Making South African Tourism Safe

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Abstract

This paper is a research review of crime prevention in South Africa using a qualitative research approach. Africa is a tourist destination that offers international tourists unique cultural, natural and adventure experiences. South Africa is one of Africa's top destinations and features Big Five safari destinations, wine routes, natural experiences, cultural villages, spectacular coastlines among other must-see experiences that appeal to international tourists travelling to the continent. However, South Africa holds the reputation of one of the highest crime rates in the world and is therefore regarded as a high-risk destination. This negative reputation directly influences tourism demand and supply and indirectly impacts on both jobs and gross income in the industry. It is said that the three primary conditions for the successful development of tourism in a set location are "peace, safety and security". Therefore, without them, tourists are likely to be victimized, negatively affecting the image of the country and income derived from tourism. It is the prime responsibility of the tourism sector to safeguard tourists and tourism development in their respective regions. The article focuses on measures to remedy crime against tourists in South Africa. It considers the country's mitigation strategies from 1997-2019 (in the public sector) to combat crime, sets out guidelines for promoting safety and security and highlights implementation challenges.

Keywords: Crime; tourism; safety and security; tourists; South Africa

Introduction

Tourism safety is a relatively under-researched dimension of the tourism domain. According to Pizam and Mansfield (2006), there are three primary conditions for the successful development of tourism in a set location namely "peace, safety and security". A lack of these primary conditions results in tourists' victimization that influences the image of the country or destination negatively while also impacting tourism-derived income and job opportunities. It is therefore incumbent on the governments of the respective countries to ensure that safety and security are prioritized at every level in order for the tourism sector to thrive and contribute to the economy. Tourism in African countries is a key contributor to the economy and employment in general. However, some of these countries suffer from the consequences of crime against tourism. South Africa (SA) is an example of a destination with a high crime profile. On the upside SA is regarded as one of Africa's top tourism destinations, but on the downside as a crime capital of the world.

Tourism is not a modern activity. For centuries people have travelled motivated by diverse reasons such as education pilgrimages, trade and adventure. The terms "tourism" and "tourist" used to denote this movement of people for pleasure dates only to the early 19th century (Harris, 2017). It is however generally agreed that the origins of modern tourism as we know it today began in the seventeenth century in Europe. It was the Grand Tour that was labelled as the "golden age of travel" undertaken primarily by wealthy young men mainly for educational purposes focusing on the arts and culture (Towner, 1994). According to Towner and Wall (1991), these tours already included the basic elements of tourism of the future: tourists, travel conditions, accommodation, dangers and costs.

Throughout this early period, elements of what would become critical to the modern tourism domain were already apparent, particularly elements of the Grand Tour (Towner & Wall, 1991). From the outset, aspects such as modes of travel, accommodation and tourist guides were integral to these tours (Harris, 2016). All those elements were in a sense all directly related to the safety of the tourist – the mode of travel needed to be reliable reputable and safe (Gyr, 2010), accommodation in the form of "inns" had to be of such a nature to assure a safe resting place or stop-over (Gyr, 2010), and the tourist guide or cicerone was there to educate but also to protect and see to the safety and wellbeing of his (only men toured and were tutored) charge (Pond, 1993). However, in the early 1950s, the evolution of mass tourism led to the rise of safety and security issues into the domain of travel and tourism across the world. From the 1970s, the concept of safety and security in tourism became more prominent. In the contemporary world, tourism is regarded as a crucial economic stimulator for developing "economically backward" regions and states, particularly in the global South and specifically across the African continent. It is generally argued that crime within tourism affects the economic and social spheres of a country.

Literature review

According to scholars Echtner and Jamal (1997) tourism was not a focus of study for researchers and scholars of different disciplines until the 1970s. The "debate on tourism's status and standing as an independent discipline continues to rage on as a 'disciplinary dilemma'" (Harris, 2017: 232). Furthermore, Walton (2012: 49) states that historical studies of tourism are typically regarded "at best, as peripheral" to more mainstream contemporary investigations. Tourism history and development in SA in particular was and remains a relatively under explored, if not unexplored, field of study with limited scholarship.

As indicated, crime targeting the tourism industry and jeopardizing tourist safety is not a new phenomenon. Early authors conducting research on the topic of crime and tourism highlighted the strong connection that existed between the two dating back to pre-modern times. In a research review article entitled "Crime in Tourism destinations" published in 2017, Lisowska, highlighted the view that research on tourism was generally dominated by relatively positive impacts in the past. However, the more recent literature from the 1970s onwards showed that in the past fifty years, it appears that a focus on the more negative impacts began to emerge (Lisowska, 2017). Since then, the issues of crime, safety and security are said to continue to plague the global tourism market and it is believed to impact particularly heavily on South Africa.

Safety and security

Scholars, Fuchs and Pizam (2011) differentiated between safety and security issues where they defined "security incidents" as those incidents that lead to the "tourists suffering harm from the deliberate actions of others, such as wars, terrorist attacks, civil and/or political unrest, and crime". While safety incidents can be understood as occurrences where tourists are injured accidentally and without intent or malice (Fuchs & Pizam, 2011). Such events can include "floods, fires, infectious diseases, food poisoning, traffic accidents, accidents related to activities such as skiing, accidental slips, falls, cuts and burns, and damage to property" (Peattie et al., 2005). They emphasize that safety and security affects demand and supply chains of tourism. Therefore, it is crucial that safety and security concerns are thoroughly understood to adopt mitigation strategies. Destinations need to anticipate and prevent major security and safety incidents and their consequences, as well as maintain a peaceful and secure environment necessary for their survival in an increasingly insecure and threatened world (Fuchs & Pizam, 2011).

Hall et al. (2004), focused on notions of security in tourism shifting away from the broader concept of safety. The authors note that tourism and supranational tourism organizations have little influence on peace and security agendas, although such agendas are important for tourism (Hall et al., 2004). They also state that security concerns not only affect individual tourism decision-making, but also have a broader influence on economic and political confidence, which in turn affects the wider environment within which the tourism industry operates and in which individual destinations are perceived (Hall et al., 2004). Security in the new millennium incorporates global crises such as global climate change, international crime, health issues, biosecurity, food scarcity among other sustainable development challenges in its realm, and not only military actions (Butfoy, 1997). As explained above, the concept of security is not only restricted to the safety of tourists, but is more diverse also impacting on social, political and economic spheres.

Henderson (2007) makes a point of paramount concern, that the tourism sector needs to focus its efforts on increasing awareness of the hazards that travellers may encounter when embarking on their travels. Related to this is the point, Garg (2013) highlights that media influences perceptions of risk that can affect tourism visitation and restrict behaviour based on the nature and level of reporting crime on media platforms. International media has played a critical role in making or breaking a destination's reputation. Once a destination is perceived to be risky by the tourist, it will have serious implications on the growth and development of the tourism industry of the specific destination (Garg, 2013). This, the UNWTO (2013) indicates, can be very detrimental as many countries' economies are heavily dependent on tourism.

Authors Kôvári and Zimányi (2011) assert that the issues of safety and security have made tourism vulnerable globally and regionally. The major occurrences such as terrorist acts, pandemics, local wars, epidemics, natural disasters, and other unforeseen events cause this susceptibility (Kôvári & Zimányi, 2011). They emphasise the centrality of security and safety in the tourism industry, research, and academia. Boakye (2012) in an article entitled "Tourists' views on safety and vulnerability: A study of some selected towns in Ghana", the author considered the tourists' perspective. It was a rather unique approach in that it focused on an African destination. The study incorporated the views of tourists to understand the level of vulnerability and safety they experienced while engaging in tourism activities in selected towns in Ghana (Boakye, 2012).

Safety and security give a country or destination a competitive advantage. Tourists are knowledgeable about touristic safety, and when choosing a particular destination, this aspect is of utmost importance. Garg (2013) supports this view by highlighting that tourists mostly travel to enjoy serenity and peace; they want to feel safe and secure. In this case, they will not select a destination with political instability and threats to safety such as terrorism. The results of this study suggested that issues relating to safety and security, peace and stability highly influence visitor decision-making when choosing a destination (Garg, 2013).

Tourism is a global and competitive industry which makes it highly sensitive to the perceptions of danger and lack of safety and security (Brondoni, 2016). He states that safety and security are complex issues that have made tourism vulnerable due to its negative impacts, especially tourism terrorism. The author alludes to the fact that tourists and investors put their money in safer destinations rather than destinations under attack (Brondoni, 2016). He believes it is the responsibility of tourism and the respective states to provide safe and secure travel destinations for tourists. Therefore, it is critical to understand how potential travellers perceive the concept of risk and safety related to tourism (Reisinger & Mavondo, 2006).

South Africa

Turning to South Africa, the focus of this article, it is a well-known phenomenon that a high crime rate predominates. Many authors maintain that this has much to do with its racially divided past. Schönteich and Louw (2001) are of the view that the high crime rates in post-apartheid South Africa can be blamed on the transitioning political and socio-economic spheres of the country, the violent past, contemporary criminal behaviour, the propagation of firearms, the development of organised crime, changes in the demographic composition, and the poor justice system of the country. Lemanski (2004: 101) argues that "fear of crime" is a trend that disseminates the social divisions that were inherited during the apartheid era into the post-apartheid milieu as well as the "fear of crime being used as a justification for a predominantly racist fear of difference". The citizen responses to insecurity in Cape Town, for example, reconstructed a city of separation that shows remarkable resemblance to the apartheid city (Lemanski, 2004). She indicates that crime statistics recorded during the dawn of democracy showed alarming crime rates in the country and indicates that apartheid can be positively blamed.

However, when it comes to perceptions, some tourists appear to find South Africa unsafe while there are those that regard it as a safe destination. Ferreira (1999) analysed the spatial pattern of crime perpetrated against tourists in the country from 1993 to 1996. This study identified that crime poses a significant threat to tourism. Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal were regarded as the most unsafe provinces in the country and tourists from Australia, the Pacific, Asia and Scandinavia expressed the greatest concern for their safety in South Africa (Ferreira, 1999). George (2003) evaluated perceptions from tourists who visited Cape Town in August and September 2001 in regard to safety in the 'Mother City'. The study revealed that 220 (50%) respondents out of 438 respondents "felt safe touring Cape Town during daytime" while 108 (25%) of the respondents "felt somewhat unsafe", and 48 (11%) "felt very unsafe walking after dark in the city" and using public transport (George, 2003: 581). On the bright side, the majority of respondents, 301 (69%), were extremely likely to suggest Cape Town as a tourist destination to their friends (George, 2003). However, it must be noted that Cape Town has built its own reputation separate from the rest of the country's reputation and continuously competes internationally under the category of 'beautiful cities' in the world attracting more tourists annually.

In a similar study by George and Swart (2012), the authors revealed that most respondents had positive perceptions of South Africa as a holiday destination. The research showed that two-thirds of those interviewed agreed that South Africa was a safe place to visit and over half of respondents were not concerned about their safety while in South Africa (George & Swart, 2012). Crime-safety issues did not appear to affect respondents' future travel intentions, as a majority of study respondents said crime-safety concerns would not deter them from returning to South Africa (George & Swart, 2012). A different conclusion is drawn by Perry and Potgieter (2013) where their study underlines that tourists and citizens observe South Africa as having high levels of crime and this deters tourists from visiting the country. Crime remains a vital consideration in relation to tourism in South Africa and it is critical that "actual as well as perceptions of crime and security are addressed in relation to different stakeholders such as locals, tourists and the tourism industry" (Perry & Potgieter, 2013: 101).

According to Lubbe (2003), security is one of the issues that tourists consider before visiting a destination. She claims that safety is non-negotiable in the tourist industry as a level of assurance is required by the tourists that they will be safe from criminal activities when visiting the chosen destination. This is very evident in the South African situation. Tourists mostly create perceptions from social media sources and news platforms, as travel agencies and destination marketing never portray negative images of the destination.

Mudzanani (2017) analysed media publications and focused on the issue of tourism and crime in South Africa to understand the threat posed by crime on tourism growth. The analysis concluded that crime remains a threat to tourism and that tourists in South Africa are most likely to be victims of robbery (Mudzanani, 2017). The author concludes that governments and the private sector must collaborate to include tourist safety in the tourism product through industry-specific strategies, inspire good tourism news about South Africa, ensure police visibility and enforce prosecution against offenders (Mudzanani, 2017). Research trends identified in this literature review showed that there has been a fair amount of research which investigated crime and tourism. The research also focused on South Africa and explored crime, fear of crime, tourist victimisation, safety and security perceptions from media as well as experiences. This research contributes significantly to the body of tourism research over decades. However, research on tourism safety and security broadly in South Africa appears to be relatively limited and therefore this gap will be addressed by this article

Statement on method
Crime against tourists was and remains a difficult topic to study in academia due to challenges such as under-reporting and unreliable or unavailable statistics. In the light of this, this article is essentially a literature study with a qualitative research approach. It adopted an exploratory approach where the emphasis was on drawing out key trends rather than quantifying and confirming. The study is thus qualitative in design as this approach incorporates other authors' perceptions and observations in books and journal articles, along with primary sources such as newspaper articles, travel advisories, safety guides and handbooks.

Discussion
This section of the article focuses on South Africa's timeline on crime prevention as efforts to making African tourism safe. It focuses specifically on South Africa's mitigation strategies that have been applied to curb crime against tourists. It also analyses guidelines by local agencies such as: the South African Institute for Safety and Security (ISS); Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR); and the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME). It will be argued that these can serve as guidelines for other countries in Africa, in terms of their own departments, police, crime prevention units, community forums and other agencies aiding in the fight to reduce crime and improvement of the overall response to tourist-related incidents in Africa.

South Africa's timeline on crime prevention
Crime prevention can be understood as "strategies and measures that seek to reduce the risk of crimes occurring, and their potential harmful effects on individuals and society, including fear of crime, by intervening to influence their multiple causes" (UNODC, 2010: 9). According to Agarwal (2016), crime prevention has been labelled as largely social and situational in its nature. Before planning and implementing mitigation strategies to curb crime, governments must understand the problem at hand, its severity, review the factors that contribute to it, and draft solutions that could be effective in solving the problem (Glensor and Peak, 2004). They highlight that it is equally important to identify stakeholders, partners and agencies from both the public and private sector that could help curb crime. In order to combat crime in South Africa, private firms and government agencies can pool their resources and expertise in a collaborative effort (Mangxamba, 2007). Tourists are targeted by (but it is not limited to) pickpocketing, mugging and robbery in South Africa and in unfortunate cases, tourists are injured and even sometimes murdered in South Africa. Government is therefore compelled to

respond to this dire situation and needs to take the initiative to deter criminals from attacking tourists and protect them from all dangers (Mudzunani, 2017).

As explained in the literature review, crime in South Africa can be traced back and linked to the political transition in 1994 from the Apartheid government to the current democratic state. Vyas-Doorgapersad and Ababio (2008: 175) argue that this led to unintended consequences such as the collapse of "existing (and legitimate) mechanisms of social control without immediately replacing them with legitimate and credible alternatives". At that time and as of today, the citizens of the country are faced with triple challenges of unemployment, inequality and poverty, worsened by underdevelopment, historical marginalization, trauma among other social issues. This created a society filled with frustration and uncertainty which birthed a culture that promoted violence and justification of crime as a means to solve the country's social ills (Vyas-Doorgapersad & Ababio 2008: 175).

South Africa does however have a considerable track record of efforts to curb crime to make it a safer and secure tourist destination. In 1996, the country implemented the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) which was a developmental approach to safety designed with four pillars: to re-engineer the criminal justice system; reduce crime through environmental design; instil community values and promote education; and preserve regional cooperation and stability, as well as combat cross-border crime (Newham, 2005). In 1997, "the justice system was running out of capacity and was subject to excessive churn resulting in major inefficiencies; management of cases through the justice system as a particular area of weakness; courts are faced with huge backlogs and prisons were overcrowded with the number of awaiting trial prisoners increasing at an alarming rate" (du Rand, 2005). Thus, the justice system of the country was crippled and required immediate intervention to effectively mitigate the rising crime levels in the country. According to du Rand (2005), the Integrated Justice System (IJS) was implemented as a solution to increase the effectiveness of the criminal justice system and ensure its efficiency to reduce the extent of crime in South Africa. This was executed through: the modernisation of the justice network systems (financial, administrative, and management systems); budget reform as a tool for assessment and commitment to divert spending away from administrative structures and toward service and operational points; finding the most cost-effective manner to implement major new legislative frameworks and developing a strategic approach to costing legislation; speeding up the implementation of legislation; and reprioritization and re-alignment (du Rand, 2005).

In 1998, a White Paper on safety and security (a policy position for the police on safety) was released with a mission to reduce crime through effective and efficient policing as part of an effective justice system and through a greater ability to prevent crime (Department of Safety and Security, 1998). On a national level, the White Paper recommended the creation of a National Crime Prevention Centre to serve as a focal point for research and learning related to crime prevention initiatives (Newham, 2005). According to Newham (2005), this framework was intended to provide assistance at the provincial and local levels of government as they pursued crime-prevention initiatives. These policies and strategies were working in line with the Constitution to promote the "right to freedom and security" for any human being.

By 2000, the SAPS drove the government's approach to crime reduction and adopted their high-profile National Crime Combating Strategy. In addition, the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 stipulated that "local governments must promote a safe and healthy environment in the municipality" (CSIR, 2016). During a review in 2002 of the NCPS in South Africa's major cities (Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Tshwane) local governments had achieved the most progress in crime prevention through environmental design. They implemented closed circuit television (CCTVs), visible policing through the employment of MPDs and private security, urban regeneration and City Improvement Districts (CIDs) as well as an increase in

hawking and informal regulations (Newham, 2005). In the year 2005, the City of Cape Town's MEC for Finance, Economic Development and Tourism implemented the "Tourism Victim Support Unit" to protect tourism threatened by crime in their area (Anon, 2005). During that same year, the White Paper on Corrections replaced the White Paper on Correctional Services with its rehabilitation mission that aims to ensure the successful reintegration of offenders into society and their communities after serving their sentence (Republic of South Africa, 2005). The Millennium 10-point Plan was adopted between the period 2000-2005. The Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (2015) stated that this plan also assisted in establishing specialised courts, the Alternative Dispute Resolution Mechanism's (ADRM) introduction, improving court management and productivity, and to consolidate and improve prosecutorial services while the Seven-point Plan also adopted, focused on creating a more efficient and effective criminal justice system.

By 2010, the police were embarking on nationwide operations, and this included initiatives to increase police visibility especially in crowded areas and tourist hotspots (Stander, 2010). In the same year, the Department of Social Development was tasked with developing an Integrated Social Crime Prevention (SCP) strategy in consultation and collaboration with the SAPS Social Crime Prevention unit and the provincial departments of Community Safety. This strategy would be implemented on national, provincial, and local level. The concepts of the SCP are promoted by the NCPS and the White Paper. The SCP focuses on crime prevention through three strategies: offender-based strategies; victim-based strategies; and environment-based strategies. Firstly, offender-based strategies focus on criminals or people who are suspected of committing crimes, with the goal of achieving positive behavioural change; victim-based strategies focused on assisting crime victims by providing information targeted at reducing the likelihood of becoming a victim; and environment-based strategies aimed at changing the social, economic, and other elements that contribute to crime (Department of Social Development, 2011). A vision of a safe South Africa, safe communities, safe families, and responsible individuals was included in this approach. The plan created a solid foundation for social crime prevention in South Africa by prioritising the "poorest of the poor" and marginalised and disadvantaged populations (Safer Spaces, 2015).

In 2011, Cape Town's Table Mountain introduced 50 armed rangers to fight crime in this internationally renowned tourism destination (Prince, 2011). In this same year, the Western Cape Department of Finance, Economic Development and Tourism also introduced the Tourism Safety and Support Team to curb crime, but also to assist tourists who were victimised in the province. This team was very effective and contributed to a significant decline of crime against tourists in that year. In that same year, the National Development plan (NDP) was released, but was adopted in 2012. The NDP contains an entire Chapter on safe communities in South Africa (Chapter 12). This Chapter explains that safety is a prerequisite for human development, bettering one's quality of life, and increasing productivity. Feelings of unsafety in communities makes them to live in fear and this has a negative impact on their well-being and it impairs their ability to achieve and contribute successfully to the country's economic development.

By 2012, the government introduced interventions that were tourism specific which included the fast tracking of prosecutorial processes of cases involving tourists by the Department of Justice (Vyas-Doorgapersad & Ababio, 2008). This initiative was to prevent attacks on tourists, deal with crime against tourists, and designate a police officer in every police station to deal with tourism crime-related issues (Cole, 2007). This strategy appeared to be effective in theory as most of the policies in the country, but challenging in its implementation due to a variety of factors such as corruption. Figure 1 shows a timeline with mitigation strategies that the DEAT and later NDT implemented in collaboration with the

SAPS, Department of Social Development (DSD), Department of Safety and Security (DSS), Department of Correctional Services (DCS) Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DOJ & CD) other collaborating crime prevention agencies for the period from 1996 to 2019.

1996
- **National Crime Prevention Strategy**
- **Tourism Ambassadors Project** in collaboration with SAPS, SATOUR, Business Against Crime, Tourism Business Council and the Department of Foreign Affairs.

1997
- **Integrated Justice System Strategy**

1998
- **White Paper on Safety and Security**

2000
- SAPS **National Crime Combating Strategy**
- **The Municipal Systems Act of 2000**
- **The Millennuim 10- Point Plan and 7 Point Plan**

2002
- . The **National Crime Prevention Strategy Review** of four cities (Cape Town, Tshwane, Durban and Johannesburg)

2005
- The City of Cape Town introduces the **Tourism Victim Support Unit**.
- **White Paper on Corrections**

2010
- Department of Social Development **Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy**
- SAPS **Nationwide Crime Prevention Initiatives** to increase police visibility especially in crowded areas and tourist hotspots

2011
- Cape Town's Table Mountain features **armed rangers** in their vicinity.
- NDT implements **Tourism Safety and Support Team**

2012
- **Tourism Specific Interventions** in collaboration with the Department of Justice and Correctional Services.
- The National Development Plan 2030

2015
- **Community Safety Forums Policy**
- **Draft White Paper on Safety and Security**

2017
- **National Tourism Safety Monitors Programme**

2019
- **Optimised Policing & Security Strategy** in the tourism environment (Identify tourism hotspots, analyse them, establish a database for tourism crimes and enhance initiatives for crime prevention).
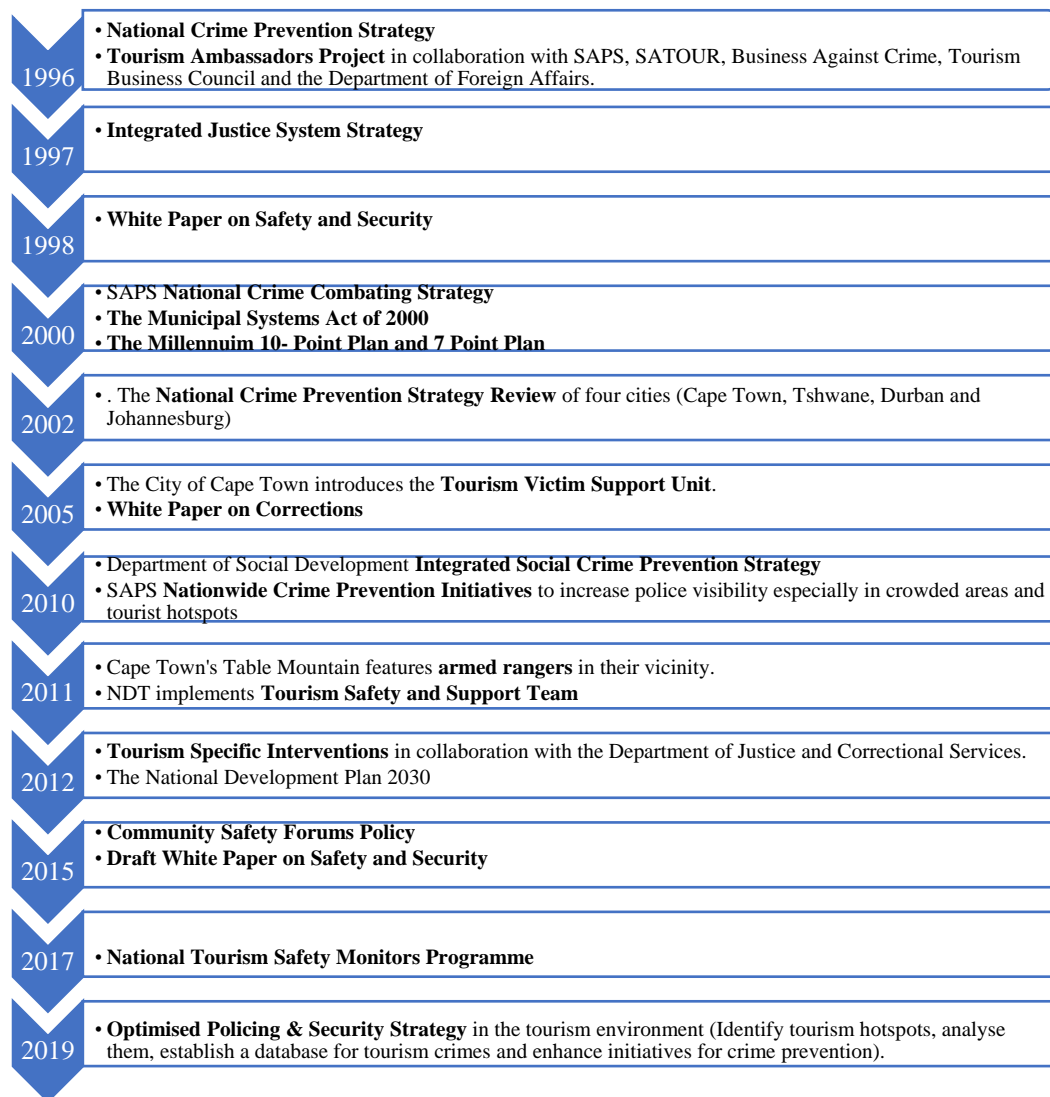
Figure 1: South Africa's crime mitigation strategies relating to tourism (1996-2019).

In 2015, the Community Safety Forums Policy was adopted and a new draft White Paper on Safety and Security was also released for public consultation by the Civilian Secretariat of the Police, which set a new standard for a holistic and developmental approach to crime and violence prevention (Safer Spaces, 2015). In 2017, the then tourism Minister Tokozile Xasa launched the National Tourism Safety Monitors Programme in Gauteng, with the goal of improving visitor experience and tourist safety (South African Government, 2017). In 2019, the National Department of Tourism continued their mission of implementing safety measures to prevent crime against tourists in South Africa. The Department stated that to effectively combat crime against tourists, it would: identify tourism hotspots and analyse them; establish a database for tourism crimes; enhance initiatives for crime prevention; and ensure that the implementation of an optimised policing and security strategy was introduced in the tourism environment (Business Tech, 2020). They also stressed that this strategy requires a joint effort

from other ministerial divisions as well as the private and public sector. The Department also highlighted that the importance of gathering comprehensive statistics and research to produce reliable information and data to assist risk assessments that decision makers and policy makers use (Business Tech, 2020). Lastly, the department committed to allocating funds to law authorities to ensure the general well-being of tourists and travellers. These endeavours at various levels reflect on the seriousness of the crime against tourists' problem (See Figure 1).

From the above discussion, it is evident that crime prevention is a collaborative project that requires a variety of role players with more emphasis on communities as the most important role player. The SCP strategy, discussed above, is an integrated strategy that is community focused. This is explained visually in Figure 2 which shows that effective crime prevention requires the reversal of the pyramid that defines the roles of national, provincial and local government.
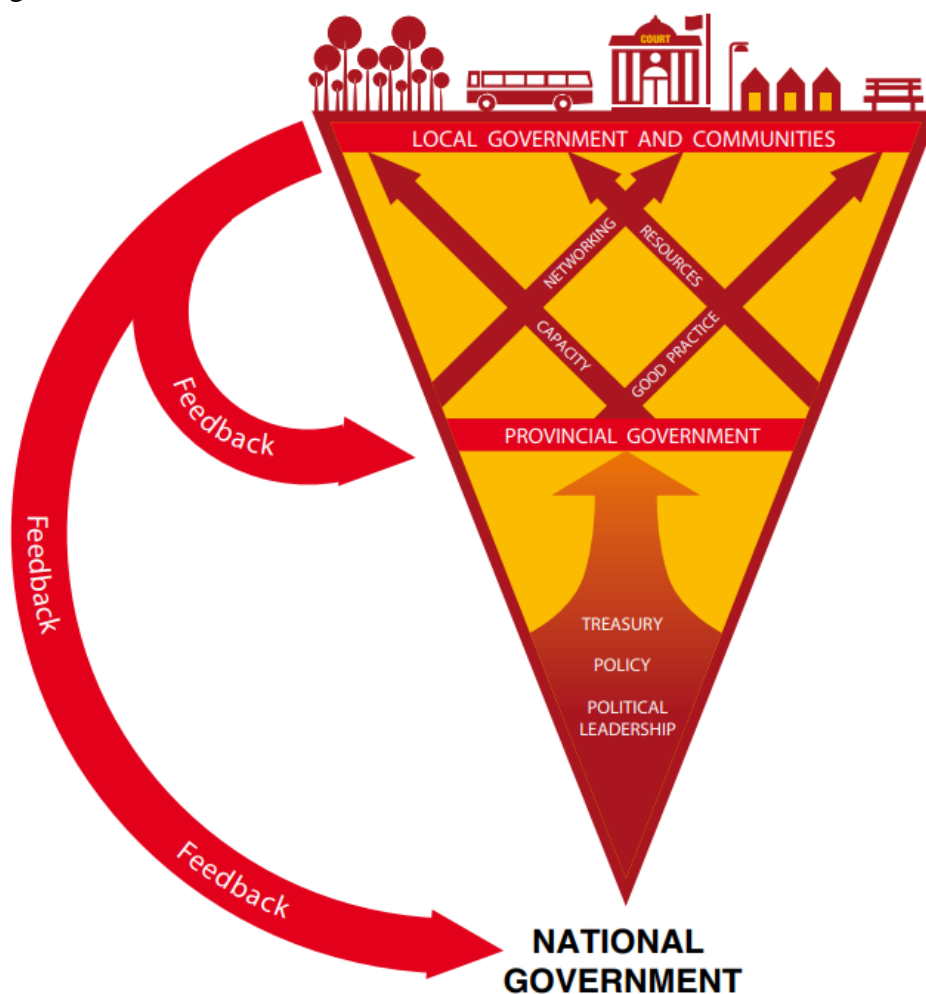

Figure 2: The pyramid reversal (Department of Social Development, '*Integrated Social Crime Prevention Strategy*'. *2011*)

The national government are at the bottom of the pyramid to balance it through the planning, development of strategies, policies (legislative framework) and political leadership (guidance) enabled by national treasury (Department of Social Development, 2011). The provincial government are the supportive stream tasked with providing capacity, resources, networking and good practice for the implementation of crime prevention strategies. While the local government and the communities are tasked with the most important task which is the

implementation of crime prevention strategies. The provincial government empowers the local government and communities to effectively perform their task. The other important element in this figure is feedback. Communities can provide feedback to national government through elections and they can feed back into national policies and treasury allocations (Department of Social Development, 2011). National government can determine the safety needs of local communities and respond with better ways (policies, budgets and resources) to serve these communities.

Local guidelines for effective crime prevention

In 2016, the ISS in collaboration with CSIR, developed a community-based crime prevention manual to help make South Africa safer. The goal of this guidebook is to assist individuals, communities, safety and security authorities and local governments in charge of combating crime for safer communities. Figure 3 shows possible interventions that could be applied to curb crime which involves the use of law enforcement, applying situational crime prevention and utilising social crime prevention approaches that in combination provide a chance of delivering effective results. However, every community, local and provincial government is a unique case study. The aim of the manual is not to provide a standard blueprint for them to follow, but rather a step-by-step procedure for developing and implementing a "concise, user-friendly and practical" community-based crime prevention strategy for themselves (CSIR, 2016).
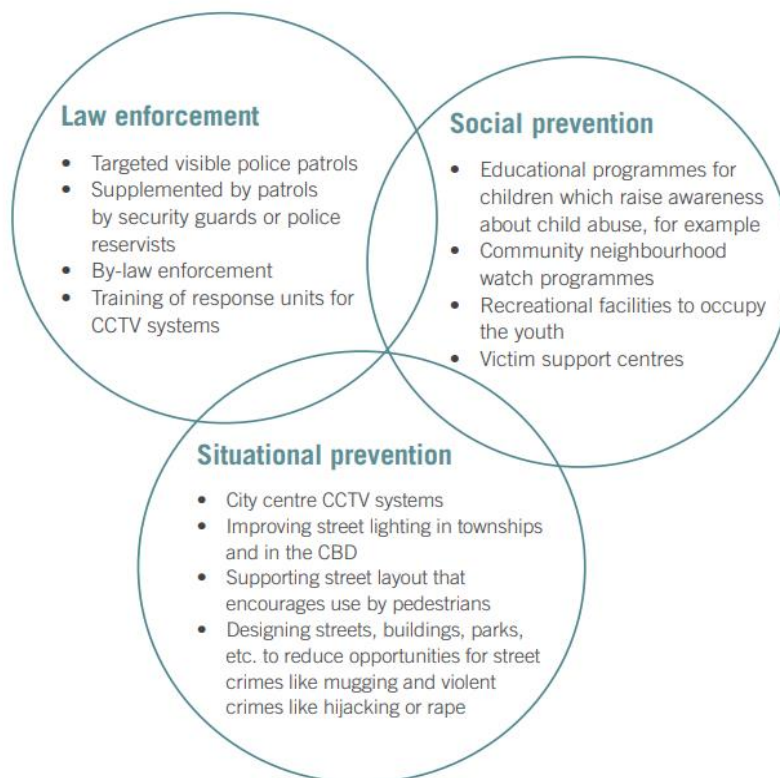

Figure 3: Three approaches to reduce crime with examples of possible interventions (CSIR, *Making South Africa Safe: A Manual for Community-based Crime Prevention, 2016*)

The process of developing and implementing a crime prevention strategy requires planning. According to the ISS-CSIR manual, there are essentially four stages of the development and implementation of a crime prevention strategy. The first stage is to conduct a community safety audit that will detect crime and crime related issues, gain an understanding of the community's

characteristics, physical and social surroundings, and the organizations or people already participating in crime prevention activities in the local community or municipality (CSIR, 2016). The second stage involves developing a strategy to combat crime and violence based on the findings of the safety audit. The third stage entails putting the strategy into action and managing it according to strong project management standards. The fourth stage involves monitoring and evaluating the plan using a defined framework to determine what works, what does not, and what might work (CSIR, 2016).

STAGE 1:

Conducting a community safety audit to identify problems and understand your community

Step 1: Identify the crime problems in your community by collecting information.

Step 2: Identify who is already involved in crime prevention activities in your community.

Step 3: Analyse the social and physical characteristics of your area.

Step 4: Combine the information and prioritise crime problems.

Step 5: Analyse the problems that you have prioritised in your community.

Outcome: Clarity regarding crime problems and an understanding of the characteristics of the community, environment and organisations/people who are already involved in crime prevention in your area.

STAGE 2:

Developing a strategy

Step 6: Select priority areas of intervention and group them into focus areas.

Step 7: Identify potential local partners.

Step 8: Develop intervention programmes and projects.

Outcome: A crime and violence prevention strategy.

STAGE 3:

Implementing and managing the strategy

Step 9: Secure approval and funding for the strategy.

Step 10: Prepare detailed project plans.

Step 11: Implement and manage projects.

Outcome: Implementable project plans.

STAGE 4:

Monitoring and evaluating the strategy

Step 12: Plan and budget for monitoring and evaluation.

Step 13: Identify ways to evaluate the project's performance.

Step 14: Establish a framework for evaluation and carry it out.

Outcome: A monitoring and evaluation framework of what works, what does not work and what could possibly work.
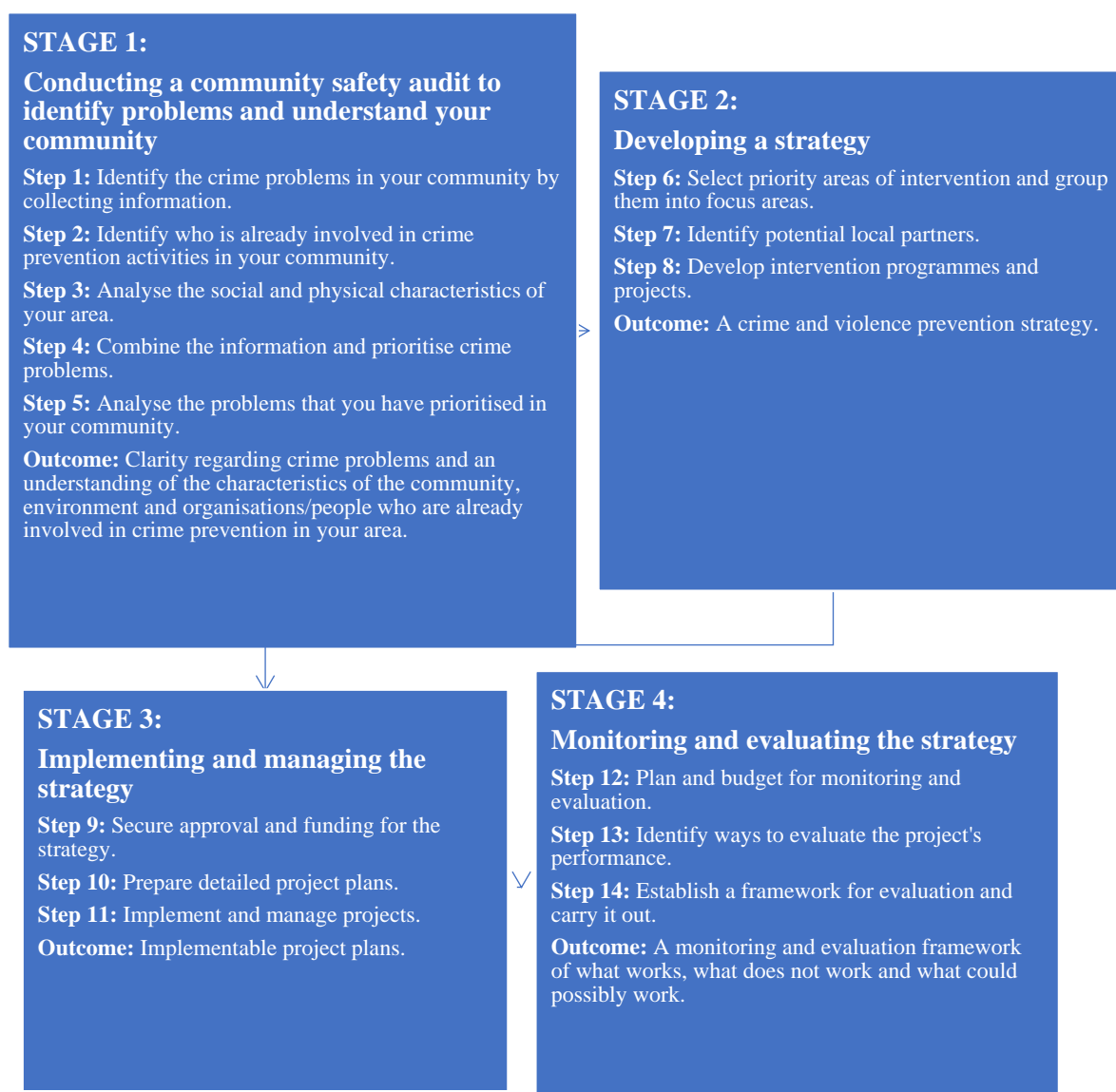
Figure 4: The stages and steps in developing and implementing a community-based crime prevention strategy (CSIR, *Making South Africa Safe: A Manual for Community-based Crime Prevention, 2016).*

Figure 4 shows the stages and the step-by-step process that the local governments and communities can follow to develop and implement their own crime prevention strategies for a safer South Africa. It is critical to plan for this process, establish partnerships, create communication channels, source funding, encourage community participation, manage projects and have a fully functioning monitoring and evaluation tool. According CSIR (2016), crime and violence is "complex" and requires a systematic approach, comprehensive responses,

and integrated as well as sustained interventions. It is argued that the lack of these may pose challenges to the developed crime prevention strategy.

It is also vital to have continued support and commitment from all role players to solve the problem at hand. The active contribution to the reduction of crime is also in support of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development that includes the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and making a tangible difference in the country (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, n.d.). Some of these goals deal specifically with safety and security, for example SDG 11 focuses on making "cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable" and SDG 16 promotes "peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, provide access to justice for all and build effective, accountable, and inclusive institutions at all levels" (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, n.d.).

As outlined in earlier discussions, the NDP Chapter 12 significantly strives to act as a guide to building safer communities by 2030. Security and safety are a core human right inextricably linked to socio-economic development and equality, affecting development goals such as growth and transformation, job creation, improved education and health results, and social cohesion (South African Government, n.d.). Thus, communities in South Africa cannot continue to not feel safe and live in fear. The 2030 vision aims to build safer communities through five focus points to achieve a crime-free South Africa.

Firstly, this focuses on the importance of the need to "strengthen the criminal justice system", because through a strong criminal justice system crime can be effectively prevented. However there needs to be cooperation between all the departments in the justice crime prevention and security cluster. Secondly, it sets out to "make the police service professional". This can be achieved through merging the police code of conduct with the code of professionalism to promotion and disciplinary regulations (South African Government, n.d.). The recruited police force should display competence and professionalism as this is essential for a strong criminal justice system. Thirdly, it strives to "demilitarise the police service" as this is key to correct the history of brutality by the police service during the Apartheid era (South African Government, n.d.). It is evident from the past that police militarisation often leads to police murders and damage to their reputation, rather than greater respect for the police or high conviction rates (Mummolo, 2018). The state needs to endorse the use of an integrated approach that focuses on tackling the fundamental causes of crime to achieve sustainable safety. Lastly, the participation of communities in safety endeavours is crucial as crime often occurs within their spaces. They need to play a role of safeguarding tourists and tourism in their area. While communities are an important stakeholder, local governments are also a vital stakeholder that can assist in establishing community safety centres, programmes and policing forums to enable safe and healthy communities. These guidelines can be implemented alongside well considered and effective law enforcement interventions driven by the criminal justice system as part of an overall safety strategy.

In 2014, South Africa celebrated 20 years of freedom in the democratic Republic however, pertinent issues such as crime were far from being solved. The DPME conducted a safety and security 20-year review to analyse the crime situation of the country at that time and recommended realistic mitigation strategies to assist in reducing crime in the country. In this review report, it was highlighted that the NCPS effectively enhanced visible policing and improved crime combating initiatives of the criminal justice system (Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, 2015). Statistics show that crime was not completely eliminated, but its prevalence decreased significantly between 2003/4 and 2012 but citizens are still not feeling any safer (Africa Check, 2013)

The efforts of the government to reduce crime in the country was evident through various strategies such as the NCPS, Integrated SCP strategy, SAPS and stakeholder efforts as well as amendments of law and legislation. Gender-based violence and sexual offences against vulnerable groups (women and children) were reduced through Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act of 2007 and the Children's Amendment Act of 2007 (Civilian Secretariat for Police Service, n.d.); specialised Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences units in the SAPS; launching more victim-friendly rooms at SAPS service points; and the empowerment of criminal justice workforce as well as ensuring long-term supervision of dangerous sexual offenders after realising them from prison (Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, 2015: 3-4).

In addition, it is evident in most crime prevention guidelines that a more effective criminal justice system is vital to reduce crime. Thus, in the interests of a safer and more secure South Africa, the Justice, Crime Prevention and Security (JCPS) Cluster (within this 20-year period) prioritised improving court performance to provide accessible, fair, quick, and cost-effective administration of justice (Department of Government Communications and Information System, 2014).

This report also elaborated on the necessity of partnerships between government and communities. The Community Policing Policy and the Community Safety Forum Policy Framework were put in place to assist Community Policing Forums (CPFs) and Community Safety Forums (CSFs) aimed at delivering a multi-sectoral governmental approach to safety within the local communities assisted by police force (Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation, 2015: 4). These are some of the most effective and practical tactics that the SAPS advocates to help reduce crime into the future. However, Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (2015: 4) highlighted that there are still challenges of capacity identified in the forensic, detective, investigation and prosecution services. This hampered the JCPS Cluster's efforts that was meant to reduce crime levels, particularly trio and contact crimes. This review recommended the implementation of the Seven-point Plan for an efficient and effective criminal justice system as well as crime-fighting strategies in policing initiatives, policies of safety and security, police intelligence and overall crime prevention.

Challenges in implementing crime prevention mitigation strategies in South Africa
According to Newham (2005), challenges that South Africa faces in terms of effectively implementing crime mitigation strategies is the lack of research and planning of new initiatives. Strategic research and planning ensure that a clear action plan is cut out, the functions of the strategic plan are monitored and revised according to progress, success and failures. The rigorous evaluation of crime prevention initiatives has tremendously challenged the country. Furthermore, the lack of effective multi-agency partnerships. Scholars Vyas-Doorgapersad & Ababio (2008: 173) highlight other identified challenges comprising of the lack of financial and human capacity to adequately eradicate crime, the crime statistics is inadequate, cases backlog and the lack of strategic institutional approaches, planning and monitoring of crime initiatives. These challenges all affect the successful implementation of crime mitigation strategies in the country. However, to address these issues, the government has established an integrated judicial system approach emphasising collaboration and coordination to assist in coping with the pressures of serious crime impacts. Through interconnected relationships and procedures with relevant departments, a shared aim of crime prevention can be reached.

Conclusion

The effectiveness of crime mitigation strategies varies from community to community, state to state. South Africa's journey to eradicate crime is not new and efforts are continuously made from national government to local government to make South Africa a safe tourism destination. Government must continue to invest in crime prevention, but must be aware that success can only be measured after an extended/ period of time. As indicated in the safety guidelines, crime prevention is an ongoing initiative that requires long-term sustainability to remain effective (CSIR, 2016). Countries must be willing to learn from one another, but also tailor these strategies for their geographical location and specific situation. This paper stressed the importance of partnerships, research, community participation, feedback, legislation, resources, capacity building and good practice to develop and implement effective crime mitigation strategies.

Acknowledgement

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