THE ROLE OF FAITH-BASED ORGANIZATIONS (FBOs) IN REDUCING CRIME AND VIOLENCE IN SOCIO-ECONOMICALLY DISADVANTAGED COMMUNITIES: A CASE STUDY OF THE COMMUNITY OF BISHOP LAVIS.

A mini-thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Magister Artium in the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences, Department of Political Studies at the University of the Western Cape.

Student: Angelique Thomas

Student number: 2910296

Department of Political Studies

Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences

Supervisor: Prof. Cherrel Africa

Date: October 2017

Declaration

By submitting this thesis, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Full name: Signature:

Date:

Abstract

Out of a personal conviction that having been surrounded by crime and violence for many years was abnormal, this study was born out of a desire for the researcher to understand whether alternative solutions were available that could exist to reduce crime and violence in her own community. While crime rates and violent acts were rising, she considered why the personal religious beliefs of many did not motivate them to consider resisting the violent acts that had so often clashed with their own faith practices.

For centuries resisting violence has been a natural reaction across the globe. Historical battles and legendary wars have, for years, been an example of the way in which states have come up against one another and how various organizations have taken up arms in their efforts to restore order. Similarly, gang violence in nations across the world has become a normality. This is no different in South Africa. With the large assemblage of faith communities within South Africa it is necessary to understand what the role of the faith community is in reducing crime and violence in socio-economically disadvantaged communities.

By using qualitative methods of observations, interviews and focus group discussions it was found that the main barrier to FBOs fulfilling their partial role of responding to the extreme acts of violence is fear. While they may fulfil their role by responding through general religious activities and responding in voluntary forms in addressing socio-economic issues, FBOs within Bishop Lavis fail to fulfil their role as active agents of change in the face of the violence that is present within the community. This, the researcher then argues, may be some of the very challenges experienced by other FBOs in other areas on the Cape Flats given the responses by the research participants and the common trials and features of the case study in Bishop Lavis.

Keywords

Acknowledgements

I would hereby like to extend my gratitude to the staff, and especially, lecturers of the Department of Political Studies at the University of the Western Cape. Their commitment to tirelessly mould critical minds has motivated me to strive for greater in my hopes to do the very same.

To Prof Piper, who not only lectured me in my undergraduate studies and challenged me academically in ways I could not imagine, also for your assistance in gaining financial support. Without it, I'm unsure that I would have been able to complete this degree. To Mr Graeme Hoddinott, who gave of his time and wisdom to see that the final hurdle was overcome, I extend an immense amount of gratitude.

To my supervisor and teacher, Prof Cherrel Africa, for the many times you allowed me to walk into your office without an appointment and put everything aside to listen to me. Without your constant support and unending patience this thesis would not have come to be what it is.

I would like to extend my gratitude to the Mellon Foundation who supported me with funding my studies in 2013 and 2014. This support has allowed me to work freely with the knowledge that there are organizations committed to seeing postgraduate students flourish.

I extend my appreciation and gratitude to my research participants for their honesty, their time and their courage to be bold enough to speak up.

To my friends and family. Your prayers, constant words of encouragement and support have overwhelmed me in ways my heart cannot express. To those that begun the journey with me and are no longer-thank you. To those that are still walking alongside me-thank you.

My greatest thanks is to the Creator, my Maker, Father God and closest Friend- for the gift of learning and the love of words.
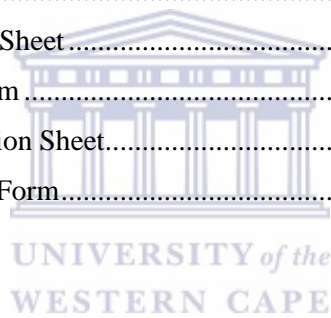
"Your Name and renown are the desire of our hearts" Isaiah 26:8.

Table of Contents

UNIVERSITY *of the*

WESTERN CAPE

List of Acronyms

CDA- Critical Discourse Analysis

CPF- Community Policing Forum

IDP- Integrated Development Plan

FBO – Faith Based Organizations[1]

MRQ- Main Research Question

NCPS- National Crime Prevention Strategy

NGDS- National Growth and Development Strategy

PPAR- Provincial Police's Annual Report

SAPS- South African Police Services

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

---

[1] The term FBO refers to local congregations characterised by a faith mission and purpose. This is however a broad term which is most popularly used to refer to development type organizations rather than churches or mosques.

Chapter 1

"Violence, naked force, has settled more issues in history than has any other factor." (Heinlein, n.d)

Introduction

South Africa is a site marked and marred by its high crime rate (Crime Statistics, 2015) and its failure to ensure that its countrymen are protected (De Vos, 2011).

Much of the violence in South Africa has been attributed to gang violence (Dlamini, 2017). Cape Town, South Africa is well known for being a hotspot for gang activity (Swingler, 2014) and for experiencing extreme cases of violence (Davis, 2013). The Cape Flats, described by one writer as a "forsaken underworld" (Dziewanski, 2014), is a large section of low-lying flat land that has been inhabited by communities that were forcibly removed from their homes by the apartheid government under the then Group Areas Act of 1950 (SA history, n.d). The gangs in these communities now control territories and maintain power across spaces as they arose as a social response to structural violence. While the state is required to play a significant role in crime reduction and promoting community safety, the complexity of the situation compels various actors to play a more active role in unravelling this perpetual crises. However, despite the presence of these gangs and the crime on the Cape Flats, communities have always maintained their traditions and cultures in the face of circumstances. And, with this in mind, so too have their religious practices remained.

Religious beliefs such as Christianity, Islam and followers of ethnic[2] religions are the major belief systems in South Africa although other faiths such as Judaism, Hinduism and Atheism, amongst others, are also practicing belief systems (Statistics South Africa, 2013). In the 2013 General Household Survey it was found that the major religions in South Africa comprised of 85.6% Christians, 2% Muslim and 5% Ancestral, tribal, animist or other traditional religions (Statistics South Africa, 2013). In the Western Cape these statistics changes slightly where 88.7% follow Christianity while the Islam faith had 7.4% followers in the province as the two major religions (Statistics South Africa, 2013).

According to Mylek and Nel (2010: 81) "religion has long been neglected in the social sciences, which have been profoundly influenced by 'secularization theory', the idea that in modernization, 'religious institutions, actions and consciousness lose their social significance". It is precisely this assumption that brings the researcher to try and understand the role of faith

---

[2] Beliefs formed from the ethnic identities in South Africa.

based organizations and to uncover whether they in fact can be significant in environments that depend on them to fulfil their role. With the idea that modernization had, it created the setting that caused the actions of FBOs to lack impact, it is necessary to view socio-economically disadvantaged communities as sites where much support is needed and that the role of FBOs must be unpacked in order to understand what they can and what they should respond to.

1.1 Research Rationale

The dire situation in Bishop Lavis provides the space in which the rationale for this study is birthed. This study provides a lens with which one is able to look at one part of civil society and try and understand if they have a role to play in socio-economic issues such as crime and, if so, how this takes place.

This study:

- Aims to understand the role of FBOs in relation to, and beyond, its most basic purposes to the communities they serve.
- Seeks to attain knowledge as to how socio-economically disadvantaged communities can engage and potentially partner with FBOs to combat social ills.
- Intends to describe the barriers FBOs face in their efforts to fulfil their role.
- Aims to characterize a political space in which FBOs can exercise their power in social matters.

In order to do the above an understanding of the community and its gang network is particularly necessary. Young people have to deal with the devastating and, yet, typical behaviour of gang members in the area. As one resident noted, "We need to work with all the police. The best way to solve crime is to work together. We need to take back our streets and we need to do so by helping the police" (Unknown author, 2014a). The fact that a resident is able to hone in on the reality that 'working together' and 'taking back the streets' should be the main goal in order to reduce crime is one of the many reasons that this study has significance. This study speaks to the desires and struggles of many residents within Bishop Lavis and aims to characterize crime in such a way that an understanding of the way civil society can/should respond is identified. How do they work with the police? How do they work together and take back their streets? Thus, an investigation into what faith-based organizations are doing, can do and are meant to be doing to reduce crime and violence is of utmost importance in describing ways that socio-economically disadvantaged communities can be assisted.

The role of FBOs is integral in ensuring that the community functions successfully (Wright, 2013). If most residents rely on faith-based organizations to sustain and nurture their beliefs then this provides FBOs with immense potential to lead them in a stand against crime and violence. This is ultimately a significant part of the study's aim- what role do the churches and the mosques and the larger faith community in Bishop Lavis have in reducing these high rates of crime and violence? What can they do and more importantly, what should they be doing?

Therefore, understanding the role that faith-based organizations currently play in Bishop Lavis (and what restricts them in dealing with the problems outlined above) is pivotal to understanding how violence and crime can be reduced within the community.

1.2 Research Questions and Objectives

In many communities crime now infringes upon many of the rights South Africans have been granted under democracy. Yet, McGarrell (1999:4) notes, "most criminologists have ignored the possibility that religion might play a role in reducing crime" also going on further to state that "recent years have witnessed increasing attention to the possibility that religion might influence criminal behaviour". Wright (2013) in his review of Johnson's (2011) book titled 'More God, less crime: Why faith matters and how it could matter more' concurs saying that "research makes it clear that religious beliefs and religious participation confer many benefits on individuals and on the communities in which religious organizations are embedded." This allows for McGarrell to highlight a gap in research. Understanding the intricacies of the role of a faith-based organization will allow one to uncover where FBOs in Bishop Lavis may be failing in adhering to their role or where community members are not interested in responding to the role of FBOs. FBOs have the potential to influence the masses of people and in the process influence the rates in reduction of crime.

Therefore, the main research question of this study is 'What is the role of FBOs in reducing crime and violence in Bishop Lavis.' Apart from the main research question I also wish to understand how FBOs may be able to effectively lead community-driven crime reduction strategies through interrogating the following sub-questions:

- What is the relationship between violence and the (lack of) agency among individuals in Bishop Lavis?

- What are the factors that contribute to or inhibit communities from establishing strong violence-reduction networks?

11

- What can FBOs do to reduce crime and violence in areas such as Bishop Lavis?

Thus, it is important to understand how FBOs should be responding to the situation in Bishop Lavis. Should they be acting with more vigour, a sense of commitment and active citizenship for the work they do as it informs the larger body of work for a greater good? Alternatively, should they in fact stay committed to general duties such as prayer and ministry, worship and evangelism? This study intends to document the responses that FBOs see as their role and purpose.

Answering these questions will provide an enhanced understanding of the relationship between faith-based organizations and community members. Through this, the study hopes to attain results that will highlight why Bishop Lavis residents struggle to reduce violence. Additionally, the study will help to provide an understanding of what faith-based organizations can do in their role as duty-bearers and as 'gatekeepers' of morality and peace to ensure crime is reduced.

1.3 Background to the Problem

During apartheid coloured people from numerous 'white' areas were forcibly removed to what became known as the Cape Flats. Many of these communities were socio-economically disadvantaged and have become well-known for high rates of crime and gang violence. Dolley (2014a) reports that "There had been 3 280 attempted murders in the year, nearly 1000 more than in the year before. The report attributed this to "increasing gang turf wars across the Cape Flats, ever-increasing incidents in rural areas and robberies". This is a prime example of the way in which violence has significantly increased in the Cape Flats. As recently as mid-August 2017 gang violence caused the closure of key roads surrounding Bishop Lavis (Brandt, 2017a; Brandt 2017b; Charles, 2017).

The extent of the problem led Emeritus Archbishop Desmond Tutu to speak about gang violence in the Western Cape. He stated that; "it tears deep gashes in our social fabric every day, disrupting the learning of our children, clogging health facilities, fuelling drug addiction and crime across the region," (SAPA, 2014). As a religious figure and an activist for human rights his words has significant power. Indeed it highlights the need for leaders to respond to the pressing issues that he mentions.

The community of Bishop Lavis is one of the results of the former Group Areas Act. Named after a FBO leader, Bishop Sidney Warren Lavis, who supported the plight of the poor and

working class the community was founded upon similar values that became entrenched in their image (De la Cornillère, 2007; Smith, et al, 1999). This township continues to experience the devastating effects of apartheid. In understanding Bishop Lavis' context, it is critical to understand the social fabric of its residents.

> "The township is located in the northern suburbs of Cape Town...Afrikaans is the most spoken language (90%) in the area; followed by English (9%)…The majority of the dwellings are houses or brick structures with a yard and private electricity and piped water. Most residents are from Cape Town or the surrounding areas in the Western Cape Province. Bishop Lavis has two high schools and 7 primary schools. Some of the schools are in danger of being closed due to reduced attendance (about 10% of the youth are school leavers). Besides high unemployment rates, Bishop Lavis has to deal with other issues including poverty and emerging squatter camps. There are two squatter Camps called Malawi Camp and Freedom Farm in the area next to the airport. They consist of shacks and have no access to the water and electricity supply" (Bishop Lavis High School, 2014).

With this in mind, it is evident that many of the community members within Bishop Lavis have had to live from hand-to-mouth and, because of this many may turn to crime as a source of income for their families. The rate of violence within Bishop Lavis has reached such extremes that young learners at Bishop Lavis primary have told journalists that "gang violence in their community is a nightmare" (Fisher, 2014). For example, a three-year-old girl was killed after a stray bullet hit her in Bishop Lavis (Dolley, 2014b). A young girl at Bishop Lavis primary school reports that "she fears getting caught in a shootout". Yet despite of all of these violent occurrences residents retreat in fear and do not take action. With many residents, both young and old having to deal with these circumstances the situation begs the question about what can be done to resolve these issues.

According to the most recent census of the community of Bishop Lavis in 2011 it hosts a population of 26 482 residents with 5 788 households with an average size of 4.82 persons (City of Cape Town, 2013).There are several markers that is listed in the 2013 census. It notes official numbers such as

- "28% of those aged 20 years and older have completed grade 12 or higher
- 74% of the labour force is employed
- 47% of the households have a monthly income of R3 200 or less [with 10.3% of households living without an income]"   (City of Cape Town, 2013)

These facts highlight the reality of poverty and the lack of formal education that provides a breeding ground for a passing on of new knowledges to be used and for crime to be a response to the poverty that exists within the suburb.

Whilst Bishop Lavis has a vast gang network, it also has a large network of faith-based organisations. Piper (2009:50) views faith-based organizations as a potentially influential tool given the fact that they are "one of the most powerful components of civil society in South Africa". The fact that FBOs have the ability to influence masses leaves them with a lot of space to influence the behaviours of people by appealing to their faith which often calls for 'righteousness'. Piper (2009) suggests, "faith offers a tremendous resource for social organisation often not tapped into for socio-political ends". In this manner, FBOs can be a powerful stimulus in being active in issues that may not deal with their surface layer role but does reach even deeper into issues that not only can tap into political issues but can tap into the

deeper levels of their role in the faith they profess. It is with this in mind that a model using Piper's (2009: 66) understanding of FBOs as "democratic advocates" will be used to theorize the role of faith based organization in reducing crime and violence.

For a community such as Bishop Lavis with such extreme levels of crime it is necessary to understand the role that faith-based organizations have within the community. This will help to understand how they can assist community members with reducing these high rates of crime. One of the many foundations for undertaking this study is because faith-based organizations have the potential to infiltrate to the heart of communities. The fact that these institutions are created at a grassroots level and are able to interact with people in the process of influencing their beliefs allows them tremendous power. This power however can be used for different reasons and in many different ways. McGarrell, et al (1999: 6) notes, "faith-based organizations can more effectively work with juveniles, substance abusers or with inmates returning to the community, then they become a key resource for crime reduction". Similarly, Woodson (1998) stated that "criminal justice agencies are increasingly likely to recognize faith-based organizations as a key mediating institution for addressing crime problems", and through this process it is necessary to use the influence that various religious institutions have to promote justice and in turn reduce violence and crime.
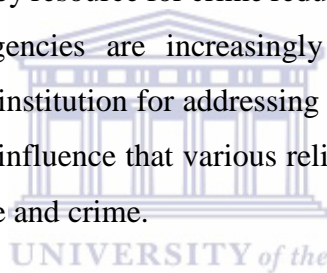
1.4 Overview of Research Design and Methods

For the purpose of this study, the researcher wishes to frame this study as an exploratory one that uses the case study approach in honing in on the community of Bishop Lavis and its faith-based organizations. It is important to understand what has happened in other communities in the Cape Flats. However, for this study, it is even more important to deal with the issues of the community itself instead of comparing it to others, as the FBOs in Bishop Lavis must be geared primarily to its residents. This is why the researcher believes the case study approach was best suited to the research at hand. The researcher also wished to approach the study as an empirical study of an exploratory nature. As much as numerous researchers have sought to understand the role of FBOs in reducing crime, the community of Bishop Lavis has gone unexplored and this provides an avenue into uncharted territory.

The research dimension this study will use is a qualitative approach in finding a deeper understanding of the role that FBOs have in reducing crime. The results that were attained require detail, experiences and perceptions. For these reasons, a qualitative approach is best. In doing this, the researcher completed interviews with religious leaders in the community and

15

has centred the study around three faith-based organizations in the community. Bishop Lavis only has Christian and Islamic FBOs within the community. Hence, the three that the researcher has chosen are according to geographical accessibility and the proportion of members within the three FBOs. Another factor will be choosing FBOs with varying faiths/ denominations. The researcher has thus chosen to use the only mosque in Bishop Lavis as this aids her in gaining access to the Islamic community; the Anglican church of St. Joseph the Worker as it has a large following and manages a smaller chapel in Valhalla Park which is an area well- known for violence and gangsterism. The final FBO will be the New Apostolic Church (NAC) as they have three units in the entire community and therefore have one of the largest followings. One of the NAC units is also in close proximity to the Bishop Lavis police station and will therefore make for interesting data in understanding how the two can form a network in reducing crime in the community. The researcher also conducted an interview with an elite informant such as the councillor of sub-council five that includes Bishop Lavis. In wanting to interview religious leaders, the aim is to understand how they see their role and how they have led their faiths' followers in responding to the issue of crime in the community.

The researcher also conducted a focus group discussion with one of the organizations within an FBO as there was limited access in gaining entry to organizations within the other two. This has been done in order to gain perceptions of how being a part of a minor unit within an FBO has/ has not contributed to residents feeling safer, to motivate them to get involved within their community and in order to understand whether or not it has spurred them to any action due to the crime levels in the community.

The researcher aimed to interview two Bishop Lavis police station members as well in order to find out whether there have been any attempts to link up with FBOs in the community at any point to aid them in their endeavour to keep the community safe. However, the researcher managed to gain access to a group interview with the entire crime unit team at the Bishop Lavis Police Station.

The results from these techniques have been analysed using a critical analysis of themes in an attempt to extract the relevant themes and relate it to the theoretical framework in order to understand whether FBOs are in fact fulfilling their mandate.

1.5 Chapter outline

For the purpose of guidance to the reader the proceeding chapter will describe the emergence of crime in the Western Cape particularly around gang violence. The effect of crime and the social problems connected to crime will also be delved into. Chapter 3 will focus on methodology, sampling of FBOs, the data collection process and ethical obligations and, a personal narrative will be used to reflect on the research process. Chapter 4 will engage with other literary scholars around methods, the role of faith and its relation to crime in other contexts and previous studies. Chapters 5 and 6 will disseminate findings and will centre around 7 significant themes drawn from the data and finally, it will use the theoretical model as a framing in understanding how FBOs should and do respond to crime and violence in Bishop Lavis. Thereafter, the researcher concludes by engaging with present political-theological debates in order to locate this study within the broader transdisciplinary field and comment on the way forward given the answers attained.

UNIVERSITY *of the*

WESTERN CAPE

Chapter 2

"No cause occurs without effect, and no effect occurs without cause. …and no action or thought flows unnoticed throughout the universe." (Kassem, 2011)

Crime and violence in the Western Cape: The emergence

2.1   Introduction

Locating crime and violence in socio-economically disadvantaged communities, and specifically the Cape Flats in the Western Cape, requires an understanding of how crime became so rife in Cape Town and what researchers find are the causes of gang violence. These points also indirectly highlight issues that deal directly with spaces where FBOs need to respond. This will be dealt with in sections ahead in the form of a description of the advent of crime and violence across the Western Cape and social problems that may either cause or result in crime. Finally, in this chapter the community of Bishop Lavis is described and reflected on, apart from the crime and violence discussed, in order to show the socio-economic challenges the community faces that allow crime and violence to thrive so freely.

2.2   The advent of crime and violence

Crime and violence has been prevalent on the Cape Flats for years. Gangsterism on the Cape Flats is often traced back to the 1930's. MacMaster (2010: 20) states that in 1937 "in the Old District Six, a group calling themselves The Globe "operated as some sort of neighbourhood watch doing community policing in District Six, fending off 'skollies' (wandering criminals)". In doing this they would often request protection money from community members and shop owners. After almost ten years into its lifespan, the leader of the Globe was murdered. Thereafter, his brother took over and started changing the way things had previously been done, "which included an increase in protection monies and exploitation of people by means of trading drugs and operating brothels" (MacMaster, 2010: 20). After the implementation of the Group Areas Act (1950), implemented by the apartheid government, the communities existing in District Six were forced to separate into the numerous areas awaiting them that had come to be known as the Cape Flats. According to MacMaster (2010) members of the Globe gang were separated and scattered across the areas on the Cape Flats and new gangs were birthed from this.

In order to understand what led to the violence and gangsterism on the Cape Flats, it is necessary to recognise how the emergence of this phenomenon came about as shown above

18

but also to enquire how the structure of gangs operate on the Cape Flats. Standing (2003:3) provides a useful model for looking at gang structures:

> "The model of the criminal economy on the Cape Flats, to be described below, resembles the model of the Sicilian Mafioso developed by Henner Hess. It therefore comprises a series of criminal domains, each centred on a powerful individual commonly referred to as a 'gang leader', a 'crime boss' or more flatteringly as a 'druglord'. Each of these domains has a supporting base of followers…For the most part; this base comprises a loose association of street gangs and career criminals, all commonly labelled as gangsters. In addition to the base, each of the criminal elites relies on enduring partnerships with various professionals, foreign criminal entrepreneurs and corrupt members of the state: police; judges, local politicians and so on."

At this point it is useful to understand the way in which the gang model works. This is valuable in getting to know the way in which gang members become part of a gang and why it may be so hard to infiltrate the embedded family unit. For many on the Cape Flats the powerful gang leader is often the single source of income and this places them in a powerful and dominant position. Also, with broken families being a common trait in the Cape Flats, the leader provides guidance to youngsters hence taking on an influential role within such a space. The second factor of patron-client relationships between the crime bosses and the politicians/police is a crucial factor that outlines the way in which the survival of these crime domains exist particularly, because in many cases these relationships are maintained across ethical boundaries.

There is no doubt that the dynamic of the Cape Flats story is a result of spatial segregation determined by race and economic status, and that 'coloured'[3] communities and black townships are a result of this. Standing (2003:2) goes on to say that the Cape Flats is "home to a vast number of people and families who precariously exist outside the formal economy-what many social scientists refer to as being 'socially excluded." Through this, it is easier to understand the context in which residents from the Cape Flats, and Bishop Lavis more specifically, engage in criminal activity. That is not to say that their behaviour is justified, however, it is out of this social fabric that gangsterism exists. Standing (2003:1) goes on to argue, "organized crime may

---

[3]An ambiguous term for lighter skinned mixed race people devised by the architects of apartheid. Also see Erasmus, Zimitri (2001) who state that "coloured identities are not based on 'race mixture' but on cultural creativity, creolized formations shaped by South Africa's history of colonialism, slavery, segregation and apartheid". In this way, the term coloured is both a racial category and a culture.

19

represent a rational response of survival and resistance". For followers in gang circles, crime and violence is the tool used to gain a steady income, to maintain the safety of the individual and the protection of his/her families. In another way, resisting the law can also be viewed in light of the spatial, racial and economic segregation previously mentioned. To rebel against the authorities that replaced their homes with a racial group that was given a higher status, and that have moved many coloured families to the outskirts of Cape Town, one can see how often survival means moving against what many coloured communities refer to as "die boere" (a term used to describe the police).[4]

Within the gang system on the Cape Flats, for many, surviving means engaging in the criminal activity that allows one to support their families. For Standing (2003:2-3) this means that "illicit income generating activities such as prostitution and dealing in drugs, arms and stolen property represent a major sector of the local economy." In order to understand the reasons why crime and violence continue the researcher sees it beneficial in gaining knowledge as to what crimes gang followers engage in. This highlights that if this is a "major sector" then it also provides answers as to why these criminal activities perpetuate. Calix (2013:20) goes even further by connecting criminality to economic deprivation by using the underclass theory (developed by Merton 1957; Cohen 1955) by stating "the difference between economic opportunity in the form of employment and wages and individual aspirations is the root cause of criminal activity". This applies to the economic opportunities provided to previously disadvantaged communities, such as those in the Cape Flats, where economic opportunities are differentiated and provides little opportunity for much else outside of illicit criminal activity.

Engaging in this behaviour is also a tradition and can be seen as a continuation of a legacy and a service rendered to a community that many gang leaders grew up in. For many criminal elites, they all come from poor coloured communities "and remain attached to the areas where they grew up. They are therefore 'local' men" (Standing, 2003:3) having a sense of familiarity and connection with a community. Even though many, after making enough money from their criminal activity, are able to move on to more affluent areas most of them remain "attached to the region of the Cape Flats where they have power and are well-known" (Standing, 2003: 3). This is concurred by Pinnock (2016: 160) who states that "unable to be recognized as 'real

---

[4] During apartheid most law enforcement officials and the police were white and hence white people are still viewed as the enemy by many. See Pike, Steve. (2008). Surfing South Africa. South Africa: Juta and Company Ltd.

men' beyond the border of their community, many young men enforce their recognition within their communities..." The cycle then continues to exist. What many young people view as the standard and not the exception, is the average coloured boy working his way to the top of the gang structure and gaining the support of many as he works his way financially 'out' of the coloured community where many other young boys aspire to be. This allows for the maintenance of the succession of one leader to the next and the continuation of gang violence in turn.

The gang violence that continues is a result of what Standing (2003:3) calls "acts of excessive violence". For the stories of these crime bosses to exist there is a struggle for power. This struggle is won by either assaulting authoritative law officials or other rival gang members in order to assert the force and power of whatever gang someone belongs to. Standing (2003:30) argues that these criminals should be viewed as men with a "special intellect" despite the fact that it is quite uncommon for a few, if any of them, to have completed their schooling. This intellect is the value that is placed upon spending time in prisons. Cape Town's infamous number gangs[5] is a seen as the typical groups to aspire membership to, as they have influence across communities in the Cape Flats and thus are able to maintain the interest of many. Petersen (2013) states; "Many of the Western Cape's existing gangs derive from the infamous Cape Flats in Cape Town, including the notorious Number Gangs that run out of Pollsmoor Prison as well as the street gangs such as the Americans". Here, it is clear that gang violence has been part of the way of life for many Capetonians[6] and has become a common view of many of these sites. It is noted by Petersen (2013) that "many of these gangs have been operating for decades, with little police success at disbanding them". Through this, we see a stable community of gang memberships that have lasted for generations, and despite their harmful influence and practices they have been able to withstand the test of time, even against the authorities.

Despite the reality that many gang members resist the influence of the police, it is also this influence that has proven most useful for many. It is important to acknowledge as Standing (2003:5) does, "the relationship between the criminal elite and various officials and

---

[5] The number gangs (26's/ 27's/ 28's) are well-known groups that have sought to maintain power in various communities on the Cape Flats. Their ability to hold onto power as the result of accmulating members in prisons in the Western Cape has been a major source of influence. See also Cohen, M. (2013). "The Cape of bad dope: Gang warfare in South Africa is out of control - and set to get worse as a key leader leaves prison". *The Independent.* http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/the-cape-of-bad-dope-gang-warfare-in-south-africa-is-out-of-control-and-set-to-get-worse-as-a-key-8827661.html Accessed date: 18-09-2014

[6] In reference to a position originating or living for a long period of time in Cape Town, Western Cape.

21

businessmen is the hardest dimension of the criminal domains to research". However, in understanding the power dynamics that exists and is sustained, it is even more important to understand the way in which the local power of a crime boss is valuable to the local police or politicians. For them there is a tendency to want to gain favour with the most influential members in a community in order to gain information or votes in the case of politicians (Gay, 1999).

In the continuation of crime and violence, Standing (2003:7) argues that there are "three main reasons why organized crime gains support on the Cape Flats: by providing income, via community governance and, via acts of philanthropy". As discussed above many gangs maintain order and offer protection; many provide families with income and offer goods and services in exchange for their silence and/or cooperation. With this in mind, it is necessary to see the effect of criminals' behaviour.

2.2.1   The effect of crime and violence on the individual, families and the community

The harmful practices on the Cape flats enacted by many of these gang members have risen over generations. Standing (2003:2) states that within the Cape Flats "one finds depressing social features shared by numerous other urban ghettos that have emerged worldwide… most notable are ill health, stress, the adverse effects of drug dependency, family fragmentation, school truancy and exceptionally high levels of inter-personal conflict, especially domestic violence and assaults involving knives and guns". In light of this, comprehending that the Cape Flats is home to these social issues provides a look into how violence affects individuals, families and the community at large. By March 2014 (Dolley, 2014a) at least 236 people were "fatally shot in the Western Cape so far this year." This leads to an average of three people per day being shot. These statistics reflect a disregard for age, gender and religion. A three-year old girl was killed after a stray bullet hit her in the community of Bishop Lavis in March 2014 (Dolley, 2014a). In the same week of the little girl's death, seven children "were directly affected by gang shootings in Cape Town…a ten-year old girl…was gunned down in WesBank near Delft and…twelve-year old Jaunita Matroos was buried after being shot in Mitchells Plain" (Fisher, 2014). This leaves the youngest people in society as the very victims of an epidemic that continues to prevail.

Students at Bishop Lavis primary school have said that gang violence in their community is a nightmare. A grade three pupil from Lavis Drive Primary School said "I'm feeling sad every time when I go to sleep at night, I hear gunshots" (Fisher, 2014). This is a testament to the

realities that youth on the Cape Flats have to deal with. The Provincial Police's annual Report (PPAR) for the Western Cape between April 2012 and March 2013 reveals that knives are the most common weapon used in murders in the Western Cape, while most of these murders occur on a Sunday. This in itself is interesting in noting seeing that many consider Sunday a holy day of rest using a day on the weekend (Saturday or Sunday to observe, although most commonly Sunday) according to the Christian doctrine, wherein the Cape Flats most residents practice this belief system. Most attempted killings, however, take place on a Saturday. In the period in which the reports data rests 2580 people were killed- this leads to approximately seven murders per day (Dolley, 2014b). In terms of the areas that had the highest murder "the Nyanga Police Station recorded the highest number of murders, followed by Khayelitsha, Harare, Gugulethu and Kraaifontein" (Dolley, 2014b). While the stations at which the most attempted murders were reported were Mitchells Plain, Nyanga, Khayelitsha, Bishop Lavis and Elsies River with 3280 attempted murders, "nearly 1000 more than the year before" (Dolley, 2014b). The author even cites the causes of this violence to "the increasing gang turf wars across the Cape Flats", (Dolley 2014b). Between April 1 2016 and the end of March 2017 97 murders were had been carried out in Bishop Lavis, an increase by 20 more Dolley (2017) reports than the year before.

In terms of the causes for these violent activities the PPAR suggests that it had been clear that many of the assaults had in actual fact failed but that the intention to kill may not have been there in the first place. The report also states "What the crime of murder does indicate is the level of intolerance, misguided sense of power and that persons have no means in their repertoire with which to resolve other than violence, especially when intoxicated" (Dolley, 2014b). This shows an important aspect of the development on the part of the state. The recognition made by this report speaks to the fact that there is a set of attitudes that require a turn-around. Words such as "intolerance/ misguid[ance]" is a tell-tale sign of the need for opposing qualities to be reinforced into society, specifically on the Cape Flats, if these statistics are to change. Many of these crimes arise from arguments, which accounts for 23.7%, gang violence at 12%, 11.6% from gang robberies, 4.6% by vigilantes and 1.6 of murders were due to love triangles. All of these causes relate to a sense of discord amongst society (Dolley, 2014b). Many people argue but majority of them do not go out and resort to murder unlike in the Western Cape.

Standing (2003: 4) notes that "it is almost impossible to count how many individual street gangs there are on the Cape Flats. According to experts in the police, there are roughly 120 but the boundaries between separate gangs are hard to define and many merge or die out".

23

However, understanding that street gangs are mostly made up of young people must be emphasized, as this shows the effect and cycle that crime and violence continues to have on the futures of young people. In many cases, they are either the victim or the perpetrator of violence on the Cape Flats.

In March 2014, in one weekend alone, there were three double murders and the killings of a seventeen and twenty-seven year old (Prince, 2014). In Beacon Valley in Cape Town a resident stated that "shootings in the area had become so frequent "the community do not care"" (Damba, 2013). While another resident stated that "we need to work with all the police. The best way to solve crime is to work together. We need to take back our streets and we need to do so by helping the police" (Damba, 2013). Phrases like "working together/ taking back our streets" is a sign of the urgency that people are beginning to realise that something needs to be done. However, on the other hand we see residents believing that police cannot assist them and fails to do so when they are called upon yet still feel that they ought to call. In Nyanga, for example, residents said that the police station ""is as good as dead" as police officers did almost nothing to protect the area" (Damba, 2013).

The effect of crime and violence on the Cape Flats is compounded as many residents, despite experiencing violence directly or indirectly, seem to protect those who have committed crimes. Standing (2003: 6) argues that "…not all residents of the Cape Flats feel moral outrage at those prominent in the criminal economy…in pockets of the Cape Flats it is not unusual for communities to show considerable support for criminals who are elsewhere despised and feared". While in most circumstances, one would assume that residents in Bishop Lavis may feel afraid of gangs, it must also be understood, that as well-known local men they are also familiar faces and there is some sense of family ties that many feel towards these criminals. In many cases, this sense of allegiance is demonstrated by 'turning a blind eye' and at other times it is shown through what StaDambanding (2003:6) calls "provid[ing] deliberate misinformation to investigating officers". In contrast, what may also seem like "community toleration" (Standing, 2003:6) may also be the result of intimidation or fear. Even when there is some sort of allegiance, some people may want to stand against criminal behaviour but fear for the safety of their families and themselves.

2.3 Social problems related to crime

2.3.1 The legacy of apartheid

Witherden (2009) states that "while there may be countries poorer than SA, there are few that are as unequal, and perhaps such gross inequality, together with a history of violent crime, have combined to generate the exceptionally high levels of crime evident in this country". The words by Witherden suggest that the history, related to the inequality in SA, has had profound impacts on the reality that a state with such a history of extreme violence has only continued to exist in different ways. In Simpson (1998) it is argued that

> "white-owned wealth amidst grinding poverty, massive unemployment and scarcity of even basic resources-which led to intense internecine conflicts-contributed to a situation in which criminal activity was seen as legitimate and socially acceptable"

Today, this can still be applied. The history that comes with violence being acceptable is still prevalent as many accept the normality of the violence that they experience. He further states that "urbanization under apartheid placed enormous pressure on family structures and destroyed the support structures of the extended family" (1998). This is the reality of the Cape Flats and specifically, in this case, Bishop Lavis. Where the history of these communities are tied into the fabric of families who have reacted with violence because of the destruction they have faced.

2.3.2 Crime as a reaction to poverty

Crime also contributes to impoverishment which Simpson (1998) argues is also "one of its root causes". Similarly, Standing (2003: 1) argues "In impoverished areas that have been neglected by both capital and state, the criminal economy can develop social dimensions". Understanding that even though crime crosses the ethical and law boundary it does provide residents with tools for overcoming poverty and is seen as a survival mechanism. In this way, community support is evident as the income that is termed as the "criminal economy", (Standing, 2003: 7) sustains these families. While it may seem illogical to support criminal behaviour, it is in fact a very logical and rational response to scarcity. Standing (2003: 7) supports this in stating "without income generating crime and cheap stolen goods, the dull ache of deprivation…would no doubt be felt more acutely". Hence, the moral authority that many aspire to hold onto proves futile in the face of possible starvation.

2.3.3   A lack of support from the state

Another link between gang violence and the social issue of poverty is the allocation of funds/resources towards the Cape Flats. Standing (2003: 8) argues that

> "…the situation remains that local authorities are both underfunded and deeply mistrusted. This situation is pronounced in many coloured working class areas that have traditionally opposed ANC rule, particularly since many perceive that state spending in coloured areas has diminished since 1994, while spending in African communities has increased"

Out of this, one gains the insight that in the post-apartheid era, many coloured townships are still left on the outskirts of the political arena. The fact that many of these communities are not given the attention that is necessary is a sign of the lack of support that government provides them with.

2.3.4   The passing on of 'knowledge'

Taky, a member of the Thug Life gang states that "gang life is like a religion to my family… my father and grandfather were in gangs and they have done time in jail- I will probably end up there as well. It is the way of life here, it is where you learn about respect and get status" (Irin, 2007). The active voice of this gang member shows his need for acceptance, shows his desire for being known and, his need to continue to follow in the footsteps of generations before. Irin (2007) discusses this further by looking at the root causes in a similar way to Simpson (1998).

> They state that "street gangs have a long history in Cape Town, dating back to the aftermath of the Second World war when they grew rapidly due to returning servicemen. Large-scale forced removals of "coloured" people under apartheid during the 1960's, from parts of Cape Town to townships in the Cape Flats eroded social controls, creating an environment of increased criminal activity"

Here, the result of forced removals have resulted into violence almost by default. The effect of the apartheid regime caused a reciprocal force of violence because social control was then amiss. One author suggests that one social problem related to crime is that of economic impoverishment and cites it as "one of its root causes" (Simpson, 1998). He goes further on to say that "The social and psychological insecurity generated both by real levels of crime and by public hysteria associated with media presentations of it contribute to feelings of fear and

26

inadequacy. This in turn encourages a resort to armed self-defence, resulting in spiralling violence" (Simpson, 1998). This very easily depicts the very site of Bishop Lavis. Much of the community lives in dire poverty (City of Cape Town, 2013) and the fact that so many of the areas' residents are vulnerable to a lack of financial resources to protect themselves and their families shows the fact that many of them then feel unable to make 'ends meet' and thus resort to acting out through aggressive behaviour.

2.3.5 Families, legacies and the compound effect

One aspect of this aggressive behaviour is the neglected role of the family. Many people go on to use their aggression as acts of violence upon their children and go even further to expose them to various illegal substances. Prof Brian Robertson from the University of Cape Town's Dept of Psychiatry and Mental Health states that many young people "come from a background of abuse and neglect. Almost all of these people come from families where violence was an everyday phenomenon…" (Author unknown, 2007). In other words youngsters were responding to their immediate environment and the circumstances they have been facing that results in violent behaviour. Across all races a study show that "just under 14% (13 000) of 16 year olds in the Western Cape were not attending school when Census 2011 was done" (Pinnock, 2013). Pinnock (2013) goes on to say that more than a quarter of a million of these young people do not have jobs even though one in every three have attained a grade 12 pass. Apart from education, the National Health and Nutritional Survey shows that "eight out of ten whites are food secure…one in four coloured people are classed as food insecure or very food insecure" (Pinnock, 2013). This shows how food scarcities and education can compound the issues that the community of Bishop Lavis has to deal with. Going further, Pinnock (2013) suggests that "From the Globe Gang in District Six to the Hard Livings and Americans today [All current gang names on the Cape Flats] the city has an unbroken lineage of youth-stoked mayhem that has plagued the poor". Even with this lineage of generations of gangs that have continued to attract young members, it is the circumstances of living in a place that is plagued by drugs, food insecurity, a lack of education, etc. These factors all compounded, has forced young people to join the only place they seem to 'fit in' and find belonging.

According to the Nutrition Survey (Pinnock, 2013) South Africa has the "highest levels of alcohol consumption…and the Western Cape the highest incidence of foetal alcohol syndrome in the world". Drugs and alcohol are two substances that exists in overflow on the Cape Flats. For some it is a coping mechanism and for some these goods are their income. The outcome of this is that "one in five coloured boys were found to be stunted" (Pinnock, 2013) as a result of

27

the damage that alcohol and drugs can have on an unborn child. Pinnock (2013) even shows that apart from several studies, a study by Andy Dawes from the University of Cape Town on youth violence shows that "impaired foetal growth may be implicated in the development of aggressive, violent and antisocial behaviour". In this way, it expresses a direct link between the social problems that is evident on the Cape Flats and the way it manifests itself into violence and crime.

Many of the young men who grow up on the Cape Flats join gangs out of the desperate need to be initiated into 'manhood'. In a study done by Cooper (2009) looking at 'Hegemonic masculinity and rites of passage amongst coloured boys awaiting trial on the Cape Flats' (Cooper, 2009: 1) he found that masculinity was often assumed to be found in violent initiation practices such as shooting and killing people. Cooper (2009:3) cites Collier (1998) in defining hegemonic masculinity as "a range of popular ideologies of what constitutes ideal or actual characteristics of "being a man". For a young boy growing up on the Cape Flats in order to protect oneself, one's family or earn an income, the gang was in many cases the only solution. In his findings Cooper (2009:6) finds that "in order to be initiated into a gang, become a man and gain the gang tattoo or *chappie*, the boys said that an individual usually has to shoot at a rival gangster or sometimes you could steal a large sum of money...." These young men, who are desperate to become a part of a life they often idolize, as they see success in the form of wealth, coming from gang members is another part of why they choose a life of violence. This confirms Standing's (2003) work on the gang leader and the way in which gang leaders are seen as the ideal position to aspire to. For Cooper, another reason why these young men have chosen to become a part of the gang life is that they react in complete opposition to the legacy of apartheid. He states "...aspirations to be "seen" and not taken for a "gat" (arse) are structured by the historical legacy of apartheid and the way in which it has divided people" (Cooper, 2009:7). Where previously coloured people were left powerless, becoming a gang member and being feared, respected and empowered in the role of a gangster can be seen as an act of rebellion and as a response to the legacies left behind.

Where the researcher previously outlined the model of a gang used by Standing (2003) and argued that the model indicates the way in which crime emerges out of the need from young people who often look to a gang leader for guidance, this is further confirmed by the work of Cooper (2009). However, Cooper's findings show not only how young men aspire to be moulded by the gang structure, but also highlights the way in which society as a whole can force young people to respond to gangs positively. He states "initiation was often described as

28

enmeshed with the desire to impress and assimilate with local role-models. Only three boys said that they knew who their fathers were and there was almost no mention of positive male role-models in their communities-people like priests, soccer coaches or teachers" (Cooper, 2009: 9). This shows the way in which broken family structures and institutions such as the religious sector can manage to leave young males with no option but to be guided by those who "see" them and show them a way to move forward out of their circumstances.

2.3.6 Strategies dealing with crime and violence on the Cape Flats

Over the years, the state has instituted various programs to assist communities with the fight against crime. Standing (2003: 2) finds that "In the past five years (1998-2003) the Cape Flats has witnessed a series of special operations designed to arrest gangsters and well-known criminals. While most acknowledge that these efforts have failed to significantly reduce crime in the area, some sense that the local authorities are increasingly turning to punitive measures to control areas deemed 'ungovernable'". While this indicates governments' early commitment to reducing the scourge of violence, it shows the failure that has come from the interventions by the state. That government even acknowledges certain areas as ungovernable and in this way recognizes its inability to manage the extreme cases. In trying to solve the issue they have also tried to deal with the issue in an aggressive manner, "There is a feeling among some senior policy makers that pursuing 'soft' developmental policies in these areas is futile unless coupled with a concerted effort to establish law and order" (Standing, 2003: 2). However, as the effects of crime in section 2.2.1 has shown even when the state has tried to maintain a safe and ordered society the prevalence and perpetuation of crime has continued for decades and still endures. The way in which this is visibly shown is by the number of criminals in Cape Town's prisons-Standing (2003:2) states, "according to prison authorities, Cape Town's prisons contain roughly double the numbers they were designed to hold. In effect, this shows how the justice system has failed to look at the causes of crimes and instead sought to 'manage' criminals by keeping them in holdings.

Samara (2005) notes that the state has used 'The National Crime Prevention Strategy' (NCPS) and the National Urban Renewal Programme as the two chief tools to address the challenges that crime has posed. Accordingly, he notes that they "both map out relatively progressive visions of crime prevention that link crime reduction to development" (Samara, 2005: 213). Through these programmes the state has thus chosen to focus their strategy on developing society as the key solution to reducing crime. The NCPS was one of the key areas focussed on in the 1996 National Growth and Development Strategy (NGDS), and through this, selected

29

crime prevention "as part of an overall economic development strategy" (Samara, 2005: 213). This shows that governments' initial response was to economically alter the way in which people were living. However, this approach is concentrating on a singular issue. It does not account for the many social problems that cause and result from crime and violence. Ultimately, the NGDS was abandoned almost immediately, and shows how a one directed focus can fail when it does not deal with the real issues around the problem.

The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) identified four priority areas to hone in on in order to deal with issues affecting the city in a much more varied way. This approach sought to deal with various issues to develop society. In the period between 2001-2006, this approach was followed not only to deal with the prevention of crime but also socio-economic issues such as health-the combating of HIV/AIDS, the promotion of economic development and tourism, and poverty-the provision of free lifeline services (water and electricity). This approach deals with a lot of social issues that are interrelated and dependent on one another to exist. This strategy then showed the states desire to intensify the way they approach the problems in Cape Town (Samara, 2005).

The strategies by church leaders have previously stated their outrage at the rate of crime and violence in Cape Town. Standing (2003: 11) notes that

> "it is revealing how this situation frustrates religious leaders, who feel the Church should stand as a core pillar in the community, providing strength and support for those in need. As the ecumenical secretary to the Western Cape Provincial Council of Churches argued, the church has responded to the economic and social crises of the Cape Flats emotionally whereas the criminal elite have responded materially by providing the rudiments of an alternative welfare system".

This acknowledgement by the church to be a "core pillar" reflects the need for people to be able to depend on churches to provide the necessary support and guidance and is crucial in the understanding of the way the church has previously dealt with violence. The way Standing (2003) shows that the Western Cape Provincial Council of Churches respond to crises "emotionally" is so important to understand that by comparing it to the material response by gang bosses this shows the way in which the church, in this case, fails tremendously to provide the support and be the pillar that people need. Evidently, it shows that the current strategies are failing to match to what the gang structure is capable of providing and hence the church in

30

collaboration with the state, indeed, needs new approaches to be able to compete with that of gangs.

In the 2010-2014 South African Police Service Strategic Plan (SAPS Strategic Management, 2010), the document outlines its various medium-term and long-term plans. Out of this has come the acknowledgment for the need to involve the community in various points in the fight against crime. It is indicated, "There have been numerous calls for such involvement from the Executive and Management of the SAPS for the mobilizing of communities in the fight against crime. There are, despite the best efforts of the SAPS, still large sectors of South African society that are not optimally involved in the SAPS' initiatives aimed at preventing crime and eliciting information on criminals and their activities" (SAPS Strategic Management, 2010). The intention of the police to involve the community and the result of its inability to do so highlights the issues that Standing (2003) and Lindegaard and Henriksen (2005) have come up with in former sections. This is shown when they argue that fear often immobilises people from moving to a space where they can really deal with crime and, hence, even though the intention to move out of a gang-ridden neighbourhood exists, evident too in the strategies by SAPS, it highlights the challenges in doing so.

The gang unit of the SAPS team has also focussed specifically on dealing with crime in the Cape Flats. They have outlined the way in which gangs have used "methods aimed at control, removal of competition, discipline within their ranks and rewarding of members and supporters for their loyalty." (Capetown.gov.za, n.d). Due to this highly controlled state of communities on the Cape Flats by gangs, the gang unit in SAPS has proposed as their operational attention a list of their focussed areas, namely,

- Gathering information on gangs and their activities in pilot areas
- Tracking known associates of gang members where relevant
- Conducting observation operations of known premises associated with gang activity, which includes illegal narcotics, illegal arms and ammunition, prostitution, alcohol etc.
- Sharing information with other law enforcement agencies, such as the SAPS
- Applying for and executing search warrants autonomously and in joint ventures
- Sharing information with Metro Police Operational Areas for further action
- Addressing gang-related complaints   (capetown.gov.za, n.d).

Most recently gang violence on the Cape Flats, and specifically Bishop Lavis, has been noted in media reports and even so amongst notable politicians. Police Minister Fikile Mbalula made special mention in Parliament when he released the annual national crime statistics (Dolley, 2017). He even makes mention of the 'Hard Livings' gang and asked "whether it had become acceptable to live alongside "violent criminals…be it…the Hard Livings gangs across the Cape Flats"" (Dolley, 2017). He also announced that a request had been made for the South African National Defence Force "to help quell violent crimes in the Western Cape…" (Dolley, 2017). While this current strategy highlights the attention that is being drawn to a much-needed situation, it is the approach and rhetoric of 'living alongside violent criminals' that perpetuates inferiority and may in fact spread the discourse isolating and dehumanizing criminals from rehabilitation.

2.4 Conclusion

In this section Bishop Lavis is located as a site that portrays the very causes, symptoms and effects of a place in which crime and violence can thrive. Understanding the why's and how's as done above provides a clearer perspective to the community of Bishop Lavis and a greater clarity for why the occurrence of crime and violence has for years existed and continues to perpetuate itself. The social problems that link to the presence of crime and violence show how deeply rooted acts of violence are in relation to other social ills. It also shows the way in which crime and violence exists as an alternative unit of 'business' and 'family' apart from its harmful effects.

Chapter 3

"Faith" is a fine invention

When Gentlemen can see—

But Microscopes are prudent

In an Emergency. (Dickonson, 1999)

People, processes and obligations

3.1 Introduction

Research is a complex attempt at trying to understand the world and navigating the 'how's' shapes the answers we are to get. Asking the right questions, choosing the right research participants and following sound principles in the collection, processing and disseminating of data allows for sound results to exist.

For the purpose of this research a qualitative study was designed using research methods that complement the qualitative design. Here methods were applied in order to ensure a rich set of data could be obtained. Interviews, focus groups, observations and reflections were done in the attempt to explain, uncover and understand the experiences and perceptions of the research participants themselves.

3.2 Overall design: Sampling and Recruitment

For the purpose of this study three (3) FBOs were focussed on. This included an Anglican church in the community of Bishop Lavis due to its large following and the New Apostolic Church due to the three congregations that exist within the single community. Lastly, the Muslim faith was represented with an interview with their faith leader. All three of these FBOs represent a faith community within the catchment area and was chosen for the potential that it would have in having three of the largest communities represented.

The ward councillor for Bishop Lavis was interviewed in order to understand the role that political leaders have undertaken in forming partnerships with faith groups. The crime unit of the Bishop Lavis Police Station and the Community Policing Forms (CPF's) leader was interviewed and the CPF meeting observed. Originally, the meeting with a member of the crime unit from the Bishop Lavis Police was meant to be an interview but, fortunately for the research process, the four-squad members of the unit was available and engaged in what became a group discussion. The Men's Society of one of the selected FBOs was also engaged in the form of a

33

focus group discussion and thus the researcher attempted to attain various views of the same issue and tried to ensure that several lenses were attained to ensure that data was not only verifiable and comparable but that the range of perceptions attained would add to the results acquired.

3.3 Research Design

In navigating the research maze that the researcher found herself in, particular thought had to be put into which methods to use. The researcher used qualitative methods to inform her research. Babbie (2012) states that "Qualitative researchers, more than quantitative researchers, pay special attention to understanding life as the participants see it…". From this, Babbie relates to the very idea that the intention of the research set out to achieve. The aim was to understand life in Bishop Lavis for various research participants, from various positions, not only to ensure that triangulation takes place and that the research is verifiable but, that rich data is attained from the research participants in the pursuit of knowledge and creating understanding for what FBOs are able to do in relation to crime and violence. The researcher honed in on the community of Bishop Lavis by approaching this as a case study focussed on understanding the intricate dynamics present between faith communities and their followers but also what the police, policing forum and councillor see as ways that crime and violence can be reduced and what role FBOs play in ensuring that this be done.

Rule and John (2011: 1) state that a case study approach

> "is manageable and achievable. It allows them [researchers] to select an example that is familiar to them and to which they have access. However, conducting a good case study is as challenging, if in different ways, as conducting a survey or experiment…Case studies provide rich insights into particular situations, events, organizations, classrooms or even persons"

With a starting point such as this, choosing the case study method in order to focus on Bishop Lavis was certainly, in one aspect, a convenient choice in terms of access. However, dealing with the subject matter of crime and violence and the descriptive experiences related by participants meant that honing in and attaining rich data sets allowed for the case study method to be the best lens with which to operate. Also, a case study approach can be used in conjunction with many other methods and this allowed for versatility and flexibility when conducting fieldwork.

3.4 Data Collection Process

As mentioned earlier, interviews, focus groups, participant observations as well as group discussions took place in informing the data that had been attained. In the research proposal itself several interviews were named as the key research data collection methods with the hope of conducting several focus groups as well. Ultimately five (5) interviews were conducted, three (3) with FBO leaders, one (1) key informant interview with the councillor and, one (1) interview with the leader of the Community Policing Forum. One group discussion was conducted with the crime unit and one focus group discussion was held with a minor group within an FBO- namely the Men's Society. Deviation from the planned focus group discussions that the researcher had hoped to conduct with several minor groups could not be attained due to limitations in access.

DiCicco-Bloom, et al (2006) describes semi-structured interviews as ones that are usually the single data source for a qualitative project. This is not the case for this research study and alternative techniques have been used to ensure that more methods were used. However, where DiCicco-Bloom, et al (2006: 315) does in fact relate the characteristics of semi-structured interviews to the data collected is when they note that "they are generally organized around a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between interviewer and interviewee". In the case of the research conducted, a set of questions had been created in order to hone in on the very discussions that the researcher hoped to have and to inform the MRQ and deal with the questions that the researcher hoped participants could shed light into. Research is iterative and therefore within these discussion guides depending on where the researcher led discussions questions arose during the interview process and were adapted and refined as themes were emerging.

For example, pre-determined questions to the CPF leader were:

1. Can you describe what, in your opinion, are the most common issues residents in Bishop Lavis deal with?
2. What do you think can be done to reduce the high-levels of crime in the community?
3. Which organizations in the community do you think can assist the police?
4. What do you see as the role of the faith-based organizations in Bishop Lavis?
5. Have they assisted you in any way to reduce crime? If yes, how so?
6. Have you as the police forum ever thought of linking up with FBOs to help them reduce crime levels? Why/ why not?

7. Do you think the police alone can reduce crime and violence in the community? Why/why not?

8. How can FBOs help the police forum to reduce crime and violence?

While pre-determined questions to FBO leaders were:

1. As a leader within the community, what are some of the issues you feel Bishop Lavis has to deal with?

2. What do you think needs to be done in order for violence to be reduced?

3. What is the role of the mosque /the church in the community of Bishop Lavis?

4. Do you think that the church/ mosque has a role to play in reducing violence?

5. What are some of the worst situations the community has had to deal with in the last five years?

6. How did you and the faith community you lead respond to this?

7. What do you think FBOs can do in the future to help reduce/ stop violence in the community?

8. Have you seen other FBOs in the community doing anything to reduce crime and violence in Bishop Lavis?

9. What do you see in terms of crime and violence in the community of Bishop Lavis in ten years?

10. What are the factors that lead the community to be where you foresee it?

What can be noted from using these two examples of discussion guides is the way in which, apart from the spontaneous questions asked during the interview, that they are similar yet different as they are geared towards specific participants. They seek to answer the same MRQ but is informed by their role within the community. DiCoccio-Bloom, et al (2006:315) states that the individual interview "allows the interviewer to delve deeply into social and personal matters whereas the group interview allows the interviewer to get a wider range of experience but, because of the public nature of the process, prevents delving as deeply into the individual". This is affirmed through the collection tools used. One of the proposed interviews was with a members of the SAPS and instead a group interview spontaneously occurred with the entire crime unit of SAPS. During the interviews, observation notes were also taken and after each interview was conducted reflective observations were made in a journal to ensure that apart from the recording that was to be transcribed that any other emotions/ behaviours that were noted during the interview was considered as useful in reflecting on the research.

For the purpose of understanding groups within the FBOs three focus groups were attempted with each FBO and only one managed to allow access and set aside time for the discussion. A focus group is defined as being "composed of individuals with shared key characteristics pertinent to the study and comprises between six and ten participants…" (Powell, et al, 1996: 500). Kitzinger (1995:299) notes that "focus groups are a form of group interview that capitalises on communication between research participants". Similarly, the focus group discussion that took place with the Men's Society as a branch of one of the FBOs, partook with a group of six men who allowed for their experiences and their relationships within their FBO and with each other to reveal their perceptions of crime and violence and the role they, as active members do and should play.

Apart from having interviewed the leader of the CPF the researcher was also granted the opportunity to observe their monthly meeting and sit in and see what it was all about. This allowed for engagement without the influence of any questions posed by the researcher as a silent observer learning and understanding the processes and the situations faced within the CPF and surrounding areas, which included Bishop Lavis.

3.5 Data Processing and analysis

Once all interviews had been transcribed the process of working through the data began. Open coding had been used to identify themes, Romo, et al (2016:125) states in that this method was used for them when "conceptual labels are placed on responses that described discrete events, experiences and feelings reported in the interviews." In the same way, the researcher coded responses from the data and labelled main ideas that had come through. From this point, similarities, differences and more importantly significance of themes became clear. From this thematic analysis had been incorporated as one of the central means of analysing the data. Rule and John (2011:78) state that thematic analysis identifies "patterns such as similarities, differences…as the analysis proceeds, codes are grouped logically onto categories". In this research study thematic analysis was employed in order to draw out these themes from the transcripts and the codes/ the topics that stood out or stood together.

What was also used in conjunction with thematic analysis is the use of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to ensure that the detail of what is said is considered for its deeper meaning and to delve into greater understanding of what the role of an FBO is for these FBO leaders and the other research participants. CDA employs the use of linguistics in order to identify "not just…what is said but how it is said" (Rule, et al, 2011:79). Rule and John (2011:79) go on

37

further to explain that "Close attention to the use of language devices, such as metaphor and imagery, help the researcher to make meaning of the action and the social world conveyed in the text". In the analysis of the data when themes are drawn out, added observations on the words used and the choice of words show and reflect the way in which FBOs portray themselves and the way that different participants see the reduction of crime and violence in Bishop Lavis. Thus, these analytical tools enable the researcher to attain a greater understanding of the ways in which FBOs see their role.

3.6 Ethical obligations

Wassenaar (2006) writes that a "research ethics review is fundamentally concerned with ensuring that the dignity of human participants is respected, and is not abused or violated in the search for knowledge, scientific progress, or more mundanely, for career advancement." With this in mind, strict actions were taken to ensure the protection of participants' decisions after informed consent. During the consenting process all participants were informed of their right to voluntarily opt out of the study at any time. They were also ensured of their option for anonymity and confidentiality although all research participants chose to grant permission to be identified in the research study. This meant that the obligation to report anonymously fell away and during the reporting of data codes were used but can be made out given the identifiers attached. For example all FBO leaders were given codes FBOA, FBOI and FBON to represent the denomination/ faith represented instead of personal names.

Data was filed and stored and upon full completion will be stored in a locked cabinet for safekeeping. All participants will receive a copy of the dissertation in order for them to see the value that was taken with the information that each of them so kindly offered to the researcher. This will ensure that they too, receive feedback and are able to see the work they agreed to participate in.

3.7 Personal reflection and scientific limitations

3.7.1 Introduction

The researcher would like to acknowledge that the following section is a personal reflection on her position as researcher in the research site of Bishop Lavis, Cape Town. The intention is to use the reflection as a tool in reflecting the ways in which she has negotiated her position as both insider (member of the community) and outsider (researcher). This reflection has also taken the first-person narrative unlike the former chapters in order to reflect on the personal and real-life occurrences that influences the study itself.

3.7.2 From the inside out and the outside in

"I can tell you the difference between a firework and a gunshot. Its 3h17 and I can tell you the difference simply because this time nearly every night I hear the same sounds and I can assure you when Guy Fawkes comes in November it sounds different. "Jou ma se…." finishing that sentence would be disrespectful to write in here. But that's reality. That's the words someone just shouted. Someone's gotta do something about this. I've got to I suppose. One day. But doing it alone seems impossible"   Extract from a personal journal in 2012

When I, as the researcher, decided I would write a chapter on my position within the community of Bishop Lavis knowing where to start seemed near impossible. Yet, writing in my journal was a good starting point in uncovering what had made me uncomfortable in the first place. Being raised by my mother for fourteen (14) years in Bishop Lavis meant that I had first-hand experience of the crime and violence in Bishop Lavis. My brother has been robbed twice, beaten once, I've experienced an attempted robbery, an attempted car-jacking and I've woken up at 4am in the morning because a bullet had come through my roof and hit the mirror beside my bed where I was sleeping at the time. I've also heard of community members who have had to deal with their belongings stolen- cars, electronic equipment, even pot plants. I've seen and heard fights and I've heard of numerous people that I had become familiar with and some who were strangers who had died in my community. One of them was a three-year old girl (mentioned in Section 2.2: pg 21). No one had done anything to resolve the situation. I had religiously gone to one of the churches in the community and heard sermons from numerous people speaking about what the Christian faith believed God had historically done in the face of injustices. I had also heard numerous examples of acts of resistance to murder and theft cited in the Islamic faith. I had heard of the ways in which people believed that if the God they believed in had stood up against acts of violence that we too, should be brave and stand up against what was wrong or according to many faith's 'sinful'. I had begun to think that it didn't make sense when someone would preach about standing up and yet in practice had not done so. I had begun asking myself whether or not their role even meant that they needed to respond, or in fact if their only duty was to preach on a Sunday. This was the very reason why I felt that I needed to understand what their role was and particularly what their role in this violent context was.

Granted that I, as a growing social scientist, was also a Christian, I understood that this influenced the study heavily. My educational background motivated me to want to stand up to

the crime and violence alongside community members and their lack of doing so created frustration. This I believed, was the very seed needed for a study such as this.

My educational background did set me apart in some ways. It is a very rare occurrence to have someone completing their MA in a community such as this (evident in earlier statistics that 28% of those aged 20 years and older in Bishop Lavis have completed grade 12 or higher) and many of the community members were well aware that I was completing my studies at a university. This automatically created a difference in interaction. While the language predominantly used for communication is Afrikaans- mainly the dialect Kaaps, many felt the need to respond to me in English despite my ability to speak in the common dialect. While I shared in the socio-economic issues community members were faced with I also understood that I would be considered an outsider.

The understanding that my desire to have a solution to the problems facing my own community gives rise to the fact that bias could have played a role in me either wanting FBOs to respond or feeling as though they were failing in their role. In light of this, methods of reflection was undertaken after each interview/focus group/participant observations to ensure that I was able to debrief and to reflect on any emotions during fieldwork activities. More than that I was able to separate emotions from academic reflections and tease out what was more important in comparison to other notes.

Ellis (2007: 4) defines relational ethics as doing what is necessary to be "true to one's character and responsible for one's actions and their consequences on others" and further notes the way in which it "recognizes and values mutual respect, dignity and connectedness between researcher and researched, and between researchers and the communities in which they live and work". Similarly, in this process of reflection I too asked how my position of having connectedness between myself and the researched, but more so the community itself, influenced the study and the ways that a complete outsider might not have the personal investment in this study as I had. Ellis (2007:4) states that "relational ethics requires researchers to act from our hearts and minds, to acknowledge our interpersonal bonds to others, and initiate and maintain conversations" and while this was an academic study, in every way it too became a matter of heart and investing in trying to see whether there were alternatives to combatting crime in a community I had been raised in. Ellis (2007:5) states that in such situations a researcher is to repeatedly question and reflect on ethical decisions. This resonates with me as countless times my findings made me question whether it was really worth it to uncover what

I was observing and learning and, if it would make any significant change. In the process I have had to come to the realisation that my attempt thereof and this contribution to the academic arena is enough of a step in the efforts of having a response.

It is Fiona Ross in her book titled 'Raw Life, New Hope' who states that it is "small facts that speak to large issues" and while Ross (2010) looked at informal housing within a community on the outskirts of Cape Town she used the real-life lively language of her participants and reflect on their relationship with one another. Similarly, the focus is different, but my hope remains the same as Ross'. My position as insider and resident within Bishop Lavis allowed me the ability to use small facts of my own experiences and that of my neighbours to speak to the larger issue of crime and highlight how one young woman's daily constant speaks to a social issue faced by many other young men and women within the community. My position as outsider and social scientist in-training afforded me the privilege of gaining insight and analysing a situation from multiple perspectives thus employing triangulation which I may not have been able to do in my own personal venture. Thus, my multifaceted role as resident, daughter, observer, woman, former-parishioner, neighbour, Christian *and* researcher afforded me the privilege of attaining rich descriptions. While the potential for bias is acknowledged, it is also the reflections on these perspectives that allowed this study its birth and the significant desire to understand the role of FBOs within a space such as Bishop Lavis. The claims made within this thesis have been carefully critiqued and only those with sufficient evidence was used. Arguments that have been made depend on data collected and upon the responses from research participants. I wish to however acknowledge the scientific limitations that may have been brought about by my subjective position. All efforts were made to ensure that sound arguments were only outlined within this thesis after careful consideration and supported evidence was made available.

3.8 Conclusion

While managing a research study can seem daunting and often like a never-ending maze, choosing the correct paths and using data collection tools that suit the study is imperative in ensuring that sound data is attained. The processing and analysis of the data can only be regarded as sufficient when the data attained is too. The choice of participants and the specific triangulation of the different perspectives offers varied and unique responses to the research topic. Despite the challenges in not attaining the number of focus groups desired fieldwork resulted in an attainment of further findings elsewhere such as the CPF meeting observation or

41

the larger group interview with the police crime unit in Bishop Lavis. A maze usually has a central point in which one can see where all paths lead, likewise, when seeing through data collection, processing and analysis, the researcher is finally able to see how different perspectives lead to answering the MRQ. More than that, understanding the role of the researcher's bias lends to a stronger position of how the findings was experienced, understood and adds to the making of meaning.

Chapter 4

"Without literature, life is hell." (Bukowski, n.d)

Scholarly perspectives on crime, violence and what to do

4.1 Introduction

The body of literature looking at the methods that have previously been used to understand similar models of research are explored here. Reflecting on the works of others relating to the concept of 'role' and what FBOs across the globe have been doing in response to various kinds of situations is also identified in order to understand the role that must be fulfilled. More than that, the concept of the church as an agent of change is identified by previous scholars in expectation of identifying the theoretical framework born out of several scholars' work.

4.2 Methods used

4.2.1 Using a holistic framework

In focussing on the role of faith-based organizations, it is clear that many theorists have developed notions on the way both churches and non-Christian institutions as FBOs and, the community at large should be organized. Moser and Mcilwaine (2006) in trying to develop a framework for the reduction of violence claims that understanding violence requires a holistic framework. This, the authors' state, must be understood through three interrelated factors. First, Moser, et al (2006: 91) belief that one must understand the "different categories of the phenomenon, second the underlying causal factors, and third, the costs and consequences of violent actions." It is the relationship between these three factors that Moser, et al (2006: 92) argue aids one to identify the fourth component, which is the "range of violence reductionist interventions." With categorizing violence, it is necessary to understand the various ways in which the concept of violence itself can be defined. For Moser, et al (2006: 92) using Keane (1996), it is suggested that one definition as "the use of physical force, which causes injury to others in order to impose one's wishes" can be used. While a broader definition refers to "psychological damage, material deprivation and symbolic disadvantage" (Moser, et al, 2006: 92).

Their method, using Participatory Urban Appraisals (PUA) were focus group discussions undertaken in Columbia to understand the ways in which one factor manifests into another (Moses, et al, 2006). An example of this is how the causes of violence manifest itself in reality.

43

Their study focussed on seven policy approaches to violence reduction and prevention namely, criminal justice, public health, conflict transformation, human rights, crime prevention through environmental design, citizen security and lastly social capital. These seven approaches focussed on seven areas in which the state can focus policy implementation that targets the causes of violence through the PUA's. This task was useful in understanding the way in which the phenomenon, causes and its results can then identify a context-specific reductionist intervention. However, its reliance on the state to be the core body intervening proves difficult for the context of Bishop Lavis in which many of the residents may, as the background has shown, feel disillusioned by the impact the state can have.

4.3 The role of a FBO

4.3.1 Finding the congregation reducing violence

In Johnson's (2008) work concerning crime reduction, a "review of studies published on crime and religion between 1944 and 2007 was done. In total, 109 studies were systematically reviewed and approximately 89 percent of the studies (97/109) find a beneficial relationship between religion and some measure of crime or delinquency (i.e., increasing religiosity is associated with lower crime/delinquency)." This is a useful way to measure Johnson's work, showing that more often than not, religion is a useful tool to engage with on the issue of crime. The work done by Johnson (2008) identifies the way that religiosity positively influences on the rate of crime. For one, "increasing religiosity (religiousness, religious activities, or participation) is consistently linked with decreases in various measures of crime or delinquency." This further shows the way in which Johnson confirms the value of having FBOs involved in the reduction of violence.

For Johnson (2008) religion can shield young people from the harmful effects of crime. What is beneficial to the researchers study is also the way in which Johnson (2008: 6) argues that despite the fact that religion can discourage negative behaviour such as violence/drug use, it can also encourage "behaviours that can enhance purpose, well-being[…]." In effect participating often in religious activities promotes a society that functions towards positive and purposeful behaviour. For those that have engaged in criminal behaviour that has led them to imprisonment, Johnson (2008: 6) states that "It is also possible that participation in certain kinds of religious activity may help steer offenders back to a course of less deviant behaviour and, more importantly, away from potential career criminal paths." This is crucial for the way in which criminals on the Cape Flats is led into a cycle of imprisonment because of the lack of

support. Johnson's (2008: 7) studies found that with "solid evidence that religion matters in reducing crime, researchers have spent far less time considering how or why religiosity or religious institutions and faith-based organizations might deter crime and delinquency as well as aid offender rehabilitation or support former prisoner transition back to society". The fact that there is so much value in using FBO as a mechanism in reducing crime and, researchers have not focussed on its significance lends the researcher to believe that looking at this aspect as a potential tool for crime reduction is important. While Johnson's (2008) perspective offers useful information in understanding how beneficial FBOs are in the reduction of crime. It offers the ideal result of a society that engages with FBOs in the community and vice versa. What it fails to account for is the complexities within a community, such as the socio-economic issues and how FBOs handle them in order to fulfil their role.

4.3.2 Advocacy and the church in Africa

Sara Gibbs and Deborah Ajulu (1999) uses case studies from Southern and Eastern Africa to understand the role of the church in advocacy. The position they take is that churches play a pivotal role in speaking out against injustices. For years, faith-based organizations have stood up against numerous atrocities such as genocide and sexual assault as two examples. Gibbs, et al (1999: 5) argues that one benefit in having a church organization respond to violent issues is that "there is a tendency on the part of the churches to work in isolation from other actors within civil society". This independence on the part of the church organization is a sign of the fact that their motivation to work should lie apart from their desire for profit or their dependence on the state. While this may be seen as a benefit it too poses a risk and may even reveal a weakness. To work in isolation, due to their motivation, may seem to set them apart however, the researcher sees the value and influence that this motivation can apply in other contexts particularly the social and political.

4.3.3   Adding an Islamic perspective and the role of FBOs in history

Much of the literature available focusses on the advocacy role of the church and other Christian organizations. However, numerous faith communities have historically been moved by the plight of the suffering and responded accordingly. According to Mylek and Nel (2010) "Muslim organizations are also very active in Middle Eastern relief and development work". In the South African context itself, we see how faith-based organizations come to the fore when matters of injustices occur. Take for example a march held in August 2014 where "more than 100 000" people supporting Palestine […] marched to Parliament" (SAPA, 2014). The march was spearheaded by "The National Coalition for Palestine (NC4P), which comprises more than

30 religious and civil society organisations, trade unions and political parties, including the Muslim Judicial Council" (SAPA, 2014). This highlights the way in which the Islamic community has led in opposition to the conflict in Gaza and the Palestinian occupation. This is just a sample of the variety of examples available that show the way faith organizations have led the fight against unjust practices across the world, and in South Africa.

Another key example of the way in which the South African faith-based community has lobbied for change is during apartheid. The instrumental effect of faith organization coming out in opposition of the discriminatory laws and in support of a democratic state is one of the core reasons as to why change occurred. For Bowers (2005: 6) "the church was a prominent opponent of apartheid and the voice of the disempowered black masses". In essence, FBOs came out and used their core values and moral standing as a tool to engage on apartheid policies and call for a democratic South Africa to be realised. While this is on a grander scale, what the researcher's study investigates is whether FBOs are able to do the same on a smaller scale in the specific location of Bishop Lavis. Citing Mason (2001) Bowers (2005:6) notes that "Religions have two roles to play to save both themselves and South Africa: building faith in transformation and building communities […] religious leaders, rooted in the activity of a just and loving God among us have a major role to play." This shows the way in which theorists have come to value the way in which religions can use their own moral and theological code in a relationship with other spheres- social, political, economic- to, in effect see that successes are made for those that are suffering.

4.3.4 The church using advocacy is a realization of the common values

Sampson and Groves (1989: 777) suggests, "Social disorganization refers to the inability of a community structure to realize the common values of its residents and maintain effective social control". It appears that Bishop Lavis is failing to control gang violence and to remove the effect it has on the larger community. The researcher is of the opinion that the community structure fails to realize the common values they share and believes this can be where FBOs can step in and unite the Bishop Lavis community under common values, which the researcher identifies as part of their role, and in the process reduce crime significantly. Accordingly, Gibbs and Ajulu (1999) agree with Sampson and Groves (1989). They go on to state that "churches in particular have had advocacy at the heart of their work. They may have called it something else-'justice' or the churches' 'social teaching'- nevertheless, in most contexts and at most times, advocacy has been a recognized and important part of the churches work" (Gibbs, et al, 1999: 12). This identifies the way in which part of the churches role is to step in and use their

46

core ideas that is rooted in their religious identity, to a position in which it becomes a catalyst for change.

Another aspect of showing the advocacy that FBOs have undertaken may be reflected in the work done by Catholic FBOs both internationally and locally. The United States Conference for Catholic Bishops for example notes that "crime and the destruction it brings raise fundamental questions about the nature of personal responsibility, community, sin and redemption". Statements such as these express the ways in which a faith group has identified and linked characteristics of Christian religiosity- sin and redemption- to general characteristics of responsibility and community and together created a space to consider what the role of the church in this case would be. Their commitment at the end of their statement on crime and violence expresses a desire to "encourage action by Catholics to shape new alternatives" (United States Catholic Bishops, 2000). The lack of explanation regarding these alternatives show a desire to use their role within communities to find new ways of engaging and actively doing something yet, the silence on what these actions would be.

4.3.5 FBOs and their engagement with the state- governments limited capacity to do it all

Faith-based organizations also have a significant role in their engagement with the state, which is a key determinant for the way in which FBOs can successfully influence or aid government. In many ways if FBOs are active in communities, as the Institute for Educational Leadership (n.d: 3) notes "many faith-based communities nurture core values of active citizenship, community self-reliance, and public spiritedness that are vital to building effective partnerships" then they are able to partner with the state in trying to better the community. This is confirmed by McGarrell, et al (1999: 6) when they suggest "Political leaders and criminal justice officials have increasingly recognized that government alone is limited in its ability to effectively address serious social and cultural problems such as crime". In the process, McGarrell urges government to "energiz[e] local resources and… partner in finding 'community owned' solutions to local problems" (1999:6). McGarrell's excerpt evidences the value that the role FBOs can have for government if only there is a relationship that uses the resources both sectors of society have to better the community and, in the case of Bishop Lavis, reduce crime.

4.3.6 The church as agent for change

Nadine Bowers (2005) focussed her doctoral dissertation on the local church in Lavender Hill as a site in which she investigates whether the church can be seen as an agent of change in what

47

she calls a "Post-Carnegie II context" (Bowers, 2005: 1). Similar, to the very question the researcher is asking Bower (2005) asks, "whether the local church is acting as an agent of change in addressing the socio-economic needs of an impoverished grassroots community" (Bowers, 2005). She locates her study in the reality that the state has admittedly "recogni[zed] […] its inability to take sole responsibility for the overwhelming task of the reconstruction and transformation in communities" (Bowers, 2005: 1). This gives reference to the ideas set out in the earlier background section (Chapter 2) where the local government called on other sectors to respond to the issues in the community. It goes further to where the Western Cape government is yet to deliver on the interventions outlined. As Bowers (2005) states the sole responsibility therefore lies on other sectors to come forward in response as well. Similarly, Clarke and Lumbers (2009) argue that the church indeed have the very potential that Bowers speaks to, they state that "FBOs have become increasingly 'attractive' as agents or key stakeholders in the development process due to their strong links to local communities". This reflects the unique space that FBOs possess in creating change particularly because unlike most groups their access to people directly, allows them to enact transformation.

In a practical example that speaks to ways in which the church can and, in this case, has saw violence radically reduced is in a community of Wentworth. Wentworth is described as a "Coloured township in the South Durban basin of KwaZulu-Natal" where residents, like those in Bishop Lavis, were forcibly removed to this site (Anderson, 2009: 58). Anderson (2009: 58) goes on further in its description to identify Wentworth as a place where "residents drawn from far and wide were put into cramped flats… and found their lives in Wentworth shaped by new forms of violence and constraint, and lack of facilities and leisure" and citing Peek (2001), Anderson (2009) reflect on the high levels of crime, gangsterism, drugs and unemployment that exist within this community. All of this paints a very similar picture to that of Bishop Lavis. In her attempt to understand ways in which violence in the community can be challenged using ethnographic methods, she finds that one of her ethnography participants "draws on religion as a possible way out of his difficult situation. He uses religion to redress his social vulnerabilities and searches for resources to lift himself out of a life of violence" (Anderson, 2009: 61). This shows the way in which for Anderson (2009), the use of religion has informed the lives of young coloured men in a way that has allowed them to move beyond the common experiences of violence that they exist in. In drawing on Bowers (2005) who views the church as an agent of transformation, Anderson (2009) too concurs and shows how religiosity has in

fact resulted in an effect of non-violence. She describes using the life of another of her ethnographic participants, "Neville"- she states that

> "God is believed to be a powerful tool to keep…boys out of trouble. This perception is embedded in the understanding that God-fearing church-goers are expected to evince a wide range of morally and acceptable behaviours. It is within these parameters that Neville locates himself, believing that it may be instrumental in helping him regulate his behaviour. He constructs his problematic behaviour as directly consequential to his non-religious associations by drawing on the religious-secular (good/evil) dichotomy where God represents the change agent in facilitating non-violence and resistance of toxic masculinities"   (Anderson, 2009:62)

Here, Anderson (2009) is able to show the ways in which faith as a direct connection between the way in which faith in action results in changed behaviours which in effect creates the outcome of changed social dynamics within a community- and in this case, it being violence. Anderson (2009), in the case above, provides a real-life example of a changed gang member who has instilled beliefs of a particular faith and enacted its tenets to see a tangible change in circumstance.

Professor Byron Johnson in a book titled 'More God, Less Crime' (2011) creates sufficient findings to show the way in which the church itself is an ideal path in finding a solution to crime. Carter (2013) writes that Johnson (2011) finds that "young men who go to church regularly are less likely to be involved with alcohol, drugs and crime. Similarly, released convicts who are involved with a local congregation are less likely to commit further crimes or return to prison". These findings suggest a real turn-around and substantial change that has been effected by becoming part of a church community. In essence this also shows the way in which the church in this case, but FBOs in general, can play a significant role in changing the realities faced by communities. The Baylor Institute for Studies of Religion also speak to the work done by Johnson (2011) and state that Johnson in fact "proves that religion can be a powerful antidote to crime" as it describes how faith communities, congregations and FBOs are "essential in forming partnerships necessary to provide the human and spiritual capital to effectively address crime" (Johnson, 2011). More importantly Johnson's (2011) findings suggest that "the "faith factor" can become a powerful catalyst to mobilize faith-based efforts to more effectively confront the many chronic problems facing the American criminal justice system". This shows that the action and the direct confrontation of the issues faced by

communities are essential in ensuring that crime is reduced and yet, only within the paradigm of FBOs themselves can this make up tangible results.

Piper (2010) alternatively, using Richard Tuner's *The Eye of the Needle* explains that his attempt at using religion as a way in which to explain how religiosity can provide a level of transcendence beyond contemporary political issues is significant in understanding the role religion can play in South African politics. He even makes the statement in saying that "Rather than examining the significance that ''politics has for religion' in the usual fashion of anti-colonial thought, I want to engage more closely with the significance of 'religion for politics'" (Piper, 2010: 78). In this way, in similar objectives of this paper itself, Piper places religion within politics and says that there are ways in which it can be used "for". This automatically indicates a benefit.

He goes on to explain that while it may seem obvious that religion provides particular significance because of the large following of religious believers that "the transformative potential of the spiritual" (Piper, 2010: 78) provides a unique perspective in understanding the power faith brings to uplift people and transform behaviours. He states that through this a "future that is based on common human recognition and love" (Piper, 2010: 78)   is realised and moves beyond the political debate in present day but allows for debate on issues (such as crime and violence) to be engaged through a new mechanism that sees debate flourishing in light of the guiding force/ intention of religion. What is most profound to the researcher was the way in which Piper incorporated the practical research done by Bowers (2005) and Anderson (2009) and reflected on the very same issues in a philosophical manner that for the researcher, brought real-life examples and theory together in interesting ways. Piper (2010: 89) states that his argument is centred on the idea that "spiritual transcendence can reinvigorate both the particular values of common human worth and the virtue of normative imagining in a context where conventional progressive politics is struggling to make itself heard above the clamours of prejudice and populist demagoguery". In light of this, the researcher sees this spiritual transcendence in the same way Anderson (2009) described the way in which the behaviours of her participants had changed as their response to their faith increased. Their expression of belief in a particular religion created the output of a life led outside of the norms of Wentworth gangs. Similarly, Pipers mention of reinvigorating the value of common human worth relates, for the researcher, to the ways in which the value of life and the dignity of others can so often be betrayed by acts of crime and violence and yet through this spiritual

50

transcendence a hope for the alternative seems possible in light of a religious belief system that enacts itself out in the real world.

4.4 Theoretical Framework

Sampson and Groves (1989:777) goes on to develop a measurement in which one can identify the dimensions of social disorganization. They state that this can be done by noting the prevalence and inter-relating social controls that a community have. They identify markers such as informal ties (such as friendship) and formal ties (such as organized participation) and the collective supervision the community has on issues affecting community members. This framework provides a good basis for a way in which to identify what role community members can play in reducing violence in their communities but does not provide the space to understand how faith-based organizations can assist the reduction of crime. Sampson and Groves' specific framework only opens up avenues for community members to use small relationships to intensify and organize.

This study will argue that the many relationships must be bound together under a common mission and a desire to see that the reduction of crime and violence is realised. It must be informed by a legitimate power source as a guide. This, the researcher sees, can be found in faith-based organizations, as they should undertake to fulfil their evolved role as "democratic advocates" (Piper, 2009: 66).

"When residents form local social ties, their capacity for community social control is increased because they are better able to recognize strangers and more apt to engage in guardianship behaviour against victimization" (Sampson and Groves, 1989:779). Sampson and Groves (1989) finds that local social ties sustained over time increases the chance of community members acting as guardians of the community. However, instead of understanding whether relationships are maintained, which is likely to exist with a community that has had to face common issues, such as crime in Bishop Lavis over many years. The researcher argues that it is more important to understand what role FBOs have in binding these relationships under a larger network for the common good and moving to a space of action to reduce crime. This is confirmed by McGarrell, et al (1999: 4) who states that "involvement on a social network such as a faith-based organization may provide a degree of social control". However, the researcher believes that active involvement can move beyond the degree of social control only. In Evans and colleagues' (1995) it was found that involvement in religious networks drastically reduced crime. The involvement on activities such as church attendance, reading religious texts,

51

listening to religious broadcasts was measured and it was argued that the above related to lower criminal activity (McGarrell, et al, 1995). However, if involvement in superficial levels of the role of FBOs such as attendance, reading and listening can reduce crime then this study poses the question, how much more can it reduce if FBOs try and maintain a culture of fulfilling a deeper level of their role in a community? This is where the researcher posits the present study.

For this purpose the researcher has sought to develop a model that incorporates both the ideas of Evans and colleagues' (1995) study found in McGarrell, et al (1999) but more than that, to advance it to Piper's (2009) evolved nature of understanding the role that FBOs can have. As Evans and colleagues' framework is not sufficient, the researcher argues that Pipers ideas add a completely new facet towards a proactive approach on the role of FBOs and would incorporate these models in order to create an approach better suited for the community of Bishop Lavis. The reasoning behind this is that, as Piper (2009: 50) suggests:

> "faith-based organizations could make a significant contribution to realizing… democratic ends because of both the quantity and quality of religious identification and organization. Not only are most South Africans religious, indeed Christian, but there are multiple faith-based organizations, many of which have significant social power. This makes the faith-based sector potentially one of the most powerful components of civil society in South Africa"

If many of the residents of Bishop Lavis are already members of, and are already involved with FBOs, then FBOs are already fulfilling their surface role. However, if they use the significant power that Piper (2009) identifies, which includes political agency as part of FBOs role, then it could completely alter the contribution they make to the community at large and the effect it will have in the reduction of crime and violence. Due to this, this study's analysis seeks to use the framework incorporating the above models and measuring the role of FBOs according to one of the three parts below, namely:

1. The response to general religious activities: This is identified in some of the activities outlined by Evans and colleagues (1995) such as attendance, the use of FBO materials and the response to sermons or messages that FBOs sent out. However, the researcher also wishes to add participation in networks under this sector as minor networks such as youth groups, mothers unions, men's network and choirs all inform the major network of the FBO.

2. The role of the FBO in responding to socio-economic related situations: this can be understood in terms of its charity, volunteering and engagement with community members. This can be measured by the ways in which religious leaders engage with community members through acts of giving; of dealing with situations such as drug abuse and responding to the need to work on these issues with community members.

3. The response of FBOs to extreme violence: this the researcher argues is understood by the way in which mobilization occurs; protests/marches are supported/organized by FBOs and the response to public bodies such as the police/government to aid them in reducing crime and violence.

In the analysis, this study will use the third point as a departure in answering the research question. Understanding the response of faith-based organization to the acts of violence within the community will reveal the way in which they can or should have an impact on the reduction of crime. More than that, narrowing the focus to this area within the model will allow for issues to be raised regarding points one and two. In the process, this study is able to gather information that deals with the model as a whole, while focussing on the most important aspect related to this study –the response of FBOs to violence. Through the approach, by identifying where FBOs lack and where the role is intensified, it will allow for better understanding about the role FBOs should focus on in order to create a safer environment.

4.4 Conclusion

The role of faith within society at large shows that faith itself can have a profound political and social impact when used and aimed at a particular task. Historically, the Christian faith has constructed itself as a means to defend the plight of numerous communities and responded through advocacy. The Islamic faith has done the same in the face of political circumstances that have been faced by societies across the world, and in South Africa specifically. The use of religion to enforce a higher value upon life has been used in several contexts as shown in the literature to reflect upon ways that change can be enforced by appealing to the belief system of people. This literature has therefore sought to describe the works of others and their relationship to one another in order to show what has worked for others and what would do well suited to this study. More so, this body of literature has shown the ways in which FBOs have powerfully enacted their faith in political situations that has seen them act as agents on behalf of people facing violent societies.

Piper (2009) and Evans, et al (1995) provide distinct perspectives that when combined creates a novel way of thinking that allows for the community of Bishop Lavis to be understood in its context and generally so in relation to its work as an FBO-regardless of its location. However, Piper (2009), is able to locate his work to South Africa specifically and in using faith and religiosity as a tool to see democratic ends met shows the way in which Evans, et al (1995), with a focus on the power of networks and social ties that are formed through FBOs, depicts significant power to affect change.

54

Chapter 5

"Never be afraid to raise your voice for honesty and truth and compassion against injustice and lying and greed. If people all over the world...would do this, it would change the earth." (Faulkner, n.d)

Bishop Lavis: Home- not a safe space at all

5.1 Introduction

In researching FBOs within Bishop Lavis and aiming to describe and understand what their role is and what can be expected, if anything, Evans and Colleagues (1995) results match up to the ways in which FBOs are organized and how they perform their activities with a commitment to seeing change happen through both responding to general duties as an act of devotion or, responding to community needs through the act of voluntarism and charity. It is Piper's (2009) addition that makes for a missed mark. Where Piper (2009) sees the significance of power that can be yielded by FBOs they fail to act and enforce this power to reduce crime and violence. More than anything, the results of the study show that the ideals of a FBO that yields its influence within the social and political space is grossly undermined by pervasive fear (a direct contradiction to the very nature of faith).

The role of FBOs from the perspective of leaders show a willing nature to respond to crime and violence through more active responses and mobilization. However, there are several barriers that exist that restricts them from performing this role and leaves them with what they argue is little choice but to perform the most basic activities related to their role in the form of sermons, charity events and involving themselves within their respective bodies (the church and the mosque) instead of acting outwards within the external environments.

5.2 Fear and helplessness

The most prevalent marker amongst participants were the resounding echoes of fear for self, for loved ones and for the community at large.

5.2.1 The fear of not having enough person-power
"*I mean how are 3 people in the community going to try and fight gangsterism?*" (FBOI, 2014)

The lack of power in numbers has been central to the issue of fear. Fear has been paralysing and left FBO leaders unable to do anything for dread that they may be putting their lives at risk. FBOA (2014) stated that he has decided that it would be safer for him to move from the homestead, dedicated for an Anglican priest, to ensure that his children would not have to grow up in a community where gunshots are the norm. He went on further to say that in order to

55

reduce violence there is a neighbourhood watch in Bishop Lavis "*they don't have bulletproof vests just batons gangsters have guns.*" (FBOA, 2014) Understanding the difference in weapons and the power and force that gangs operate with in comparison to what community members share enforces fear and a sense that they cannot change a situation against what in their minds are stronger forces.

5.2.2 Protecting those closest

The risk of leaving ones family vulnerable has meant that even when in positions of authority faith leaders have resorted to silencing themselves for fear of risking danger. FBON (2014) states that "*sometimes I feel that the church leaders are too scared to speak out*" Linking with this, one man in the men's society focus group discussion noted the response of his church in conjunction with recent robberies and shootings in the area "*...our service was cancelled [I can show you]...just a street away from our church they were shooting and they shot a child and uh we didn't have a Lenten service for a month and we were very frustrated about it we were we losing something.*" (FGDM_MO2, 2014) Here, FBON and MO2 in the focus group discussion highlight how fear to speak out about things has actual implications on the way that FBOs operate. For the Anglican Church, in this case, they cancelled normal operations of services to avoid the risk of danger with shootings in the area. While, on the one hand it shows the FBOs concern for its members' safety it also shows the way in which they allowed the fear of potential crime to halt their ability to communicate and speak out about issues that had been occurring.

Several respondents highlight keeping silent to protect ones family. FGDM_MO3 says that crime and violence is big concern for him as a father "*on a daily basis you have to sit and worry...you know is your family safe?*"FGDM_MO2 confirms his own fears saying that he constantly needs to worry about getting to the train station and asks aloud "*are you gonna be robbed along the way?*" When speaking about one man's response to the increase in crime in the community the researcher is told of a man who increased security by putting up a high wall. Here, it is evident that keeping the 'evil' out instead of dealing with it is a response to protect one's own and keep the bad out.

The fear of exposing one's own child or identifying family members for fear of what may happen is also a common response to how fear affects the lives of community members. FGDM_MO3 notes that often, by fearing to expose truth, in effect, it can cost lives:

56

"we all know these guys well not all of them but we know some of them we know their families and if we gonna sit back and say <ag> is Antie Joan se kind is orait hy is ma soe (Its Aunty Joan's child it's alright, he is like that) I mean then it's just gonna escalate en Antie Joan se kind gat môre iemand rop ((means rob)) en môre gat hy iemand dood maak … (and Auntie Joan's child will rob someone tomorrow and tomorrow he will kill someone)

5.2.3 The fear of police and becoming a target

However, fearing to identify criminals has other implications as well. When someone identifies a criminal they can also be regarded as a snitch (a tell-tale, someone who exposes the wrong-doing of another and tells on him/her). There is a fear that people would be attached to such a label. For example, when one of the men in the focus group discussions said that as faith leaders and servants in the community that it was their responsibility to not be silent and to respond to issues another man in response said that "*it's sometimes that we don't want to be identified that is that's the people that is they come to the point where they say no I wasn't with them I don't want to be involved and sometimes their children is involved but they don't want to be recognized here to fight crime*" (FGDM_MO2, 2014). FBOA (2014) has a similar experience noted when he says that "*[people] don't want to put their lives at risk gangsters know who they are.*" To be recognized as fighting crime one needs to be willing to expose wrong-doings and to speak of criminals. Often this can come with the cost of exposing their names. By doing this one can cause alienation from the community and, at the same time draw attention to someone who could get criminals' behaviour exposed which could make them a target for criminals.

The fear of being recognized by gangsters is often perceived as a threat to their activity and in effect threatens the lives of those who recognize their wrong-doings and bare them to other people especially law-makers. FBOI (2014) states "*…you can have you know marching to the druglords giving them ultimatums you know but at the end of the day you you will be recognized by the gangsters and they try to hurt you or your family…you see and that brings a little bit of fear in the people's hearts.*" Here FBOI (2014) explicitly names fear as the outcome of responding to crime and violence through mobilization. He then goes on further to say that Bishop Lavis and surrounding areas are "*gang-controlled…it's like our hands are tied*" (FBOI, 2014). This image created by FBOI by using hands that are tied show the helpless nature of what he is feeling. He says that by trying to get young people out of gangs is "*…sometimes impossible because at the end of the day getting that person out it's like uhm opting into death because eventually he will be killed because he knows too much*" (FBOI, 2014). In this way,

57

there is a fear that by standing up against crime and trying to help gang members out of the gang lifestyle means that one can also become complicit in their own undoing resulting in murder.

This is explored further by the ward councillor in the community who told of the fear that people have of reporting violence and going into witness protection. She states that

> "*the witness plan does not really protect them because once the case is done you know you saw me stealing that person but you are so much afraid because before the case would end get to court I would be killed you would be killed…if the case is done today in court and the perpetrator has been…sentenced…tomorrow you need to get back to your community you would be dead before you even reach your home*" (Councillor, 2014)

Here, the researcher notes how gang operations can trump mechanisms used to protect people such as the witness protection plan. Even when people choose to retaliate and endeavour to pursue justice the consequences of such an act is worse than before. Hence, fearing this result often leaves people with no choice but to avoid reacting to injustices.

There is also a recount of a situation in which FBOI's father witnessed a robbery and was able to identify the perpetrators. As soon as he returned from reporting the incident to the police he had found that gang members were at his house. When I asked him how they knew to come to his father's house FBOI said

> "*Exactly how did they know? The police told them…and this is something I witnessed myself…the gangsters don't have hearts they wanna kill him he was shocked…can we really trust them? Can we work with them? Now whats gonna happen if they go to the druglord speaking to them? …you must remember when you go and march to the druglords the police are going back to their houses they probably aren't living in this area you now living next to the gangster you living three houses away from the gangster…you probably live in the same street as the gangster you see and at night two o' clock you will just hear shots at your house or stones being thrown in your house…*"

FBOI, 2014

Similarly, the ward councillor confirms this fear as she too states that "*whereas the police is concerned one is also sort of afraid because some of the police is aligned with gangsters*" (Councillor, 2014).

This indicates several things:

- mistrust in the police and fear of the consequences of working with them
- an inability to respond to crime and violence through mobilization against gang members for fear of retaliation
- the concern of proximity to gang members and fear for standing up against them vs police exclusion from realities

FBOIs recount of events with his father highlight these three issues and shows that for many FBO leaders the desire to respond exists but the real fear makes this desire futile. Even in the police's efforts to create a policing forum to combat crime in Bishop Lavis FBOI met with local police officials. He says that the official noted during the meeting, as he put up images of gang members faces, that gangs themselves are meeting about the police and community members who are trying to combat crime. Knowing that the police informs community members that gangs themselves are meeting in order to know who is trying to change and dissolve the gang network means that in the process they become a threat resulting in their lives being put in danger.

5.2.4 The effect on faith

Crime causes people to have to hide and stay indoors, as was discussed, people fear going to work and fear of their families. In one instance, it was noted earlier that this fear forced one congregation to cancel services. This fear then has a greater effect than causing people to be afraid of gang members in the community. Another effect is noted by FBOM_MO3 (2014) who says "*so in the end it somehow has an effect on peoples personal lives as well this crime and that that it kept you away from God in a way that it kept you away from the church.*" Crime therefore, based on this respondents experience, suffocates ones faith. If the role of FBOs is in fact to encourage, motivate and use faith as a means to give people hope then alternatively, crimes ability to act as a deterrent from FBOs means that community members are left helpless with what is often a coping and healing mechanism in the form of a church or mosque and more importantly, a faith community.

5.3 Nostalgia

5.3.1 Longing for old values

Often, when a situation becomes difficult people may often compare it to a time when things were, for them, 'better'. While the idea of 'better' is debatable respondents show a longing for old values systems that they believe was present in a past time. When asked about the issues that the community of Bishop Lavis deal with FBON (2014) responded that the biggest issue for him was values. He says

> "*we must have a relook at our value system...because we are very low on morale uhm enhancing the old time friendship when each child was everybody's child and where any mother or father within the community could get the mischievous person either a good talking to or a good hiding...I think we must go back to the old values*"

Similarly, the councillor suggests the same longing, recalling her own childhood days when a child was absent and playing truant she says that by the afternoon her mother would have known of her absence because of the relationship between parents and schools. She says that during those days "*...if I maybe tried or would try to become you know uhm a rebel my church or mosque would be involved*" (Councillor, 2014).

This is confirmed even further by FBOI (2014) who says that "*you must bring in that idea we used to say to you...20 years ago right? Your children is my children.*" Through these three accounts we see how reducing crime and violence for both faith leaders and in this regard, the councillor, suggests that resorting to old ideas where children are disciplined in the way that communities used to operate in such circumstances were best. This also shows that the idea of involvement of FBOs have changed. Where once they were involved in the lives of families somehow this has changed.

5.3.2 Longing for old systems

Resorting back to old ways of doing and being is one set of nostalgic ideas that have been revealed from the data. Other ways are for old way of systems that prevailed. These are reflected in a desire for former systems of law that governed South Africa and a desire for faith practices that existed decades ago.

When asked about the role of FBOs in Bishop Lavis FBON (2014) responded by saying "*...bring back the old time religion and if we bring back the old time religion...it will be coupled with the core values as per the gospel of Jesus Christ....*" FBON, it seems, reflects

60

upon old forms of religious practices that could change the way that FBOs operate. He also links this "*old time religion*" with core values and connects the two as though old time religion in effect produces core values.

In terms of laws there was an evident longing for a system that was used to separate people in South Africa based on their racial classifications- apartheid. The councillor (2014) when asked about what she feels can be done to reduce violence in the community, answers that often witnesses in the witness protection plan can be killed before ever reaching home and goes on to say "*so I feel the justice system is not really working for us I feel the death penalty needs to come back because in the days of apartheid we had lived much better crime free…*". The focus group discussion with the Men's society also revealed a similar disposition stating that "*I don't want to go back to apartheid now but in apartheid years the church was…settled and disciplined…*" (FGD_MO1, 2014). From this two deductions seem clear. Firstly, the solution to crime seems to resort to criminal instead of restorative justice. This means that perpetrators must be removed by death in order for crime to reduce (which did not in fact apply during apartheid as is stated here). Secondly, the reflection upon the church during apartheid as "*settled and disciplined*" means that in fact they were viewed as having more control, order and having a bigger voice in how situations are solved.

From this, the researcher believes that this reflects a sense of powerlessness on the side of FBOs. Using nostalgic ideas to consider ways of reducing crime and violence means that FBOs struggle to find current tools to use to have an impact on crime levels.

5.4 Unity and competition

5.4.1 Self-serving absorption

Many of the reflections by research participants convey the idea that FBOs struggle to unite and face crime together as their prime focus is often not the reduction of crime. Instead, their focus can sometimes prioritize the growth of their own community of believers. Members of the crime unit notes that from their perspective "*the people don't want to work together…people need to work together and what I pick up in Bishop Lavis is that there are people here or the pastors here they are just looking out for themselves they are not worried about what is happening in their community or about their flock even*" (CU, 2014). Here, the crime unit identifies a selfish nature in terms of becoming active towards crime. For them the focus of FBO leaders are often motivated by other things. This is confirmed by FBON (2014) who states

61

"*we need to become united I feel that there's a barrier a wall that FBOs have created amongst themselves...there should never have been a them against us in FBOs and the worst was...how can I say this it's as if they also feel that there is a right and a wrong way whereas if we as FBOs can just maybe you know throw in our hats and start to take hands based on the principles of the Bible...but are so hard in the fight of survival because it's almost like competition in who can draw the most worshippers the more worshippers you have in the church the more financially independent the church is...they will not invite each other over to their churches...and because of that competition there is no the pureness is now gone*"

This raises several issues for the researcher:

- barriers blocking others out
- Polarization
- Unity on the basis of beliefs
- Financial and congregations increased

What FBON (2014) raises is that often FBOs will block themselves from other FBOs. In this way even creating a space to respond to crime cannot be formed as FBOs are often uninterested in joining with other FBOs for fear that this could affect their congregations. FBON (2014) also raises a significant point about polarizing one another. Many FBOs may in fact use discourse that refers to FBOs as 'them' and their own FBO as 'us' whereas he sees that they should be coupled under one umbrella. To see one as the 'other' means that there is a disconnect and ultimately, a lack of unity. The basis on which they should come together should be their beliefs and yet what the researcher finds is that competition is often a natural instinctiveness to act with paranoia that the congregation's numbers will dwindle or that financial growth will be inhibited. This financial aspect is quite key for many FBOs. Ensuring that funds is reserved and not threatened by other FBOs means that they can secure a constant income to the church and particular its leadership. When the threat that working with another arises it threatens the lifespan of the FBO. As FBON (2014) states "*the more worshippers you have in the church the more financially independent the church is.*" However, his comment on the purity being removed from the actions of the church raises an idea that once again connects with unity and self-preservation. When FBOs unify under one central belief then they are expected to commune, connect, engage and respond under this belief. However, when personal agendas become the norm then this too undermines the core belief that these FBOs are centred on.

5.4.2 Resisting crime and violence through unity

There is an act of resistance that is formed when FBOs come together. Many FBOs can use numbers to enforce a response from gang members and enforcers of gang violence. The Men's Society in particular spent significant effort in bringing their frustrations across in relation to the urgency for unity amongst FBOs in Bishop Lavis. A discussion between members start off like this;

> "FGDM_M03: *and get rid of the merchant the the druglord*
>
> FGDM_M02: *the druglords must that's just the main point around the neighbours*
>
> FGDM_M03: *I think for that to happen people must stand together in the community*
>
> *they must show some form of unity*"   (FGDM, 2014)

To find ways to respond to gang leaders like druglords there must be an element of unity. If a group stands up against a majority then their potential to withstand is greater if they have an increase of members. For many, drawing together offers an element of strength and removes isolated efforts.

For FGD_M03 (2014) drawing together as FBOs offered strength and solutions to crime in ways that an individual FBO could not. This is further shown when he states

> "*...I think every organization within the community is trying to do something on their own like our church will try to do this will implement this or start this and that church will start that but we don't see the bigger picture that if we all stand together...and I include the Muslim faith here because there is a mosque in the area so if the faith-based organizations stand together and strive to one common goal which is then prevent and get rid of crime in the community then you know it will be a step in the right direction*"   (FGDM_M03, 2014)

Here, we see admittance. FGDM_M03 (2014) admits that their own church specifically has tried to do activities in isolation from others. What is significant about what he says is that he draws together all faiths in the area to focus on the reduction of crime and violence and sees the outcome of their collective efforts as what is necessary.

There is also the idea of resisting through one's own personal positions within a larger FBO space. For FGDM_M01 (2014) "*networking we have in our churches a lot of people who have a lot of key positions in work or at work places.*" To use positions of power to resist and act against crime in a way that promotes the FBOs ability to act within the community is central

63

in helping one another. Hence using these spaces to combine FBOs means that the pool of resistance becomes that much larger.

5.4.3 Influence of Political Parties on Unity

Political parties are always vying for power and therefore are constantly in the midst of social affairs in their efforts to ensure that they have a voice in what is happening in a community and therefore assert their authority. This is no different in Bishop Lavis.

The councillor who represents the DA-led ward notes that in the neighbourhood watch "*it's only one organization that is participating in there and they are ruling so the other thing that people really need to be involved with all their expertise and their ideas don't ever get a turn because it's being manipulated by political uh certain political organ-a specific political organization*" (Councillor, 2014). It is evident that the ANC is ruling and therein the researcher notes the way in which the councillor chooses to express her dissatisfaction with the DA's main opposition and identify them as "*manipulate[ive]*" and in the process by polarizing them as the 'other' she in effect offers insight into a challenge for FBOs and what could be seen as their alignment with a particular party. The councillor describes the neighbourhood watch as an organization that only functions with a particular parties' political agenda and hence can speak to some resistance from community members who may in fact support the DA (specifically since it is a DA-led ward). The councillor goes on further when speaking about the ward forum to say "*...your ward forum doesn't consist of just people that you know the people but it can also be people from other organizations that are also manipulating...that are power hungry it's all about power*" (Councillor, 2014). This contradicts her earlier comment on the neighbourhood watch. In the neighbourhood watch the councillor suggests that other people "*don't get a turn*" and yet in relation to the ward forum suggests that as the ward forum consists of a diverse group of people "*also be people from other organizations*" that they "*are power hungry*" and in effect seems to suggest that it would be more productive if they were not involved in the ward form. Her comments seem to push the agenda of her own political party and identifies her representation. However, it speaks to places in which she believes voices are silenced and spaces in which she would want voices (of opposition) silenced. This then offers the researcher insight into division that could exist in terms of political alliance. It too, can speak to an undermining of priorities. In both the neighbourhood watch and ward forum issues of manipulation and power are at the forefront of discussions instead of issues of how to prevent and/or reduce crime using the power of either/both political parties.

64

5.5 Perceptions of role-players responsibilities

5.5.1 The role of the police

Various groups, institutions and organizations are constantly at play in a community. This is in fact more so the case when groups have a cause in which to respond to. With crime and violence in Bishop Lavis role-players such as the police, the councillor, FBOs and NGOs all have a stake in the community and their role and response to various issues speaks volumes for how crime and violence is both perceived and dealt with.

Often there is the misconception that the police are meant to solve everything. Instead, many in the community are either feeling that the police are not doing their jobs or that the expectations of many do not allow for people to have agency to solve problems themselves. The councillor (2014) notes that "*the community needs to take ownership of the community itself cause one the police cannot do it...I think uh the police needs to be more visible.*" Here the councillor sites problems with the role of the police and in the same breathe explains how it's not possible for them to possibly do it all alone without the assistance of other stakeholders. In the men's group one participant explains that while they are having church meetings that their cars are broken into, he too concurs with the councillor in saying that "*there is no more visibility around here...the police will go to areas where there is a lot of crime and they are sometimes also frustrated with the fact that if someone is robbed that the police take forever to pitch*" (FGDM, 2014). This seems to be a normal concern for community members.

The crime unit themselves speak of the fact that the expectations on them to solve crime and reduce violence leaves them vulnerable to be the only point of contact to do so. When speaking on the role of the church in assisting the police a member of the crime unit states that "*they [FBOs] do have a huge role to play in reducing crime because the police can't only they not the only people that really can reduce crime*" (CU, 2014). FBOI (2014) states that "*...the community stands together with the police in creating this crime prevention forum* [means community policing forum] *where they assist them police.*" The police's active role in having a policing forum in itself is an attempt to join various role-players together in tackling crime in the area.

FBON (2014) also highlights several issues with the law system in place in SA. He notes that "*our justice system is too lean...I think we are having a too open for abuse justice system...perpetrators get off either lightly or without any punishment.*" While he speaks of his dissatisfaction towards the way in which the legal system operates he also speaks to the ways

65

in which he, himself, has seen the police enforcing laws of another nature. He notes "*the police our local police doing a lot of hard work uhm I've witnessed on Saturday a very effective raid on an illegal liquor outlet...*" (FBON, 2014).

Hence, community members and role-players themselves offer insight for the way in which they see the role of the police and the law in place. While some believe that the police should be more active, others see police fulfilling the role as enforcers of the law. The only difference lies in the way in which expectations on police are managed and the way in which the police is viewed as the sole safety mechanism in the community. With this view in place it is hard to imagine how the police can integrate with other stakeholders and form a more unifying presence.

5.5.2 The perceptions of the role of the church/mosque

The faith community has various identities placed on them by society at large. When practicing a faith or not, there are group-led beliefs about how an FBO should ideally operate and how by being part of an FBO one is somehow part of a community where protection from a higher power through ones faith is a core belief.

The researcher asked the men's society whether being part of faith organization makes them feel somehow safer and the response was "*morally yes*" (FGDM, 2014). Going on to say that "*we sit here and pray for men to find work uhm we sit and we hope to do the right thing.*" (FGDM, 2014) There is the ideas that prayer can alter circumstances in the community. There is also the belief that the church has a role to play in mentorship with young people to ensure that they don't get involved in activities that would involve crime. The CPF leader for example notes that the way in which FBO's engage with the community policing forum is during the school holidays when they assist them with gathering young people together with the purpose of keeping them away from what is considered bad elements and focussed elsewhere. In the focus group discussion one respondent from the men's society comments and states that "*we don't have yet in place mentor groups where men can take a young boy by the hand...*" (FGDM, 2014). There is this idea that the church can get involved with men and focus on their rearing, behaviour and influence their thinking in an attempt to deter them from crime and violence.

The perception from the men's society on the role of FBO's also give rise to beliefs on how children must be influenced with an indirect benefit of enlarging their congregation base. A member of the men's society notes "*kids must be kept busy and they must have purpose if you want boys to be called for men's society if you want men young men to live purposefully that's*

66

they need purpose in their lives." Here, the FBO is seen as a solution. Their faith, in effect, is seen as the very answer to the way in which young men can change their behaviour and become purposeful in Bishop Lavis.

The biggest description used to relate to FBO's was that of them used as a connection point. This connection point works two ways.

1. FBO's bring people together for the purpose of growing each other relationally

Here, the focus is very much on using prayer, church services and extra-connect spaces such as smaller organizations within a church/mosque to bring people together. FBOI (2014) notes that "*the role of the mosque is... just like any other religion having a central point where peoples come together like a church for male Muslims...we come to the mosque we pray together say that friends that prays together stays together.*" The emphasis is on bringing people together to create and maintain relationships. FBOI also goes on further to say that his role as an FBO leader can also be used to as "*a platform that you can actually speak to your people your congregation...giving a message*" (2014). Using his position as platform FBOI then places himself with authority to speak on issues and engage with people on it. The CPF leader goes on further to explain that FBO's assist with "*…prayer groups, church services, memorial services*" (CPFL, 2014). Their role, as FBO's, is herein condensed emphasizing a linear way of connecting with people and engaging with them for the purpose of ensuring messages are delivered and that these messages reach multitudes while similarly creating and forming relationships. When the church is focussed on delivering messages it can also become harder to receive. One FBO leader describes the way in which congregational members are encouraged to come to them. He states "*we do not go out uhm to to its normally people that comes to us for assistance you know coming forward*" (FBOI, 2014). The other connection point allows for a different type of connection.

2. To connect to God

While it was only mentioned once it was certainly made to be a core value and its importance was greatly emphasized. The role of the church was to ensure that people become well acquainted with each religions' higher being. FBOI (2014) states "*we basically work amongst our Muslims trying to get them involved… and pray you know make a connection with this Creator you see.*" This fundamental basic belief was stressed as being so important to the work and role of a FBO.

67

FBO's are also perceived as being the moral fibre of a community. They are considered to be the necessary tool used to make sure that families remain as units and that where people have lost or swerved away from values and systems of belief that FBO's would stand as a bridge in reverting them back to the systems that communities rely on. The leader of the CPF makes a considerable case for this when he argues

> "*faith based organizations are the ones that normally can assist in bringing that sort of thing back where you still go to and adhere to values and to systems and so on especially family values because my belief is that you cannot expect the police to do what a family is supposed to do but you your church is much nearer to the community and your family than the police and that's where they can work with families to bring about change and their moral obligations and moral standards and so on morally we need to do a lot and the church and faith based organizations can do that*" (CPFL, 2014)

The assumption here is based on proximity. That because faith-based organizations are 'closer' physically and closer emotionally (to the needs of people) that they are able to understand and be involved in the struggles that community members face.

When asked if FBO's should be involved in reducing crime and violence two members of the Men's Society simultaneously exclaims "*absolutely*" and "*definitely definitely.*" One member goes on further to say

> "*we are servants of this community and we should lead…we don't strive on the Sunday morning and we don't want to be recognized…here you have to stand up and say what you think you can't just keep it to yourself as teachers as pastors as priests we serve in the community we stay in this community there is no way we can say I don't want to be named we must stand up and say this is wrong its wrong its wrong and we must turn this thing around*" (FGDM, 2014)

This respondents input on the role of the FBO offers insight as to how they see the FBO taking an active role. Words like "*lead/ stand up/ say/ turn*" all verbs indicating that the role of an FBO must be doing and speaking and in this way become involved. The words "*servant/ serve*" a common usage of a FBO member means that someone is put before another. To serve means that something is done for others and not for oneself. Several other respondents go on further to concur with these ideas. FBOI (2014) "*all religions you know we have a responsibility*

68

toward our community" while FBON (2014) expresses words of action when saying that "*the church has a role to play…it means becoming part of community marches uh becoming part of of of openly voicing their concerns…becoming part of challenging laws and bylaws.*" These responses are all indicative of the role that FBO leaders are perceived to have however, for all the perceptions around FBO's the common response of action is based on a future perspective. What is meant here is that the church as a place of safety; as an influencer of children with the purpose of reaching the next generation and enlarging their client base; as a central connection point to others and a Creator are all current perspectives. However, seeing an FBO as the solution to moral problems and as an institution that must be active in order to alter a community are all based on a future perspective. This is what the role is idealised as being, but not shown to be yet.

5.5.3 The role of the councillor

The councillor's role as a leader in the community has various requirements. For the councillor in Bishop Lavis there is a limitation as to how she can act and work in relation to issues of crime and violence within the community.

She notes that "*crime is not uh uh uh a municipal uh uh initiative crime is justice provincial national initiative*" (councillor, 2014). They way that she struggles, evident with the "uh uh" to communicate what the councillors role is does not allow for spaces to engage upon what the role of the councillor in fact is despite that being the question. More than that, there is a displacement of tasks where the councillor feels unable to do anything because that is not her role to complete. When asked about whether or not any spaces have been created in order for her to support any FBO's in their efforts to reduce crime and violence she described an anti-crime forum that had been created but never came to flourishment. She states that she herself "*pulled out of it due to the fact of sensitivity and because of your safety…you need to choose your words carefully and that is also something that people feel because it's risky very risky*" (councillor, 2014). There is an element of fear for the councillor as she believes that she must avoid certain spaces that engages on the issues of crime in the community because she is concerned about saying the wrong thing in front of other political organizations.

The councillor, when asked if the counsel has ever approached FBO's in order to engage them on how to bring about safety within the community once again displaces responsibility and says that "*what counsel does is I've got a ward forum and my ward forum is like a… geographical uh uh uhm way is done in a geographic way even on my ward forum I need to be*

very careful what I say because uh it can be risky" (councillor, 2014). The councillor simply repeats herself in stating that she cannot involve herself fully. This shows the way in which she removes herself from any particular actions related to crime and violence and changing things to ensure her own safety from any sort of personal or political act.

5.5.4 The role of the community policing forum and other smaller organizations

The community policing forum serves as a body of community representatives that meet once a month to engage with the police on issues specifically related to crime and violence. During the meeting members within the CPF complained that things weren't getting done and that crime was continuing to rise within the area. The CPF leader described the scope of their current work as "*the biggest issue we are dealing with in this sector in terms of what affects the communities is your robbery*" (CPFL, 2014). While this speaks to various complaints that FBO leaders and members have cited as a big concern it somehow missed the gravity of various other issues that were mentioned.

When engaging on the role of FBO's in assisting the CPF with their work it was made mention that there are faith leaders within the community who sometimes do attend their monthly meetings to engage. FBOI (2014) for example, consulted with the police just before our interview as he wanted to know about the crime statistics in relation to the experiences of his congregants that he had become so accustomed to hearing and having to deal with first-hand. CPF (2014) stated that in order to reduce crime within Bishop Lavis that "*you need a campaign to conscientise people to make sure that they are aware of what things are going on...*" He goes on further to say "*we meet regularly we do have programme...over holidays*" (CPFL, 2014). Firstly, the CPF leader expresses an assumption that people already don't know what's going on and that they need to be educated. Based on the experiences of several faith leaders in the community they are well aware of the crime in the community and more so, its effect on the community. Secondly, CPF (2014) limits engagement with FBO's to meeting in order to create programmes. These meetings allow for engagement between organizations like the CPF and faith leaders to construct good relationships that, unfortunately, do not seem to birth forth constructive efforts in reducing violence.

CPF (2014) explains how he has a relationship with a man from the Muslim community and how that has informed his, and the CPF's, ability to call on them for assistance. Shown when he says "*we have a very good relationship obviously whenever we have anything that we feel that the faith based organizations can help we we call on them...*" (CPFL, 2014). Engaging

70

with FBO's on issues of crime first requires relationship built, this relationship facilitates the use of platforms that FBO's often use to engage their congregants. Lastly, this act is used to influence and change perspectives. When asked if there is the possibility that it should go beyond the use of sermons the CPF leader responds "*obviously yes it needs funding and money because then you need to look at leadership camps and all that sort of things and one of our biggest issues is funding…but you need funds to do more than what you are doing now*" (CPFL, 2014). The only result for him is to use spaces to engage with people. Leadership camps for example, while shown to be a common effective tool (especially in the church) has also proven to be fruitless in the face of little to no practical action.

5.6 Linking text to action

5.6.1 Holy texts as foundational

Since faith based organization express their role and purpose in several ways. Much of their beliefs and actions are based on the core texts that guide faith-based organizations. For the New Apostolic and Anglican Church their faith is centred around the Bible and as Christian denominations much of their work and messages are usually focussed on text from within the Bible. For Muslims their central key text is the Quran which they use to guide their beliefs and behaviours and Islamic practices.

When thinking about how to reduce crime and violence and change behaviours faith leaders name and draw upon core values of their monotheistic beliefs. Many rely on these texts to incite and engage their congregations on how to live and act. FBON (2014) notes that if the "*old time religion…coupled with the core values as per the gospel of Jesus Christ*" then things can change. He goes on further to say that "*…the church is too regimental in terms of seeing themselves as an entity that should only proclaim the coming of the Lord whereas the church sometimes forget that the coming of the Lord coupled with uhm being visible in their fight against the evil*" (FBON, 2014). Here, the reference to the gospels and the ideas of proclaiming the "*coming of the Lord*" along with "*being visible in their fight against evil*" are all core ideas in the Christian faith. By basing prospective actions on what must be done according to these texts offer insight as to how faith leaders guide, instruct and teach people. There is also this idea that they need to fight against the *"evil"* of crime and violence and yet very little seems to get them to actually move beyond words to action.

For the focus group discussion with men a lot of talk was centred on being "*servants of this community…as teachers as pastors as priests we serve in the community…we must stand up*

71

and say this is wrong" (FGDM, 2014). There is this biblical foundation of being the lesser, the servant who has come to help other and hence standing against injustices is central to changing what is wrong and correcting the failures that comes with what is termed sin. One of the men in the discussion suggests "*…hold a peace march*" (FGDM, 2014). In their efforts to uphold values like peace his suggestion reflects an action based upon a core spiritual characteristic.

There is also the idea that because God has instructed things based on Biblical text that people should then follow and respond accordingly. This comes with the belief that pleasing God therefore brings wholeness and joy and makes things 'better.' FGDM_M02 (2014) uses this description "*God has placed us…in situations not situations God has placed us in positions to enable us to make change and it's for us to run with it…we just don't seem to take up our faith take up our cross and do what God wants us to do….*" Changing situations like crime and violence seems to be accepted as the "*cross*" something that must be changed because Christians are charged with a sense of purpose in being placed in particular situations/ positions to alter society. FGDM_M02 (2014) goes further to explain a situation where guys were trying to break into his home and a man saw what was happening and told them to go away. Often, with the fear of gang members many people often avoid correcting gang members yet in this scenario someone did, he goes on to say "*he had the courage and the will to come back and say right guys I don't trust you you shouldn't be here so there is hope for our community our people…*" Here, is a sense of having hope that things will change and so, with this man's action brings a spiritual alluding to a hope that things will change. Biblical text often refer to followers of a faith as the sheep/ flock where God is seen as the Shepherd. Similarly, leaders with a church is also seen as the leader of a flock of congregants. CU_M01 (2014) notes "*there are people here or pastors here they are just looking out for themselves they are not worried about what is happening in our community or about their flock even.*" This further explains ways in which faith and ideas from texts informs ideas on how the FBO should perform or in this case how the leader of the FBO should perform in relation to their faith.

The actions of prominent figures in holy texts also stand as precedents for how people are meant to behave or act. FBON (2014) uses the example of a Biblical figure when saying

> "*…to speak out err the way apostle Paul spoke out against evil and uhm how the world must be filled I think sometimes we are a bit too fluffy and not hardcore hardcore with regards to pinpointing the evil uhm and calling it by its name…*"

By using the figure of Paul FBON sets up an authorative figure as the comparator to which people should stand. To stand up, to respond and act means to stand up for the foundational beliefs that exists within his faith.

This continues to prevail when FBOI (2014) uses profound Quranic text to inform the way in which Muslims should be responding to crime and violence.

> *"Islam teaches us is that if you see something wrong right? Then you must…you must use you must try to change that with your hands right? What does it mean to change with your hands? and if you cannot do that by using your hands it said then you must use your tongue we must at least speak against the injustice that is happening in our communities you see and if you cannot speak against it you still have fear and the…last thing that person can do which is the lowest part of faith that a person can have is the sadness in his heart when you can't make it right with your hands .. you can't even speak against it but you can only feel sad in your heart about it is that what and that is then lowest part of faith if there is many people just feeling sad about what's happening not speaking out against the injustice not speaking out against gangsterism and drugs not speaking uh uh uhm not doing anything physically with our hands you know what can we facilitate what can we do for our people you know but uh at least we have the platform here at the mosque and the priest the reverend that own the churches let them speak about it"*   FBOI, 2014

This piece of text was to the researcher the most insightful in understanding the connection between text, faith and action toward injustices like crime and violence. For the Imaam to explain the ways in which people are supposed to act towards injustices and to explain how the less you do the more it is a reflection of the lack of faith evident when he calls the sadness "*the lowest part of faith.*" The necessary response in aligning with best faith practice is then to speak out and act with one's "*hands*" in response to the situations at hand.

5.6.2 Case examples

The crime unit members explains that there have been case examples of FBO's outside of Bishop Lavis who they have engaged with and had first-hand experience of seeing change occur with the use of their faith as the foundation for inciting action. CU_M01 (2014) state "*the only place uh that really is working nicely together is Bonteheuwel the Bonteheuwel pastors they have an association called the BCIA uh call it stands for Bonteheuwel Church In Action…we meet every Wednesday I meet with all church pastors and we have our own gang*

73

strategy" They go on further to explain that they have crusades every second week and sometimes on weekends in areas such as Bonteheuwel and Netreg which are areas surrounding Bishop Lavis. Here CU_M01 (2014) states that this "*helps a lot because...our crime drops more than 50 percent in that area.*" These examples provided by the crime unit shows how the police has engaged with FBOs in such a way that faith and justice walks hand in hand to ensure that they react to issues of crime. By creating a gang strategy focussed on crime and engaging pastors as faith leaders on this, one is able to see an example where the reduction of crime is in fact possible with the aid and support of FBOs in a crime-ridden community.

5.7 The benefits of crime

5.7.1 Crime funds societies

Without crime many families would not be able to sustain themselves. Crime is not just an act, it is a business and its rewards prove to be profitable. For many, this profit comes in the form of needs being met and families being fed. FGDM_M01 (2014) states "*majority of of break-ins people steal petty stuff just to put food on the table or to have something to eat....*" FBOI (2014) concurs in saying

> "*poverty is one of the greatest problems in our areas you know you find the family they not involved in gangsterism they not involved in drugs but here the gangster come they say look here I can support you I can help you I can pay your rent I can give you food every day but this is what I want from you ...they buy them clothes they buy them all the name brands what their own parents can't afford to give them...and this is just for people to get assistance just to get food in the house...but this is going to be the result of of you receiving the food and the money you have to do this you have to do that so at the end of the day you ask yourself can you blame the people because everybody wants money everybody is in need...*"

These insights show that while victims of crime might normally be unsympathetic towards their perpetrators, criminals may in fact be acting towards their families and their dire need to survive. Also, poverty can often force people to act in response to their circumstances. FGDM_M01 (2014) describes the way in which crime can often begin "*if one person in the house work and there are six to seven mouths to be fed in that house and then somewhere along the line someone is going to look for work and then the frustration starts...*" The shortage of food, money and the lack of employment in this scenario paints a picture of what could lead someone to become frustrated and resort to crime. Similarly, FBOI (2014) corresponds saying

"its very quick for them [unemployed people] to get involved in in violence because you not working we unemployed we always in need... you will sometimes fight or steal for what you want." It seems to be in these cases the motivating force that the act of crime and the potential risks that come with it are no greater than the motivations to get what is needed most.

Circumstances compelling someone to crime is not the only plausible reason as described by the faith leaders above. Instead, the cycle could also be performed anti-clockwise. For FBON (2014) "…some of these drug lords and and gansters are are are making the community reliant upon their financial aid…." Here, family units are essential tools in maintaining an income, a market base (for drugs) and by using poverty to their gain, criminals ensure that people are continually depending on them for what FBOI and FGDM_M01 mentioned-food, clothing, rent etc.

5.7.2 Crime fulfilling family structures

Family dynamics within socio-economically disadvantaged communities such as Bishop Lavis poses as a significant factor contributing to the prevalence of crime (as discussed in Section 2.3). The pervasiveness of fatherlessness creates a unique gap for gangs that are most often male-dominated spaces. FBOI (2014) states"…*they becoming a father figure for those children you see*" he goes on to say that "*if each and every family can just have control over his own kid right and also try to assist other kids….*" The loss of family as a unit that healthily functions is void in many communities such as this and FBOI's concerns raises the idea of family structures reordering due to the gang model. This loss of "*control*" over children in effect translates to children being under control of gang leadership or who have become involved in criminal activity.

This loss of control within family structures resulting in crime has often needed to be controlled by the SAPS, social services and other institutions. While crime can fulfil roles that are absent within family structures, CPFL (2014) argues that perhaps it is a matter of distance that needs to be paid attention to "…*especially family values because my belief is that you cannot expect the police to do what a family is supposed to do but you your church is much nearer to the community and your family than the police and that's where they can work with families to bring about change….*" Where FBOI and the men within the FGD saw gang leaders playing a negative role in replacing family units, CPFL raises the idea that often community members can see the police as a positive replacement within a family. However, his argument for the church to fulfil this gap is a matter of distance. The police, he argues is further from the

community itself, whereas a FBO has the ability to "*work with families.*" In effect, they can bring about change because of the inner space they occupy within a community and, its proximity to families that may be both geographical and social.

5.8 Things that don't change

Finding that nothing has changed is still finding something. The idea that crime is 'normal' and has continually existed means that many may feel that it will continue to be like this and that in effect nothing will change. While it was rare to see hopeful and eager attitudes to reduce crime in any of the interviews completed, one finding is that perhaps there is an acceptance that things will not alter. FBON (2014) states

> "*I don't think it will ever change uhm I don't even see it get better and I am not a pessimist I am a realist...I see things as it is... and the factors that I have mentioned now [FBON discussed his opinion on the causes of crime such as parents removing their children from prison and the prison system enforcing a life of luxury] will be there until eternity there will always be there...those who will continue with bad practices and it's also a biblical thing it's a it's a a prophecy that was made and ...it will not get better because otherwise the Bible will uhm a hypocrite in itself*"

Here, FBON's explicit beliefs that things will not change, nor get better reflects an attitude of apathy, indifference and a sense of acceptance that there is nothing that can be done evident is his statements that it will continue "*to eternity.*" His use of the Bible as an authoritative element means that his reference to crime continuing is according to him, a faith absolute. In order for his beliefs regarding his faith to be maintained crime must persist.

CU_M01 (2014) in response to a question on whether any of his weekly visits in the last few months to churches in Bishop Lavis, imploring them to assist in the fight against crime, has proved useful responds in saying "*nothing came I'm gonna try another I am gonna give another shout....*" While CU_M01 explained how he had continued to persevere in contacting churches, attending services and appealed to congregations during services asking for their assistance, no church has responded positively since. The lack of response on the one hand, speaks to a resolve to do nothing on the part of FBOs. While CU_M01's commitment to giving "*another shout*" speaks to the need to work with FBO's and the value placed upon their input.

5.9 Conclusion

These findings reveal the barriers before FBOs in reducing crime and violence. Their actions are often constrained by factors such as fear and helplessness; reinforced by their competitive nature and longing for days gone by; and, the perceptions of the roles of key players are, as evident, warped. FBOs are faced with crime being a lucrative business and they have to contend with gang leaders and drug lords for a significant space amongst potential gang members in the community. While the belief that little can change exists, there is also the missing link between their beliefs in holy texts on one side and, their actions on the other. This misplaced link, the researcher believes, is rooted more so in the fear of danger and, their potential for response towards crime is inhibited in the process and thus speaks volumes to their role as FBOs.

Chapter 6

"Remembering where and why you fell and learning the lessons well is a good starting point to start all over again with a better insight and a renewed fortitude and wit to dare again for victory!" (Yoboah, E; n.d)

Discussion

The role of FBOs is not fulfilled to its full potential within Bishop Lavis. Aside from the barriers that are in place, it is simply not feasible for FBOs to curb crime within a socio-economically disadvantaged community such as this. Ultimately, the evidence shows that crime funds society. A sound business plan requires that a market can always be maintained and for criminals sustaining their market means ensuring that community members are always indebted to the maintenance of their activities. By supplying the very needs of the community in terms of food or safety criminals ensure that they are a necessity and, in the process FBOs are unable to compete with what crime units can offer. The poverty-ridden community plays to the advantage of gangs and enables them to find a niche within the community.

Dealing with crime requires one to deal with fears of being harmed/ killed. On the one end it requires that police be at their full capacity to respond to the issues that the community faces and on the other, that community members be able to respond to criminality within their communities.
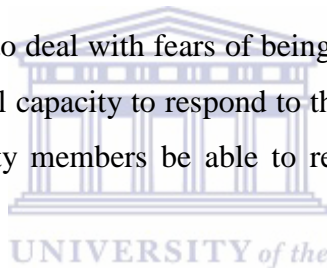
In one incident in Cape Town "southern suburbs residents banded together to fight back against the violent crime wave… under the banner of a neighbourhood watch" (Isaacs, 2014). In this example, residents themselves decide to take matters into their own hands and try to stop criminals. In Bishop Lavis, very few residents are actually aware of the neighbourhood watch existing mainly because many of its members are afraid to go out and roam the streets for fear of being identified by criminals and having their families targeted (FBOI, 2014). What must also be noted, in dealing with crime, is that often, because crime has become such a common practice is that many community members' only response is to deal with crime and violence by fear. This is confirmed by Lindegaard and Henriksen (2005: 41) who state that "violence does not need to take place to have an effect, the fear alone conditions everyday practice". In this way, fear replaces action and can often immobilise people leaving them to hide out in fear.

However, crime and violence can also be dealt with politically through the arm of the state. In a statement in 2013 mayor, Patricia De Lille and premier in the Western Cape, Helen Zille stated that "We are committed to creating safe communities and we are intensifying our efforts within our limited powers to achieve this" (Zille, at al, 2013). In their joint statement, both

78

leaders in the Western Cape comment on the "spike" in gang violence in the Western Cape. One of the areas on the Cape Flats that has received a lot of media attention is that of Manenberg. A crime-infested community where many have called for the army to be called in and protect its residents. In response to this, the statement released states "After meeting with these educators, both the City and the Province have introduced a plan to ensure the safety of learners and educators so that teaching and learning can continue from tomorrow. We have also introduced broader programmes and interventions to address gang violence in all hotspot areas" (Zille, et al, 2013). In this very statement, the Western Cape government released this info grid:

	Murders	Cases	Persons arrested	Persons Bail	Convictions	% Convictions vs Murders	Cases withdrawn
Elsies River	81	57	103	32	14	17%	15
Manenberg	115	95	130	101	29	25%	20
Bishop Lavis	169	135	201	130	43	25%	45
Lavender Hill (Steenberg)	72	17	37	5	2	3%	1
Hanover Park (Phillipi)	95	57	72	53	18	19%	3

As is evident, Bishop Lavis is clearly a hotspot area, yet the interventions set out have yet to be implemented here.

In order to improve policing in hotspot areas De Lille and Zille state that one of the City's interventions is that of the "The Expanded Partnership Programme" (Zille, et al, 2013). Here it states that it is a "partnership with Community Police Forums (CPF's) aimed at strengthening their civilian oversight role and their sustainability through funding for oversight work conducted on a local level". In terms of gang violence, the City also proposed various other interventions like watching briefs where legal experts/postgrad students report on failures within the justice system. While one very important focus of this study and, named in the interventions is that of partnerships with the religious community. The statement notes that "Minister Plato has forged some very meaningful partnerships with the religious community to divert youth away from a life of crime" (Zille, et al, 2013).

79

The statement ends with "If we hope to tackle this crisis, every role player needs to fulfil the duties and responsibilities required of them" (Zille, et al, 2013). This very statement calls on responses from all sectors. In addition, this very statement highlights the hypocrisy on the part of the state. Where they have committed to fulfilling their duties, Bishop Lavis as a community, is yet to see them protect them in real ways. The interventions they have set out to do in 2013 have never materialised.

FBOs have limited influence in easing the broken family dynamics that have persisted over generations. Gangs and FBOs compete to attain the attention of young men. FBOs do it in order to sustain healthy relationships with young men who are seen to be significant in their role within families and faith institutions. Gangs, on the other hand do it in order to sustain power, control, and influence and ensure that they have sufficient membership to maintain authority over a given space. The loss of "*control*" over children who has now in effect come under control of gang leadership or become involved in criminal activity speaks to an idea of control that exerts power over territory through violence. Gangs benefit from a fatherless family dynamic and affirm themselves as replacements to guide and mould young men to assert their power which they may feel they have lost with being unable to meet the needs of their families in the face of joblessness and extreme poverty.

At present FBOs are unable to react with force or retaliate against the enforcers of crime due to their own fears and inability to respond in the ways that would significantly change their position and see *them* as a barrier to crime. Instead, the barriers are shown to overcome them and they falter in the face of fear of their own lives or that of the families. Herein lies what the researcher sees as the FBOs greatest fault- a lack of understanding of their role. FBOs place emphasis on general religious activities (first role in theoretical framework) and believe that their messaging on the pulpit and their role within smaller organizations, largely defined by the men's society in the research, forms their role within the community. They, and the councillor, see a large part of their work defined by their charitable efforts. This, identified as the second role within the theoretical framework, is considered as being pivotal in strengthening the community and ensuring that poverty is responded to within the community as it is an issue that FBOs can effect without putting the lives of their families or themselves at risk in any way.

It is in fact the third and final role outlined within the theoretical framework 'the response of FBOs to extreme violence' that sees FBOs failing. This third role was defined as being understood to be "the way in which mobilization occurs; protests/marches are

80

supported/organized by FBOs and the response to public bodies such as the police/government to aid them in reducing crime and violence". FBOs are reluctant to react and respond to activities of crime as its true reasoning was shown to be fear of retaliation by gang members. The researcher noted Rosenkrantz and Henriksen (2005: 41) words "violence does not need to take place to have an effect, the fear alone conditions everyday practice" and herein reiterates that fear replaces action and can often immobilise people leaving them to hide out in fear. It is in fact safer to choose not to react despite this going against the very foundations upon which the faith tenets rest. Justice and peace are core doctrines in both Islam and Christianity which are the faiths of the FBOs investigated within this study.

The contradictions that is played out between scripture and action is a significant factor displaying the failure of FBOs to respond to crime and violence. In the core Christian text of the Bible it is the book of James that cites the words "…faith by itself if it is not accompanied by action, is dead" (Bible, 1978: James 2:17) while in the Islamic faith it is noted that the Prophet Muhammad (pbuh) is reported to have said: "Faith and Good Action are partners. One is considered incomplete without the other" (Delic, 2012). Both faiths then rest upon responding in action alongside faith while the responses from FBO leaders show a stark contradiction where faith leaders feel that they are unable to respond in their paralysis of fear.

Piper (2009) makes a case in showing that FBOs wield "tremendous potential to act as democratic advocates because of their political theology" (Piper, 2009). By drawing on a distinction made by Daniel Philpott, Piper (2009) makes mention of the differentiation between political and religious institutions and political theology which he defines as "the ideas a religious authority holds about legitimate political authority" (Piper, 2009). He goes on further to state that "while religion and state are clearly consensually separated, most churches support human rights, democracy and development" (Piper, 2009). In the case of Bishop Lavis, it is precisely the "tremendous potential" that lies within FBOs to act as advocates in support of safety and the protection of life within this crime-ridden society that the researcher sees as the failure of them to fully realise this potential and its inability to protect the rights of its fellow members. Piper (2009) even identifies FBOs as having a "normative authority as doing God's work as an alternative to the political legitimacy of popular support". Here, within the face of the councillor and community policing forum being riddled by manipulation and fear of political party influence, it is FBOs who can in fact take on the added third role within the theoretical framework and position themselves to fulfil their mandate and respond to crime and violence as part of their role in "doing God's work" (Piper, 2009). It is the researcher's

81

considered belief that with the power FBOs possess within a community, when the barriers are confronted and dealt with and perhaps even before, they can exercise their power and authority within a political space in order to make significant change in confronting the social issue of crime.

Chapter 7

"Perhaps it is the case that in our context imagining a different political future is well inspired by seeking first the kingdom of God"[7]

Conclusion

Faith-based organizations in Bishop Lavis are unable to fulfil a particular part of their role and in effect are unable to influence the reduction of crime and violence. While they have significant power and yield the potential to act as democratic advocates within a crime-ridden community, they, instead, face risks and barriers that render their faith to only operate in the general and most common sense- in acts of charity and in religious broadcasts. When atrocious crimes are committed and communities are bound by fear, residents and faith communities live in stealth-like hiddenness guarding their lives and that of their families against gangsterism. While their faith tenets reveal a call for action, the real-life consequences of doing so could mean dire consequences that are simply not worth the risk.

There has long since been a debate about the separation of state and church, most notably challenged by the Reformation movement (National Geographic, 2017). This debate has continued for centuries and while literature has shown the enormous value that spirituality and religiosity can play within political spaces it remains a contested space. This thesis has highlighted a transdisciplinary attempt at trying to understand the way in which a theological space, with every ability to, flounders within the political. The merging and blending of these two, the researcher argues, should become inseparable. The theological space cannot advocate for justice and then not be willing to enact it leaving only for words and solemn sermons on the sufferings of those that bear pain brought about by crime and violence. Instead, their role, when viewed through the lens of Piper (2009) compels them to act, occupy spaces and influence people by their faith to bring about an alternative end to the ever-increasing rates of crime.

Dr Allan Boesak, a Dutch Reformed Church Cleric, politician and anti-apartheid activist in a recent talk at the Cornerstone Institute in Cape Town asks key questions regarding the role of faith in reconciliation. One of them asks "Have we been able to honestly deal with the truth that for Christians, reconciliation is not an option among other options, where we weigh the risks, consider the probabilities for success or failure, and then, with cautious optimism feel

---

[7] Piper, L. (2010). From Religious Transcendence to Political Utopia: The Legacy of Richard Turner for Post-Apartheid Political Thought. Theoria: A Journal of Social and Political Theory, Berghahn Books in association with the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. Vol. 57, No. 123, pp.77-98.

free to choose the path more feasible and manageable?" (Boesak, 2017:3). Questions such as this relates to the role of –in this case- a Christian (although this can be applied in other faiths as well) to respond to political issues. More than anything, this question has no regard for fear. It makes a response in ensuring reconciliation is realised as an imperative. Boesak (2017) goes on to make a point that although lengthy, speaks to the very point of this entire thesis

> "We have not been willing, or ready, to understand that reconciliation, whether or not we speak politically, if it is to be meaningful, durable and sustainable, should be real, radical, and revolutionary. It is real, and not a cover for political pietism and Christian quietism. It is radical, because it is about much more than harmonious personal relationships. It is about the restoration of justice, rights, and human dignity, and not about the protection and preservation of the wealth and power of the already privileged. It is never shallow, but goes to the roots of things. And it is revolutionary, because it seeks the transformation of persons, and societies, their systems and structures, their politics and the intentions and workings of their policies. It seeks the transformation of the world. Biblically speaking, it is the ministry through which God is reconciling the world unto Godself. Politically speaking, it is the most common-sense strategy toward more justice, more equity, and our desperate need for social cohesion. Therefore it is costly, never cheap."
>
> Boesak, 2017:5

The political power that FBOs possess to engage and respond to social matters mean that the gangs that now control territories and maintain power across spaces as a social response to structural violence must be addressed. Restoring justice, in terms of crime and violence, cannot be an effort only handled by the policing system as shown within this thesis. Where statistics reveal the rising death rate on the Cape Flats, and specifically in Bishop Lavis related to acts of crime, maintaining the right to life, safety and human dignity may mean moving against fear and realising their role as democratic advocates that FBOs have encompassed for so long but never understood how to operate.

The researcher wishes to repeat a quote found in an earlier section to end this thesis. Using the words from one of the faith leaders in his description of the way someone is meant to handle an injustice he states:

> "*Islam teaches us is that if you see something wrong right? Then you must…you must use you must try to change that with your hands right? What does it mean to change with your hands? and if you cannot do that by using your hands it said then you must use your tongue we must at least speak against the injustice that is happening in our*

84

communities you see and if you cannot speak against it you still have fear and the…last thing that person can do which is the lowest part of faith that a person can have is the sadness in his heart when you can't make it right with your hands.. you can't even speak against it but you can only feel sad in your heart about it is that what and that is then lowest part of faith…"   FBOI, 2014

Reference List

Anderson, B. (2009). "I'm not so into gangs anymore. I've started going to church now": Coloured boys resisting gangster masculinity, Agenda: Empowering women for gender equity. 23 (80), pp 55-67.

Author unknown. Crime Statistics 2015. (2015). Retrieved 15 October 2015 from https://www.enca.com/coverage/crime-statistics-2014

Author unknown. (2007). South Africa: Gang culture in Cape Town. Retrieved 3 June 2014 from http://www.irinnews.org/indepthmain.aspx?InDepthID=28&ReportID=70038

Babbie, E. R. (2013). *Social research counts*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Baylor Institute. (n.d). Byron R. Johnson: More God Less Crime. Retrieved date: 11 October 2015 from http://www.baylorisr.org/about-isr/distinguished-professors/byron-r-johnson/more-god-less-crime/

Bible. (1978). Palmer, et al. The Holy Bible, New International Version: Containing the Old Testament and the New Testament. Grand Rapids: Zondervan.

Bishop Lavis High School.(2014). History of the school. Retrieved 10 January 2014 from http://www.blhs.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=39&Itemid=277&lang=en

Boesak, A. (2017). 'Will Zacchaeus remain sitting in the tree?' Reconciliation as Justice or as a form of Capture? Public Lecture held at the Cornerstone Institute 26 September 2017. Cape Town: Cornerstone Institute.

Bowers, N. F. 2005. Development as Transformation: The Local Church in Lavender Hill as Agent of Change in a Post-Carnegie II Context. Stellenbosch: University of Stellenbosch.

Brandt, K. (2017a). More officers deployed to bishop Lavis after shootings. Eyewitness News. Retrieved 29 October 2017 from http://ewn.co.za/2017/07/24/more-officers-deployed-to-bishop-lavis-after-shootings

Brandt, K. (2017b). Two suspects arrested following Bishop Lavis Shootings. Eyewitness News. Retrieved 29 October 2017 from http://ewn.co.za/2017/07/26/two-suspects-arrested-following-bishop-lavis-shootings

Brown, A. (2013). On the border of war and privilege. Mail and Guardian. Retrieved 17 May 2014 from http://mg.co.za/article/2013-09-20-00-cape-flats-on-the-border-of-war-and-privilege

Carter, J. (2013). Is the Church responsible for the reduction of crime? Action Institute Power Blog. Retrieved 17 May 2014 from http://blog.acton.org/archives/51218-is-the-church-responsible-for-the-reduction-in-crime.html

Charles, M. (2017). Bishop Lavis woman, 30, dies in crossfire. Pressreader. Retrieved 29 October 2017 from https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/cape-argus/20170814/281509341289724

City of Cape Town. (2013). City of Cape Town- 2011 Census Suburb Bishop Lavis. Retrieved 3 June 2014
from https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/stats/2011CensusSuburbs/2011_Census_CT_Suburb_Bishop_Lavis_Profile.pdf

City of Cape Town. (n.d). Gang Unit. Retrieved 18-September 2014
from https://www.capetown.gov.za/en/MetroPolice2/Pages/Gang-unit.aspx

Clarke G. 2006. Faith Matters: faith-based organisations, civil society and international development. *Journal of International Development* 18(6): 835-848.

Clarke, M; Lumbers, J. (2009). Churches and Condoms: How Christian Faith-Based Organisations are Preventing HIV/AIDS in Developing Countries. Paper presented at the Edinburgh 2010 Study Group 7 conference, Retrieved 22 December 2014
from http://www.edinburgh2010.org/fileadmin/files/edinburgh2010/files/Study_Process/Clarke%20and%20Lumbers%20paper.doc

Cohen, M. (2013). "The Cape of bad dope: Gang warfare in South Africa is out of control - and set to get worse as a key leader leaves prison". *The Independent*. Retrieved 19 Sept 2014 from http://www.independent.co.uk/news/world/africa/the-cape-of-bad-dope-gang-warfare-in-south-africa-is-out-of-control-and-set-to-get-worse-as-a-key-8827661.html

Cooper, A. (2009). "Gevaarlike transitions": negotiating hegemonic masculinity and rites of passage amongst coloured boys awaiting trial on the cape flats. *Psychology in Society*, (37), 1-17. Retrieved 3 June 2014
from http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php?script=sci_arttext&pid=S1015-60462009000200001&lng=en&tlng=en.

Damba, N. (2013). Police are useless say residents. Retrieved 3 June 2014
from http://westcapenews.com/?p=6516

Davis, Rebecca. (2013). Anene Booysen: Why India and SA responded differently to two brutal rapes. Retrieved 7 July 2014 from http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-11-15-anene-booysen-why-india-and-sa-responded-differently-to-two-brutal-rapes/#.ViAIxX4rLIU

Delic, Z. (2012). KhutbahVol 2 No 16~ By Imam Dr. Zijad Delic "Planting the Seed of Action: Relationship between Iman, 'Ilm & 'Amal" at the SNMC. Ottawa: Delta Reprographics. Retrieved 26 Sept 2017 from http://snmc.ca/wp-content/uploads/2014/11/Vol216-Planting-The-Seed-Of-Action.pdf

De la Cornillere, W.L., 2007, 'Participants' experiences of the Bishop Lavis Rehabilitation Centre stroke group', Master's thesis, Dept. of Interdisciplinary Health Sciences, Stellenbosch University.

De Vos, P. (2011). SAPS becoming a threat to or democracy. Constitutionally Speaking. Retrieved 7 July 2014 from http://constitutionallyspeaking.co.za/saps-becoming-a-threat-to-our-democracy/

Dickinson, E. (1999). *The Poems of Emily Dickinson Edited by R. W. Franklin*. Harvard University Press

DiCicco-Bloom, B; Crabtree, B. (2006). The qualitative research interview. Medical Education. 40:314–21. Retrieved 3 June 2014 from http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1111/j.1365-2929.2006.02418.x/full

Dlamini, P. (2017). SA's most violent cities revealed. TimesLive. Retrieved 8 October 2017 from https://www.timeslive.co.za/news/south-africa/2017-08-23-sas-most-violent-cities-revealed/

Dolley, C. (2014a). Sunday the day for murder in Cape. Cape Times. Retrieved 19 March 2014 from http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/sunday-the-day-for-murder-in-cape-1.1642931#.Uw2zeFf9aW4

Dolley, C. (2014b). 3 a day shot dead in Cape. Cape Times. Retrieved 19 March 2014 from http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/3-a-day-shot-dead-in-cape-1.1660822#.Uyljx_mSxqU

Dolley, C. (2017). Crime stats: Hard Livings gang singled out in Parliament as threat to Cape Town residents. News24. Retrieved 29 October 2017 from http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/crime-stats-hard-livings-gang-singled-out-in-parliament-as-threat-to-cape-town-residents-20171024

Dziewanski, D. (2014). The real face of violence in South Africa. Retrieved 28 May 2014 from http://www.thoughtleader.co.za/readerblog/2014/03/13/the-real-face-of-violence-in-south-africa/

Ellis, C. (2007). Telling Secrets, Revealing Lives. Relational Ethics in Research with Intimate Others. *Qualitative Inquiry.* 13 (1), 3-29.

Evans, T.D., F.T. Cullen, R.G. Dunaway, V.S. Burton. (1995). "Religion and Crime Reexamined: The Impact of Religion, Secular Controls, and Social Ecology on Adult Criminality." *Criminology* 33:195- 224.

Fisher, S. (2014). Bishop Lavis pupil living in fear of gangs. Retrieved 19 March 2014 from http://ewn.co.za/2014/03/18/Bishop-Lavis-pupils-live-in-fear

Gay, R. (1999). The Broker and the Thief: a Parable. Reflections on popular politics in Brazil. Luso-Brazillian Review 36 (1), 49-70.

Gibbs,S; Ajuly, D. (1999). The role of the church in advocacy: Case studies from Southern and Eastern Africa. INTRAC Occasional Paper Series. Nairobi: NCCK

Heinlein, R. (n.d). Starship troopers. Retrieved 7 July 2015 from http://www.goodreads.com/quotes/tag/violence

Institute for Educational Leadership. (n.d). Engaging and Partnering with Faith-Based Organizations in Initiatives for Children, Youth, and Families. Retrieved 18 September 2014 from http://jliflc.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/toolkit_06.pdf

Irin. (2007). In-depth: Youth in crisis: Coming of age in the 21st century. Gang culture in Cape Town. Irinnews. Retrieved 3 June 2014 from http://pictures.irinnews.org/in-depth/70038/28/photodetail.aspx?ImageId=200712

Isaacs, L. (2014). Cape suburbs unite against crime. IOL News. Retrieved 03-06-2014 from http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/cape-suburbs-unite-against-crime-1.1689887#.Via6TX4rLIU

Johnson, B (2008). The Role of the Faith Factor in Reducing Crime and Delinquency in Not by Faith or Government Alone: Rethinking the role of faith-based organizations. A Baylor ISR Special Research Report. Retrieved 18 September 2014 from http://www.baylorisr.org/wp-content/uploads/notbyfaith_report1.pdf1.pdf

Kassem, Suzy. (2011). Rise up and salute the sun: The writings of Suzy Kassem. United States: Awakened Press.

Kitzinger, J. (1995). Introducing Focus Groups. *BMJ*. 311, 299-302.

Lindegaard,M.R; Hendriksen, A. (2005): Strategies of safety - when threats of violence become everyday life *Medische Antropologie* pp. 41-60

MacMaster, L (2010). In search of a family: The challenge of Gangsterism to Faith Communities on the Cape Flats. D. Phil. dissertation. Stellenbosch University. Stellenbosch

McGarrell, E; Brinker, G; Etindi, D. (1999). The role of faith-based organizations in crime prevention and justice. Occasional Paper Series. Hudson's Crime Control Policy Center and the Welfare Policy Center. Retrieved 4 May 2013 from http://www.hudson.org/content/researchattachments/attachment/305/faith_based0499.pdf

Moser, C; Mcilwaine, C. (2006). Latin American Urban Violence as a Development Concern: Towards a Framework for Violence Reduction. *World Development* . 34(1). 89–112

Mylek, I; Nel, P. (2010). Religion and relief: the role of religion in mobilizing civil society against global poverty. *Kōtuitui: New Zeland Journal of Social Sciences Online.* 5 (2), 81-97.

National Geographic. (2017). History 101:The Protestant Reformation. Retrieved 29 October 2017 from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IATyzSAjC1w.

No Author. (nd). Cape Flats. Retrieved 15 October 2015 from http://www.sahistory.org.za/places/cape-flats.

O'Malley, P. (nd). 1950. Group Areas Act No 41. Retrieved 5 May 2015 from https://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01828/05lv01829/06lv01839.htm.

Petersen, C. (2013). Operation combat. Retrieved 18 September 2014 from https://chelseapetersen.wordpress.com/2013/04/12/operation-combat/.

Pinnock, D. (2013). Cape Gangs: Below the surface. Retrieved 3 June 2014 from http://www.news24.com/Archives/City-Press/Cape-gangs-Below-the-surface-20150429

Pinnock, D. (2016) Gang Town. Cape Town: Tafelberg.

Piper, L. (2009). 'Faith-Based Organisations, Local Governance and Citizenship in South Africa', in Duncan Brown (ed). Religion and Spirituality in the Post-Colonial Condition. Pietermaritzburg: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 54-77.

Piper, L. (2010). From religious transcendence to political utopia: the legacy of Richard Turner for Post-Apartheid political thought. Theoria, 57(123): 77-98

Prince, N. (2014). Eight dead in bloody Cape Weekend. IOL News. Retrieved 3 June 2014 from http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/eight-dead-in-cape-bloody-weekend-1.1655382#.Viau-34rLIU

Romo, H. D., & Mogollón-Lopez, O. (2016). *Mexican migration to the United States: Perspectives from both sides of the border*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Ross, F. (2010). Raw Life, New Hope: Decency, Housing and Everyday Life in a Post-Apartheid Community. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.

Rule, P; John, V. (2011). Your guide to Case Study Research. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Samara, T. (2005). Youth, crime and urban renewal in the Western Cape. Journal of Southern African Studies, 31(1), 209-237.

Sampson, R. J; Groves, W. B. (1989). Community structure and crime: Testing social-disorganization theory. *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (4). 774-802. Reprinted in Frances Cullen and Velmer Burton, eds., Contemporary Criminological Theory. Dartmouth Publishing Co.1994.

SAPA. (2014). March for Gaza one of the biggest Cape Town has seen. Retrieved 18-September 2014 from http://mg.co.za/article/2014-08-09-thousands-gather-for-pro-palestine-rally-in-cape-town

SAPS Stategic Management. (2010). SAPS Strategic Plan 2010-2014. South African Police Service. Retrieved 18 September 2014 from http://www.saps.gov.za/about/stratframework/strategic_plan/2010_2014/strategic_plan_2010_2014.pdf

Simpson, G. (1998). *Urban Crime and Violence in South Africa*. In Petty, C. & Brown, M. (eds), *Justice for Children*, London: Save the Children.

Smith, V.B, Van Heyningen, E & Worden, N. (1999). Cape Town in the Twentieth Century: An Illustrated Social History. Cape Town: David Phillip Publishers.

Standing, A. (2003). The social contradictions of organised crime on the Cape Flats. ISS Paper 74. Institute for Security Studies. Retrieved 12 September 2014 from https://www.issafrica.org/publications/papers/the-social-contradictions-of-organised-crime-on-the-cape-flats

Statistics South Africa. (2013) General Households Survey: Statistical Release PO318. Retrieved 26 February 2014 from http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0318/P03182013.pdf

Swingler, S. (2014). The Cape's Youth Gangs: Bigger, Deeper, More Dangerous. Retrieved 7 July 2014 from http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2014-05-26-the-capes-youth-gangs-bigger-deeper-more-dangerous/#.ViAH1X4rLIU.

United States Catholic Bishops. (2000). Responsibility, Rehabilitation, and Restoration: A Catholic perspective on Crime and Criminal Justice. A statement of the Catholic Bishops. Retrieved 17 December 2014 from http://www.usccb.org/issues-and-action/human-life-and-dignity/criminal-justice-restorative-justice/crime-and-criminal-justice.cfm

Wassenaar, D.R. (2006). Ethical issues in social science research. In Terre Blanche, M.; Durrheim, K. and Painter, D. (eds). Research in Practice: applied methods for the social sciences. Cape Town: UCT Press. 60-79.

Witherden, A. (2009). Social issues behind crime. Polity. Retrieved 3 June 2014 from http://www.polity.org.za/print-version/social-issues-behind-crime-2009-03-26

Woodson, R.L. (1998). The Triumphs of Joseph: How Today's Community Healers are Reviving Our Streets and Neighborhoods. New York: Free Press

Wright, J. (2013) More God, less crime: Why faith matters and how it could matter more. Journal of Criminal Justice Education, 24:4, 618-620. Retrieved 11 October 2017 from http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/10511253.2013.774716

Zille, H; De Lille, P. (2013). Gang violence: Western Cape Government and City of Cape Town Intervene. Joint Statement by Western Cape Premier Helen Zille and Executive Mayor of the City of Cape Town, Alderman Patricia De Lille. Retrieved 18-September 2014 from https://www.westerncape.gov.za/news/gang-violence-western-cape-government-and-city-cape-town-intervene

Zimitri E. (2001) (ed.) Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape Town. Kwela Books: Cape Town

Appendices

POLITICAL STUDIES DEPARTMENT
Ems Building, fourth level
021 9593228

Interview Participant Information Sheet

Research title:

The role of faith-based organizations in reducing crime and violence in socio-economically disadvantaged communities: A case study of Bishop Lavis.

Dear participant

The research is undertaken as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Master's degree in the Political Studies Department at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. The researcher intends to use this material for academic purposes only. The study is being carried out by the student Angelique Thomas under the supervision of Dr.Cherrel Africa, Senior Lecturer and HOD in the Department of Political Studies, University of the Western Cape.

Before you decide whether or not to partake, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Please take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part in this research.

Purpose of the study

The main objective of the study is to try and understand the way in which faith-based organizations fulfil/ do not fulfil their role as agents for the common good in Bishop Lavis particularly in realizing their role in reducing crime and violence

Description of the study

The study involves in-depth interviews, focus groups and questionnaires as a data collection method and the respondents are purposefully sampled. Given their activities in their capacity as religious leaders, members of religious organizations and members of the community they are likely knowledgeable about the subject of crime within Bishop Lavis.

Confidentiality

Due to the way the research is structured respondents will not be identified unless permission has been given. Thus, **you will not be personally identified** and your identity will be kept confidential. Complete confidentiality is guaranteed should the respondent state so in the informed consent form. The researcher will ensure that the results of the study will be reported without referring to you directly *unless you explicitly prefer to be referred to directly* and you

92

can formally consent to that for any or all parts of the interview. All records of the interview will be stored away in safekeeping until the research has been completed, thereafter, it will be destroyed.

Voluntary participation and withdrawal

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary i.e. you are free to decline participation. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. Refusal to take part will involve no penalty or loss of services to which you are otherwise entitled; and also it will not impact negatively on your position in your organization or leadership.

If you decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign the consent form). If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time – and without giving a reason. You may also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study if there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so

Benefits and Cost

The purpose of this study is to produce new knowledge; in this regard, your participation is highly appreciated as a contribution. Over and above that, however, there are no benefits that accrue to participants.

Informed consent

Your signed consent to participate in this research study is required before I proceed to interview you. I have included the consent form with this information sheet so that you will be able to review the consent form and then decide whether you would like to participate in this study or not.

For more information:

Contact student researcher: Thomas, A, email: thomas.angelique9@gmail.com

Alternatively and in case of a complaint, please contact the supervisor; Dr.Cherrel Africa, email address: cjafrica@myuwc.ac.za, tel. 021 959 2180.

93

Interview Participant Consent Form

Research title: The role of faith-based organizations (FBOs) in reducing crime and violence in socio-economically disadvantaged communities: A case study of Bishop Lavis.

I have read this document and understand the information.

I understand that once I commence the interview, I may withdraw at any time.

I understand that my identity remains confidential within the limits noted above.

I also understand that I can wave confidentiality and request to be referred to directly for any or all parts of the interview.

I hereby give permission for my identity to be revealed in the study

☐ Yes – Participants name and title………………. ……….   ☐ No
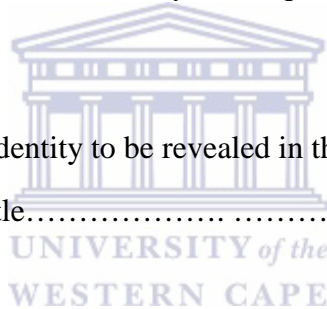
Participant's name……………………………………………

Participant's Signature…………………………………………..

Date………………………………………………………………

Student researcher: Thomas, AC, e-mail: thomas.angelique9@gmail.com

Alternatively and in case of a complaint, please contact the supervisor; Dr. Cherrel Africa, email address: cjafrica@uwc.ac.za, tel. +27 21 959 2180.

Focus Group Participant Information Sheet

Research title:

The role of faith-based organizations in reducing crime and violence in socio-economically disadvantaged communities: A case study of Bishop Lavis.

Dear participant

The research is undertaken as a partial fulfilment of the requirements for a Master's degree in the Political Studies Department at the University of the Western Cape, Cape Town, South Africa. The researcher intends to use this material for academic purposes only. The study is being carried out by the student Angelique Thomas under the supervision of Dr.Cherrel Africa, Senior Lecturer and HOD in the Department of Political Studies, University of the Western Cape.

Before you decide whether or not to partake, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Please take your time to decide whether or not you wish to take part in this research.

Purpose of the study

The main objective of the study is to try and understand the way in which faith-based organizations fulfil/ do not fulfil their role as agents for the common good in Bishop Lavis particularly in realizing their role in reducing crime and violence

Description of the study

The study involves in-depth interviews, focus groups and questionnaires as a data collection method and the respondents are purposefully sampled. Given their activities in their capacity as religious leaders, members of religious organizations and members of the community they are likely knowledgeable about the subject of crime within Bishop Lavis.

Confidentiality

Due to the way the research is structured respondents will not be identified unless permission has been given. Thus, **you will not be personally identified** and your identity will be kept confidential. Complete confidentiality is guaranteed should the respondent state so in the informed consent form. The researcher will ensure that the results of the study will be reported without referring to you directly *unless you explicitly prefer to be referred to directly* and you

95

can formally consent to that for any or all parts of the focus group discussion. Despite the fact that the focus group discussion will be recorded all records of the discussion will be stored away in safekeeping until the research has been completed, thereafter, it will be destroyed.

Voluntary participation and withdrawal

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary i.e. you are free to decline participation. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part. Refusal to take part will involve no penalty or loss of services to which you are otherwise entitled; and also it will not impact negatively on your position in your organization or leadership.

If you decide to take part you will be given this information sheet to keep (and be asked to sign the consent form). If you decide to take part you are still free to withdraw at any time – and without giving a reason. You may also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study if there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so

Benefits and Cost

The purpose of this study is to produce new knowledge; in this regard, your participation is highly appreciated as a contribution. Over and above that, however, there are no benefits that accrue to participants.

Informed consent

Your signed consent to participate in this research study is required before I proceed with the focus group discussion you. I have included the consent form with this information sheet so that you will be able to review the consent form and then decide whether you would like to participate in this study or not.

For more information:

Contact student researcher: Thomas, A, email: thomas.angelique9@gmail.com

Alternatively and in case of a complaint, please contact the supervisor; Dr.Cherrel Africa, email address: cjafrica@myuwc.ac.za, tel. 021 959 2180.

96

Focus Group Participant Consent Form

Research title: The role of faith-based organizations (FBOs) in reducing crime and violence in socio-economically disadvantaged communities: A case study of Bishop Lavis.

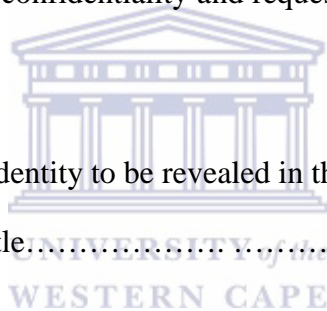I have read this document and understand the information.

I understand that once I commence the focus group discussion, I may withdraw at any time.

I understand that my identity remains confidential within the limits noted above.

I also understand that I can wave confidentiality and request to be referred to directly for any or all parts of the interview.

I hereby give permission for my identity to be revealed in the study

☐ Yes – Participants name and title…………………………..   ☐ No

Participant's name……………………………………………….

Participant's Signature……………………………………..

Date………………………………………………………………

Student researcher: Thomas, AC, e-mail: thomas.angelique9@gmail.com

Alternatively and in case of a complaint, please contact the supervisor; Dr. Cherrel Africa, email address: cjafrica@uwc.ac.za, tel. +27 21 959 2180.

97