a reliable service provider, which in turn have left communities to fend for themselves in this respect.

The blurring lines of public and private interests have given a room in which the private security companies are able to operate. The inability to provide people with their basic necessities, have made all such needs marketable. As a result, there are in South Africa an abundance of private entities and groups that are willing to do the job for a fair price (Baker, 2002), including an abundance of vigilante groups that definitely relies on patron-client networks based on coercion and violence, instead of cooperation and mutual trust (Steinberg, 2004). With most marginalised communities putting their money in the hands of powerful gangs, and other less violent private enterprises, it might be difficult to foster trust towards initiatives presented by the state. In this respect such initiatives might fall down on the simple notion that the state has transformed the business of security and policing into “...everybody's business...” (Brogden et al. 1993:10).

Amongst the efforts to fuse the efforts between public and private entities in relation to security is the community policing initiative. Based on the notion of dual policing (Brogden et al. 1993) the community policing project was supposed to enhance and improve the relationship between the policing institutions and the people. As such, the politics of policing was to be brought down towards those who were going to be policed. However, the problem became the before-mentioned lack of trust, as well as problems related to organisation of the locally based CPF structure. The intention of the community policing strategy as well as the creation of the CPF structure may have been sincere. However, as the ANC have moved away from the strategy of empowering the civil society and moved on to more centralised forms of governance the success of such participatory structures may not be shortly awaited. Still, even if the state have an interest in facilitating community participation by laying the grounds for an active civil society development, a complete national commitment towards creating a public empowered sphere also within local communities may be difficult (Gordon, 2006:277). As pointed out at the start, there is a need for the community to take an active interest in their own community. At this point one is back to the initial point of the discussion: an active civil society based on mutual trust with community members that are both
interested in public affairs and willing to organise in accordance with them.
7 CONCLUSION

This thesis has studied the issue of security in Gordon's Bay in relation to the following research question:

What are some of the factors to explain the lack of a functioning, local security regime in, urban communities in South Africa such as Gordon's Bay?

7.1 Explaining security: the issue of trust

The thesis has explored both democratic theories as well as contextual factors in order to arrive at an understanding of why the fostering of locally based security regimes is so difficult in South African, urban communities. Causal mechanisms and effects are always difficult to identify, and one should be extremely careful when determinating which mechanisms are at work and why (Braithwaite, 2000). As such these conclusive remarks are only meant as providing an observation of trends and impression as to what might be considered as reasonable explanations. Several issues have been touched upon in this thesis, and in relation to the main question presented above, not all of them are as relevant as to explain why the fostering of local security regimes might be a difficult task. However some notions will be remarked upon, taking into account the theoretical and contextual background as well as the analysis and discussions provided in this thesis.

Having discussed the main question of this thesis in relation to several aspects of democracy, civil society and historical legacies, there is one issue that seems to supersede all the issues as an explanatory factor. The problematic character of this issue, is that it transcends into every aspect of civic and political life, and as such it may be easy to assume that other issues might be more reasonable when explaining the lack of the creation and management of local security initiatives. The issue in question is trust, and in this context it is the lack of it that is the driving point to this conclusion. The lack of trust seem to permeate and characterise the whole structure of civilian and political life. Some remarks may be given in relation to the analysis and the discussion presented in the previous pages.

The first issue related to trust, is the notion of apathy. A strong civil society where the citizens are both interested in public affairs and political participation is the principle foundation for entering into any kind of project related to democratic participation. However, in Gordon's Bay, there seems to be a lack of such public interest in partaking in political life. People does not seem willing to engage in the initial and important relations in order to foster a solid network based on mutual trust.
between the members. As such, it is not so much a question of being capable of participating in the civil society, but more a conscious choice to not do so. Under these circumstances a lack of will to participate in the civil society-sphere is an efficient impediment of the accumulation of social capital, which yet again will make it hard to nurture any long-term commitments to any type of security project.

The second issue relates to the lack of trust in Gordon's Bay community, is that it fosters tensions between the different groupings in the town. When there is no engagement between members in activities that may produce norms of reciprocity, the problem-solving capacities of the community seem to drop to such an extent that the only form of security is based on the self-preservation tactics of the individual.

The third issue related to how the lack of trust may impede the fostering of a locally based security regime is the issue of colonial legacies. Patrimonial tendencies, and the obvious mistrust towards the system of government effectively hinders the individuals in engaging in any relationship based on trust with government authorities. The events of both the colonial era and apartheid seem to have displaced the confidence in the state as both a service provider for its people, as well as a partner it is possible to engage in a respectful cooperation with. The lack of trust presented in them on behalf of the government is not great either, and as such the distance between the political centre and the periphery grows. The lack of trust seems thus to impair the community and lead them back to the feeling of apathy.

The fourth issue is also related to the government's inability to foster networks of trust. By its lack of consistency in relation to public security policies the people have been given no reason to trust the central authorities. Although preaching decentralisation and empowerment, actions have proved that in recent years the South African government has been more interested in taking back control and alleviate local autonomy. As such, poorer communities become prey to the protectional strategies of the more wealthier ones which in turn may foster a new form of socio-spatial apartheid.

The fifth and last issue is related to the previous ones through the importance of the private security industry. Following the last issue, wealthier off people may now be able to buy their own protection, basing their trust on a monetary exchange. As such, the blurred lines between public and private entities in the security domains may be an effective impediment of creating a platform between the
government and the people based on mutual trust. As long as asymmetrical relationships are fostered through private entities based either on coercion, or the simple transaction of money, the chance of fostering trust-based initiatives from the bottom-up seem a difficult task to succeed with.

7.2 Implications of the study
As indicated in the introduction, security studies in the South African context have been of interest for quite some time, and it one is lead to belief that it will be for some time to come. Furthermore the issue of security is a heightened topic also in other parts of the world. Natural disasters, increased migration, and acts of terrorism are all areas in which the notion of human security becomes relevant.

Although, this thesis has been limited to explore one, small limited community in South African the tendencies derived from this study, may in itself prove for interesting research down the same path. Having explored the issue of trust in relation to the fostering of locally based security regimes, the findings indicate that this issue may be more potent than one should think 15 years after the end of apartheid. Not only is there still an evident lack of trust between people, and between people and government, the culture of mistrust seems also to be dynamic and transcending as it is not just distrust amongst races, but distrust in relation to socio-economic status. In that respect studies such as this one may prove important to undertake before implementing any type of democratic project, whether it be publicly or privately initiated.
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9 APPENDIX

9.1 Interview guide

This is an example of the preliminary interview guide that was used during the interviews with the informants. However, the guide was amended to suite every informant, although remaining consistence towards the themes.

Before the interview (Briefing)

*Ask the informant to present him/herself*

- name, age (date of birth), profession

Explain why I want to talk to him/her

- Student from Norway, currently at UCT with the Centre of Criminology. Research for master thesis on security and community policing. As such I am interested in your particular experiences in the community.

*Inform about the length of the interview*

- it will probably take about 45-60 minutes. Is that okay?

*Inform about anonymity*

- I will be using a tape-recorder, but:
  - emphasize that no name or personal details will be recorded. Is that okay?
  - explain about ethics and hand out consent form - get signature
  - don't be nervous - tell it like it is. If you don't want to answer a question that's okay.

The Interview

1 Community experiences

Would you mind starting by telling me about yourself? (name, age, profession, experiences)

Do you live and work here? For how long?

Do you live here or just work (or both)? *(depending on who I am interviewing)*

Just live: Do you go elsewhere for work? Would you like to work in this area if possible?

Work: What kind of work do you do? Do you enjoy your work? For how long have you been doing this?

No work: Would you like to work here? What would you like to do? Is there a reason why you are not working?
School: What would you like to do when you are finished? Would you like to stay here, or move elsewhere?

Are you a member of any community organisation?
Yes: What is the organisation, what is your role in the organisation?

How would you describe this area (Gordon's Bay) in your own words?
- are there any particular problems/issues that you feel should be taken care of?
- What do you think are the main causes for these issues?

Do you partake in any other activities in the community?
YES: What kinds of activity(-ies) do you do? Do you enjoy them? Do you feel that it is easy to take part in such activities here?
NO: Why not? Nothing that interest you? Mobility? Financial reasons? Is there anything that could be done so that you would partake in any activity?

What, would it take for you to become (more) engaged/active in your community? In terms of participating in taking responsibility for the security in your area?
Youth groups? Neighbourhood-watch-groups?
Other initiatives?

Do you think this would be the case for people in general in your area?

Security
Do you think this is a safe/secure area for people in general?
YES: What do you think makes it safe?
NO: What do you think makes it unsafe?
Do you think that this affects people living here?
In what way?

BOTH: Do you feel safe in this area?

Do you think that anything could be done to make it safer?
- what should be done?
In respect of community safety, who do you think is responsible?
- police
- government
- people

In your opinion; what is a safe and secure community?

Do you think that you, yourself, could contribute to the safety and security in this community?
YES: In what way?
NO: Why not?

Police Experiences
Do you feel that there is much crime/criminal activities in your area?
YES: do you think this could be prevented in any way?
NO: what is the reason for that, in your opinion?

Do you yourself, or do you know someone, who has been subjected to criminal activity in your area?
YES: what happened how did this experience affect you/them?
NO: are you afraid that it will happen to you? Do you think about it?

Do you have any experience with the police in your area? Has it been positive or negative?
YES:Do you mind telling me about it/one in which you remember particularly well?
NO: What is your general impression of the police in your area?

(following 'yes' of the question above)
Does this encounter(s) affect your impression of how the police works? In what way?

If you come to have a (similar) legal problem (again), would you go to the police?
YES: how would you contact them?
NO: what would you do instead? why is this your option?

Do you think that the police (in this area) often misses out on important information in relation to investigations?
YES: what kind of information do they not get?
why does this happen in your opinion?
NO: so the police gets the whole picture? -- follow up..

Do you trust the police?
YES: what do they do to make you trust them?
NO: why do you not trust them? Follow up..

In what way do you think the police could improve their work?

Community Policing
What do you think is the most important aspect of security; ie; when you think of the word security what springs to mind?

What do you think of this idea in terms of creating more secure local communities?
YES, GOOD IDEA: why is it a good idea? how do you think it will work in your area?
NO BAD IDEA: what makes it a bad idea? circumstances in your area? other issues?

Do you think that this may be a successful strategy in your area?
YES: why? Do you see any problems related to implementing such an approach?
NO: why is that your impression? What sort of problems do you think may arise?
DON'T KNOW: do you know why you don't have an opinion? circumstances? do you not care? do you not thinks it makes a difference? what would it take for you to take an interest?

Would you confide problems to such an officer if you met, and got in touch somehow?
YES: what is the reason for this?
NO: would you rather go to the “regular” police or a social worker? What is the reason for choosing this option?

If you had a problem, would you accept solutions presented to you by this officer?
YES: what is the reason for this?
NO: why? Is it dependant on the problem? What would you do in order to find a solution?

Do you think such an initiative has the possibility to change the way people think of their
community?
   YES: in what way? Positive or negative? Why
   NO: why not, what do you think it would take?

**Government experiences**

What is your impression(s) of the government?
   – Local level
   – central level --- follow up?

Do you feel like you have a relationship with the government?
   Yes: how would you describe it?
   No: why not? Too far away, too centralised?

Do you think people in general feel in touch with the government? Or the other way; do you think
the government reaches out to people?

Is there anything you would like to add?

**After the Interview (debriefing):**

Do you have any further questions?
Can I get in touch at a later stage if anything is unclear?
Do you know of anyone else who would be interested in talking to me?
Thanks for the interview
9.2 Approval

Description of the study
The interview conducted will be used as the empirical data for a master thesis in public administration. The thesis will focus on the security and safety in urban South African communities. The goal of the interview is to establish how people relate to their community, the police and the government.

All data on individuals will be treated confidentially and anonymously. The data will only be used for research purposes. A tape-recorder will be used during the interview for purposes of transcription only. The tape will be destroyed on the completion of the thesis.

It is your right to refuse to participate in the study as well as refusing to answer certain questions in the interview.

Make a mark:
_____ i wish to be anonymous
_____ i do not wish to be anonymous

I confirm that I have read and understood the intention of the study and consent to participating in the interview.

________________________________
Signature

Contact information

_______________________
Irene Frimanslund
Mobile phone SA: 0790203692
Mobile phone Norway: +4797766581
E-mail: Irene.frimanslund@student.uib.no