



POLICY BRIEF

Reducing violence in South Africa From policing to prevention

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Reducing and preventing violence is critical to national development and to achieving the United Nations' Sustainable Development Goals. This policy brief reviews current expenditure on the criminal justice system and what that spend has achieved. It also looks at spending on violence prevention and shows that while South Africa spends over R126 billion a year on criminal justice, only R9 billion is spent by the state on programmes that can prevent violence. This must change if violence is to be reduced.

Key points

- ▶ Increases in policing expenditure and the number of police officers don't lead to better policing or a more satisfied population, or necessarily help reduce serious violent crimes.
- ▶ To see lower violence levels in South Africa, there must be a radical shift in how state resources are spent. More investment is needed in preventive social programmes.
- ▶ In 2015 the loss in human capital due to experiences of violence during childhood in the country was estimated at roughly R238 billion – almost double what is being spent on the criminal justice system annually.
- ▶ Children who experience neglect and abuse, or witness violence, are at increased risk of negative health and behavioural outcomes, and of perpetrating violence.
- ▶ To reduce and prevent violence, the social, economic and psychological well-being of citizens must be addressed.

Introduction

South Africa's National Development Plan envisages that by 2030 'people living in South Africa should feel safe and have no fear of crime'.¹ The contraction of the economy in 2017 and the likelihood that government budgets will grow ever tighter over the next few years creates an urgent imperative to ensure that we are addressing the need for South Africans to be and feel safe in the most cost-effective, sustainable way.

South Africa is one of the 10 most violent countries in the world,² despite having achieved massive reductions in homicide levels since 1994.³ Murder has increased annually over the past four years (2012/13-2015/16). This raises the question of whether the emphasis placed on policing and the criminal justice system to address crime and violence over the past 10 years has been the right policy choice.

This policy brief argues that to see the long-term trend towards lower violence levels sustained, and improved upon, we have to radically shift how we spend state resources and what we spend them on. In short, we need to increase our investment in preventive social programmes that reduce the risk factors for violence while professionalising policing.⁴

Breaking entrenched cycles of violence is essential to grow the economy and improve the nation's health, behavioural and social outcomes

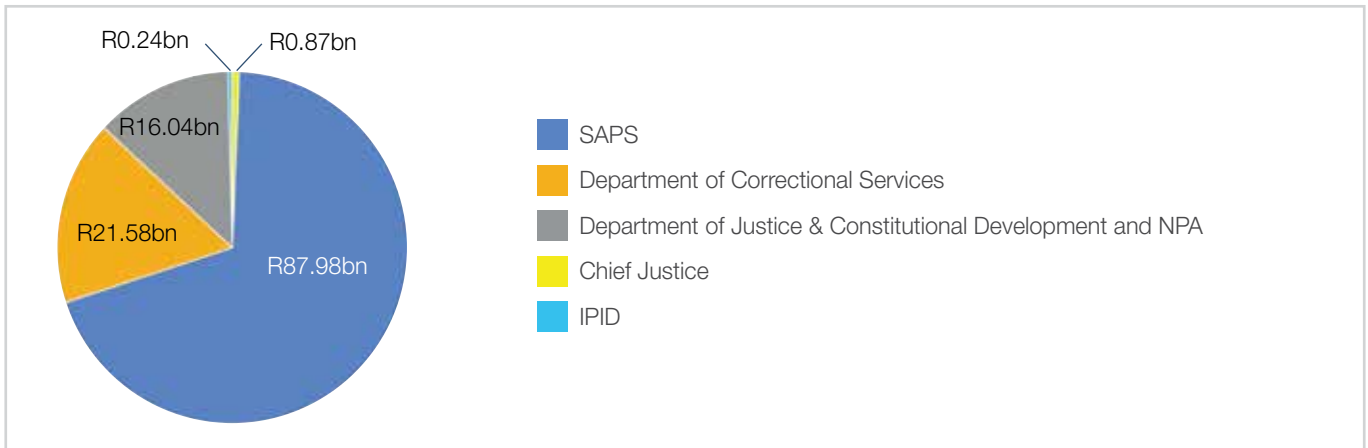
This policy brief provides an overview of the current expenditure on the criminal justice system and private security and looks at what this has achieved. It also looks at what is known about spending on violence-prevention programming and shows that while we are spending over R126.71 billion a year on the criminal justice system, only R9 billion is being spent by the state on programmes that can prevent violence.

We now have evidence from South Africa to show that preventing violent crime (especially interpersonal violence) and breaking entrenched cycles of violence is essential to growing the economy and improving the nation's health, behavioural and social outcomes. In the long term prevention is more cost-effective than responding to violence after it has occurred.⁵

Spending on the criminal justice system

The criminal justice system is made up of a number of departments and institutions. They include the South African Police Service (SAPS), the Department of Correctional Services (DCS), the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DoJ&CD), the Office of the Chief Justice and the Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID). In 2016/17 the combined expenditure on the criminal justice system (CJS) amounted to R126.71bn (or 9.68% of total government expenditure⁶), as set out in the figure below.⁷ Over

Figure 1: Criminal justice system budgets 2016/17 (R billions)



Source: Estimates of National Expenditure 2017 (Abridged version) 22 February 2017.

the past 10 years the budget allocation for police, courts and prisons has increased from R46.6bn in 2005/6 to R126.71bn today.⁸

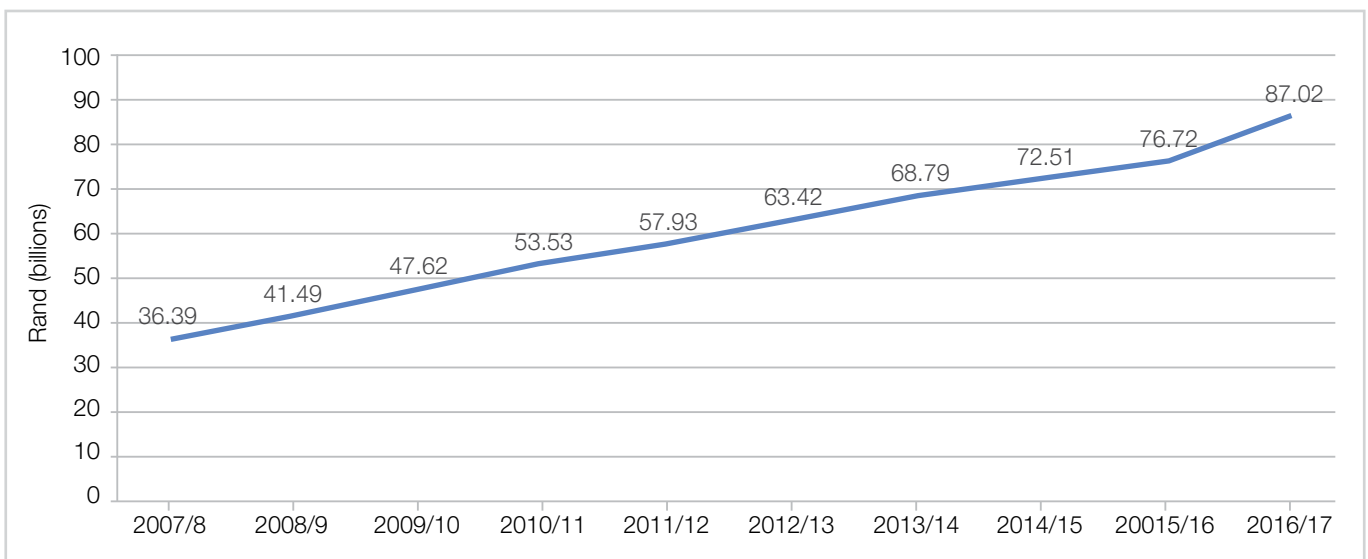
As can be seen from the above chart, the SAPS receives the lion’s share of expenditure on the criminal justice system. Over the past 10 years the SAPS budget has increased by 139.1% (see Figure 2). The additional funding for the SAPS has largely been spent on employing more staff, which was most likely a response to increased public anxiety about crime.⁹ Between 2002/03 and 2011/12, over 68 000 additional posts were created in the SAPS, bringing the total personnel complement to almost 200 000. Since then there has

been a slight decline in numbers, bringing the total number of SAPS staff in 2016/17 to 194 730 (see Figure 3).

In 2013 researcher David Bruce looked at the impact of the mass recruitment of staff by the SAPS between 2002 and 2012. He concluded that while the increase in SAPS personnel numbers had a positive impact on the racial balance in the organisation, and contributed towards the formation of a black middle class, it did not result in ‘better policing’.¹⁰

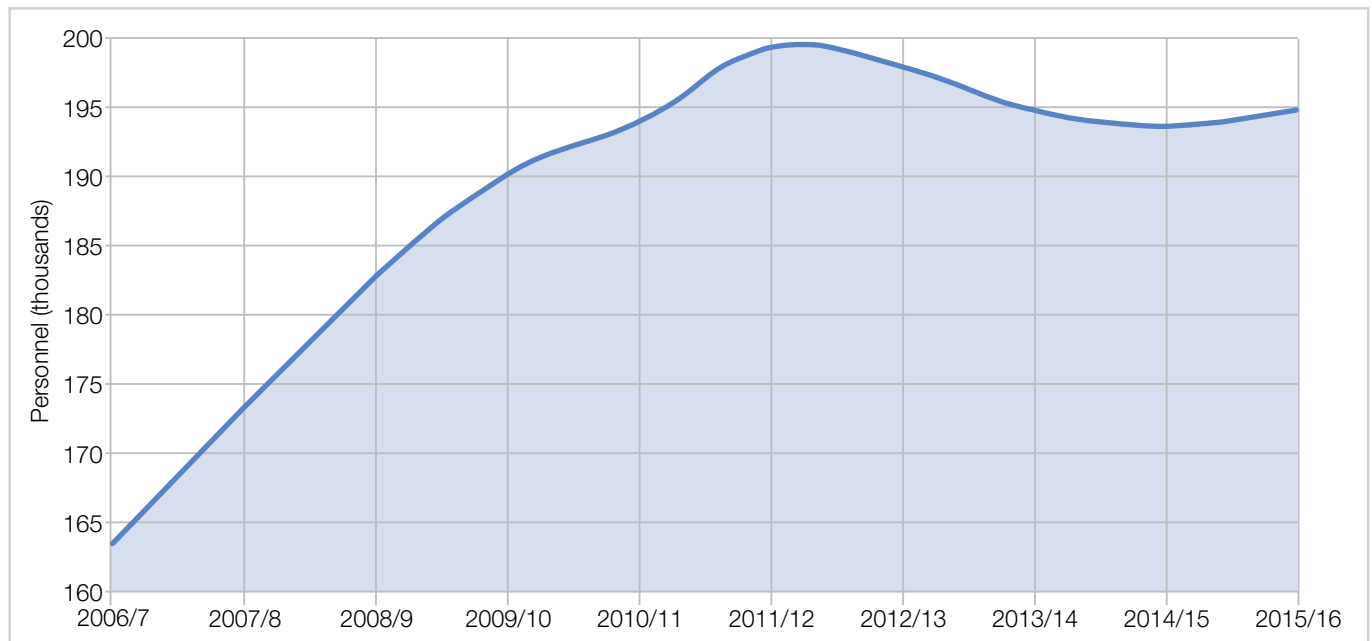
In short he found that having more police officers didn’t make for better policing outcomes – in part, he argues, because the increased numbers placed more

Figure 2: SAPS budget increase 2007/8–2016/17



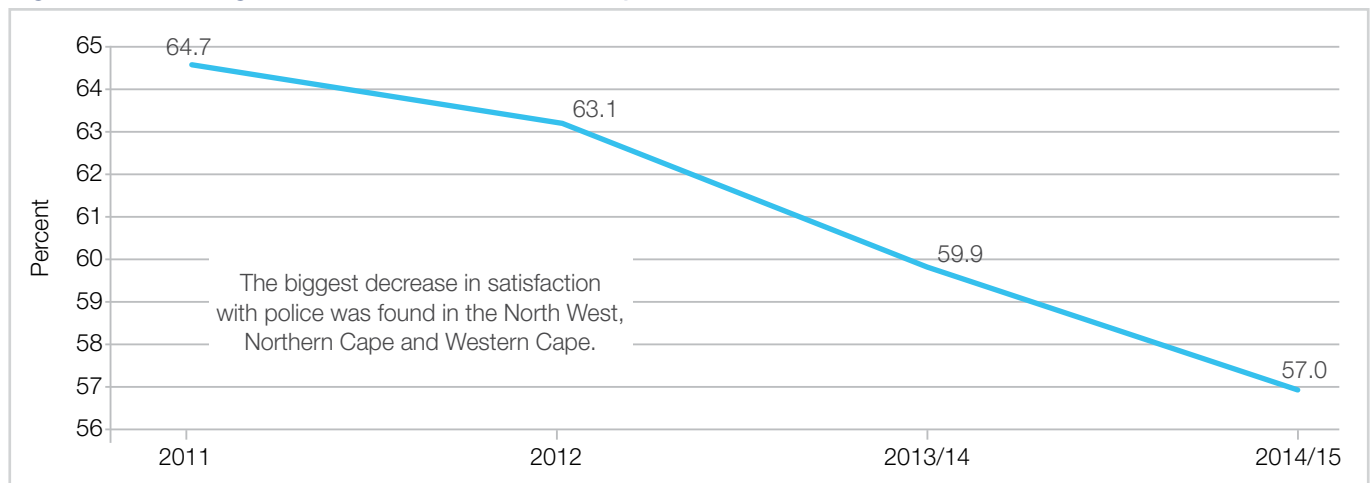
Source: Treasury Budget Books.

Figure 3: SAPS personnel growth over the past 10 years (2006/7–2015/16)



Source: ISS Crime Hub (<https://issafrica.org/crimehub/facts-and-figures/criminal-justice-performance>).

Figure 4: Percentage of households satisfied with police



Source: Statistics South Africa, National Victims of Crime Survey 2014/15.

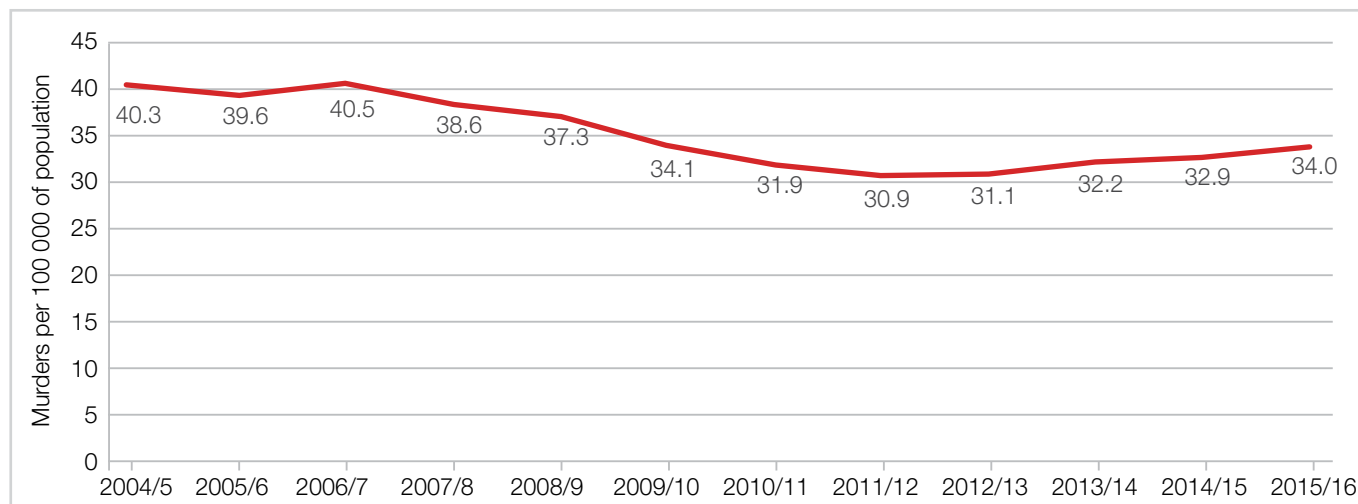
strain on the training and recruitment systems, with the consequence that quality was sacrificed for quantity. Nor did the increase in police numbers result in the public having greater confidence in the police. The results of the national Victims of Crime Survey show that there has been a steady decline in household satisfaction with the police over the past five years¹¹ (see Figure 4).

In short, it is clear that neither increasing expenditure on policing nor increasing the number of police officers necessarily leads to better policing, or to a more satisfied population. Even worse, it doesn't seem to have had

any impact on reducing the most serious violent crimes. Figure 5 shows that while the murder rate (the number of murders per 100 000 of the population) decreased between 2006/7 and 2011/12, in the past four years it has increased.

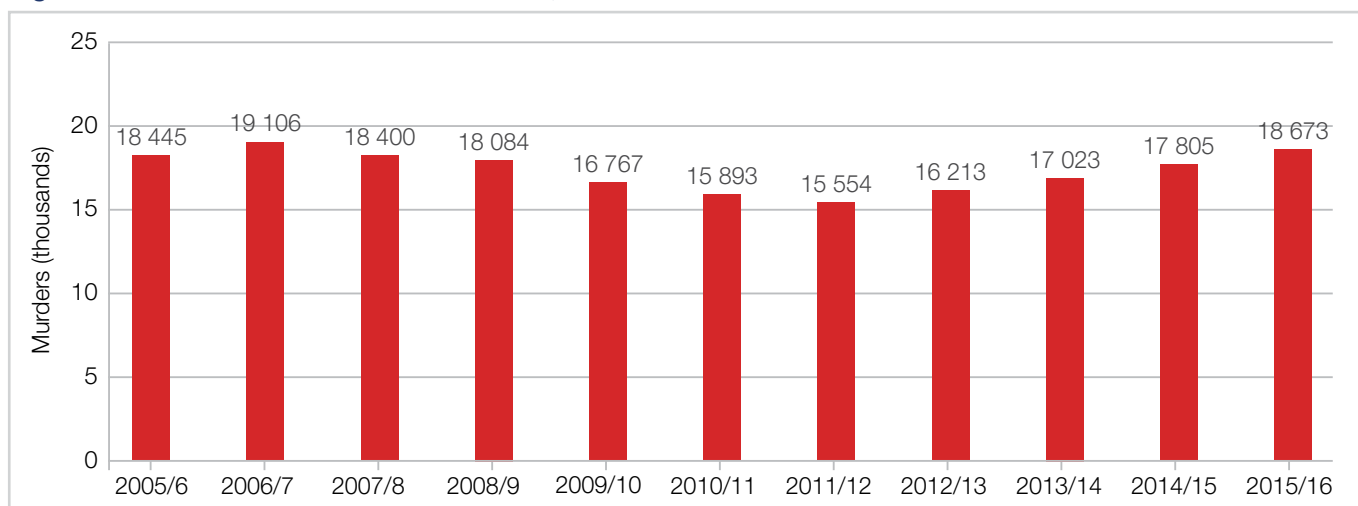
Reducing robberies has seen just as little success. Indeed, in 2015/16 there were more cases of reported robberies than 10 years before. Unfortunately, there are no statistics for rape and domestic violence because the SAPS does not disaggregate domestic violence from assaults; neither does it provide consistent data on rape each year.

Figure 5: Murder rates 2004/5–2015/16



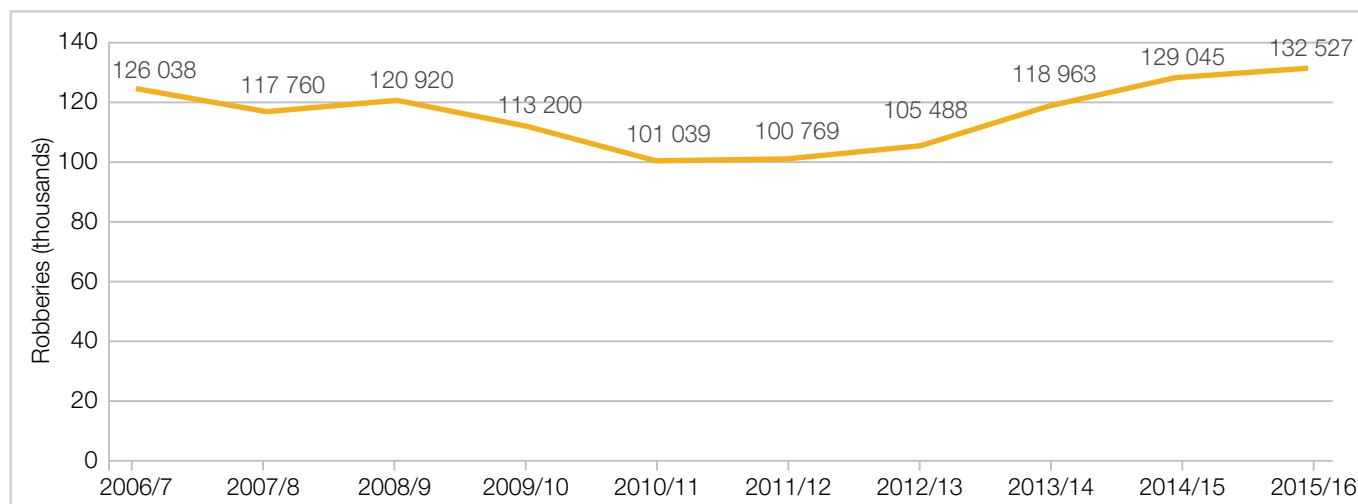
Source: SAPS Crime Statistics 2015/16.

Figure 6: Number of murders in South Africa, 2005/6–2015/16



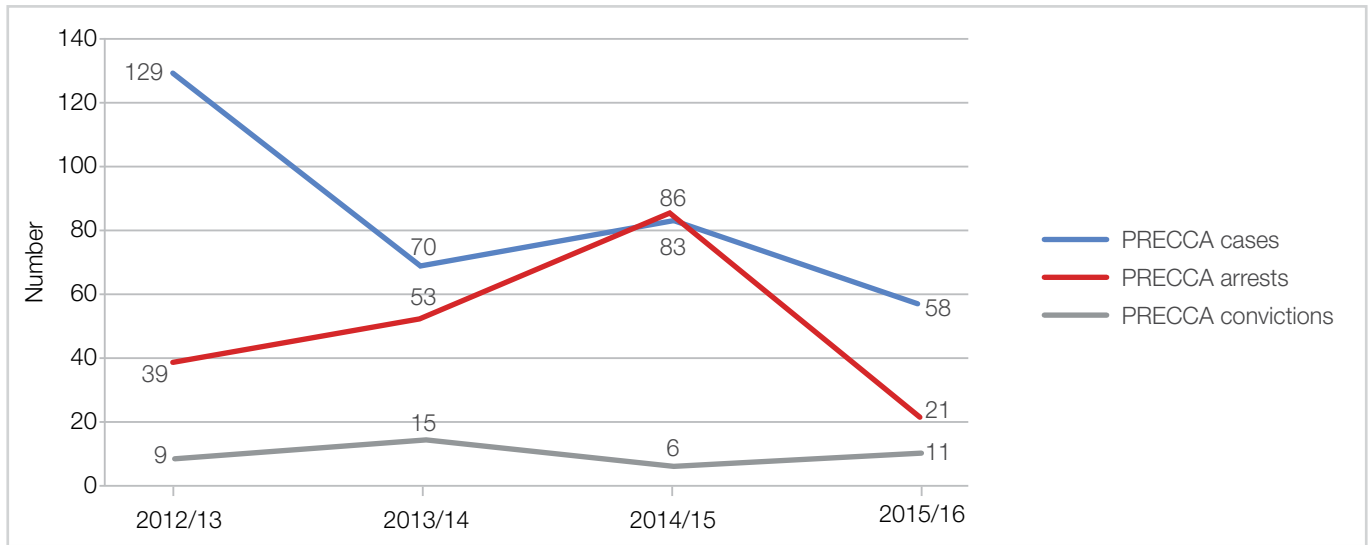
Source: SAPS Crime Statistics 2015/16.

Figure 7: Numbers of robberies in South Africa 2006/7–2015/16



Source: SAPS Crime Statistics 2015/16.

Figure 8: Cases, arrests and convictions under the Prevention and Combating of Corruption Act 2012/13–2015/16



Source: SAPS Annual Report 2015/16.

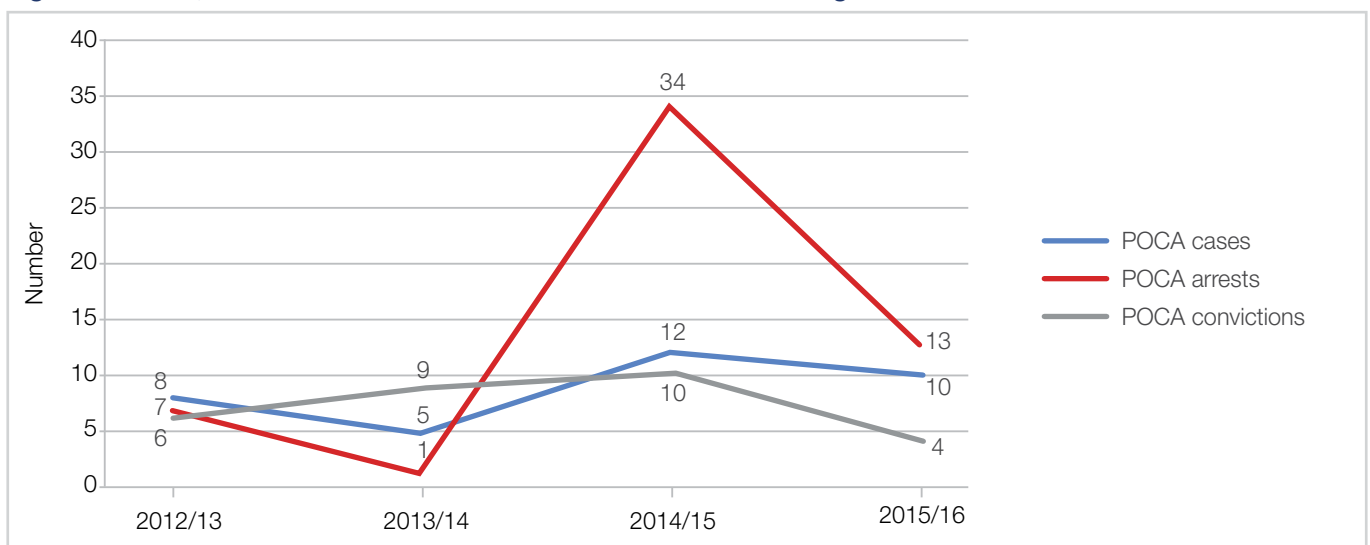
The picture for non-violent organised crime and corruption is also not very encouraging – the number of cases detected and convicted remains extremely low as shown in Figures 8 and 9.

But it is not only the government that invests large sums of money to keep South Africans protected from crime and violence. Those who can afford it spend an additional R45bn on private security every year.¹² So the massive expenditure on private security does not seem to be making people safer either.

The police and private security companies represent the sharp edge of the criminal justice system. These are the people who respond to crime when it has happened, and try to prevent it, by being visible and patrolling (among other things). But what happens after that? How much money are we spending bringing suspects to trial and convicting them – and how successfully are we doing this?

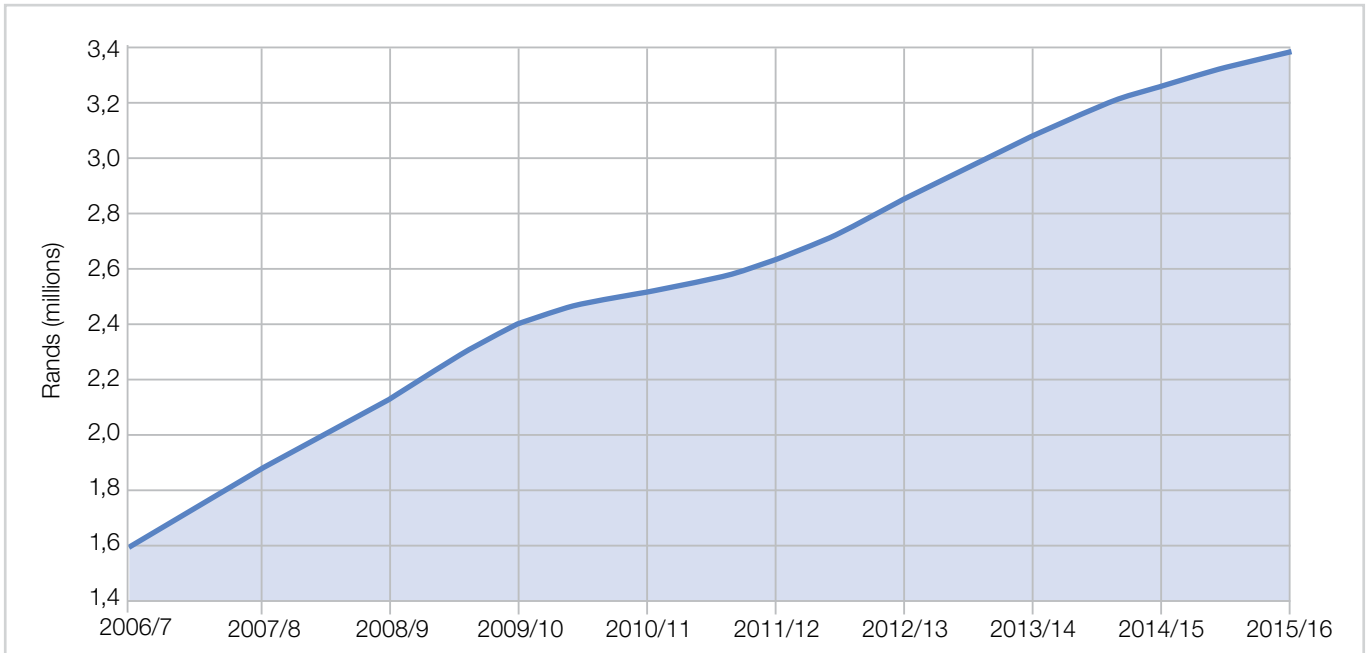
Like the police budget, the budget for the National Prosecuting Authority has increased significantly over the past 10 years (as shown in Figure 10).

Figure 9: Cases, arrests and convictions under the Prevention of Organised Crime Act



Source: SAPS Annual Report 2015/16.

Figure 10: NPA budget increase 2006/7–2015/16



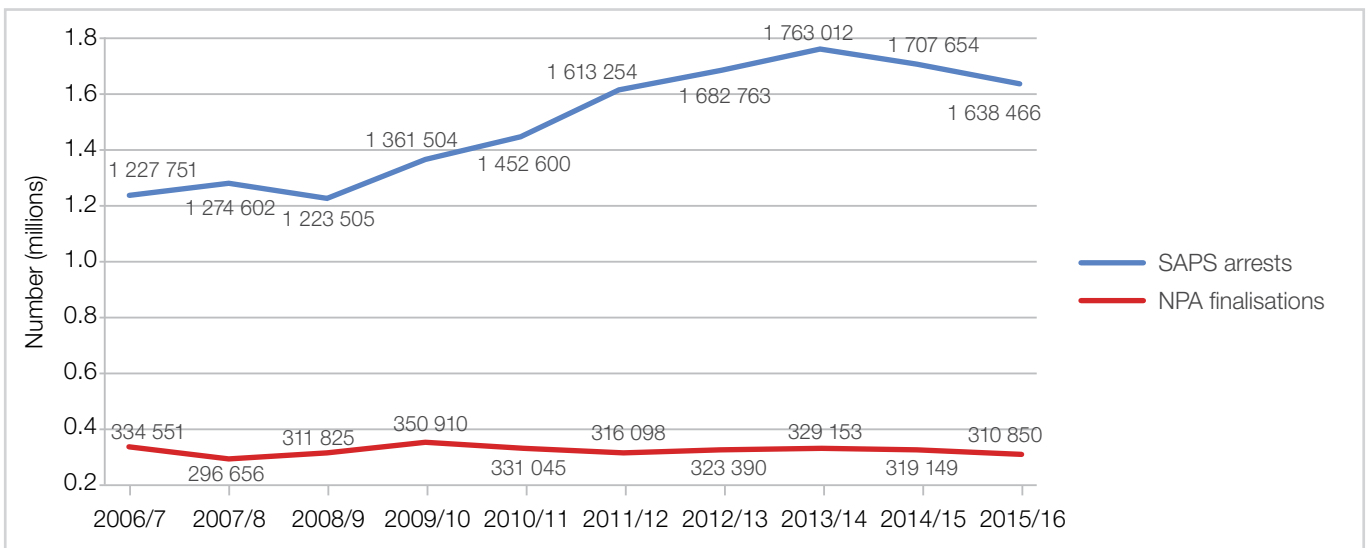
Source: ISS Crime Hub (<https://issafrica.org/crimehub/facts-and-figures/criminal-justice-performance>).

Although the NPA achieved a high 93% conviction rate in 2015/16, the number of cases finalised dropped from 407 530 in 2003/4 to 319 149 in 2015/16 – a 22% decrease.¹³ That means that while most cases the NPA prosecutes result in a successful conviction, fewer cases are being concluded. This is not because there are fewer cases being referred to the NPA by the SAPS,¹⁴ but rather because the NPA has shown an increasing tendency to

decline to prosecute ordinary cases in favour of informal mediation. The decision to go for informal mediation is rarely reviewed, nor is it guided by policy.¹⁵

Research suggests that this could be because the NPA seeks to retain a high conviction rate and thus chooses to prosecute cases only when they have a good chance of securing a conviction, leaving other cases to be resolved by alternative dispute resolution mechanisms.¹⁶

Figure 11: SAPS arrests and NPA conviction trends 2006/7–2015/16



Source: SAPS and NPA Annual Reports.

So what is happening to the many people who are being arrested?

The figures suggest that most of them never go to trial, and even fewer are convicted. Figure 11 compares the number of arrests made by the police to the number of convictions by the NPA over the past decade. It shows that while SAPS arrests increased over the past 10 years, the number of cases finalised by the NPA decreased by 7%.¹⁷ Because court cases take time to be finalised, or may take place long after an arrest is made, it is not possible to know how many of the more than 1.6 million people who were arrested last year will be convicted. However based on a rough calculation it can be assumed that it will be less than 20%.

After being arrested, a suspect may be held in a correctional facility before being tried – especially if they have been arrested on suspicion of being involved in a serious violent crime. Incarceration is also the last step in the criminal justice process after conviction and sentencing. This is when the Department of Correctional Services steps in. This department is in many respects the poor stepsister in the criminal justice system, receiving a dramatically smaller proportion of the overall CJS budget than the police.

In 2015/16 the budget allocation for the Department of Correctional Services amounted to some R20.6bn

(3% of the total national budget).¹⁸ Of this, R5.55 million was spent on the incarceration of remand detainees (who make up 45 043 of detainees in correctional facilities).¹⁹

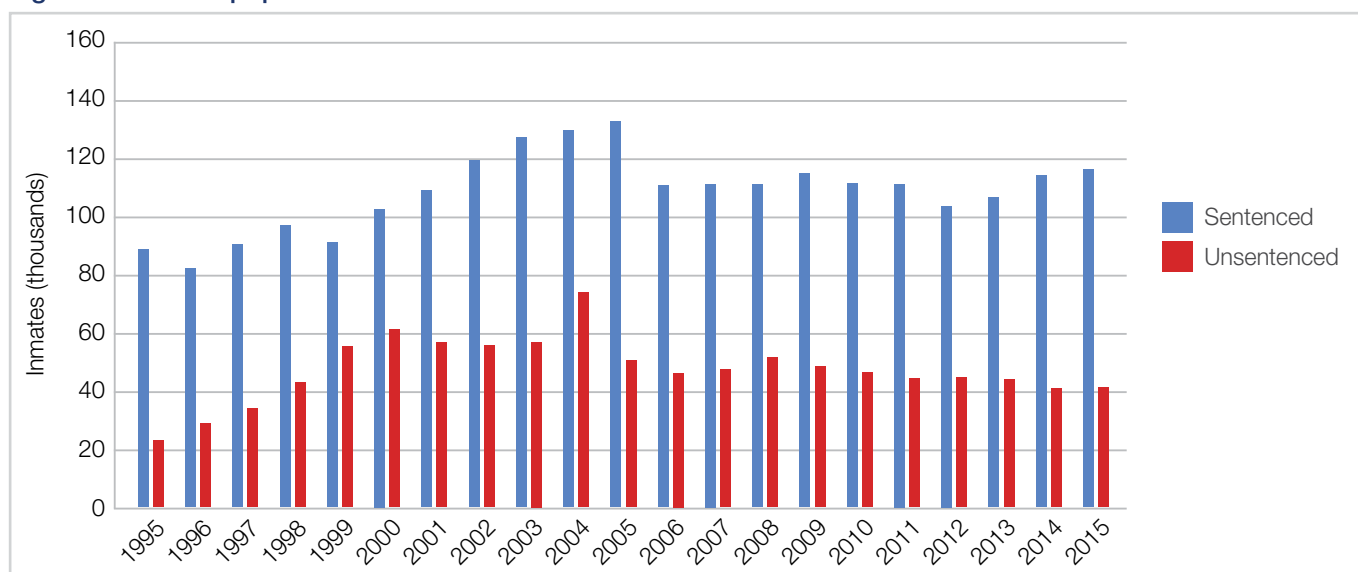
With a total capacity of 120 000 people, South African correctional facilities exceeded their capacity with the number of prisoners recorded to be 159 336 at the end of the last financial year.²⁰

Of the 1.6 million people arrested in 2015/16, only about 20% will be convicted

But even though more and more people are being arrested each year by the police, the number of inmates in South African correctional facilities has remained relatively stable over the past 10 years. This number could not grow any more without serious consequences for the human rights of those incarcerated – unless there was massive investment in building more prisons. But, this would be a very bad investment, as Todd Clear, a professor at the School of Criminal Justice at Rutgers University-Newark, has shown in relation to the US policies that have led to mass incarceration.²¹

The numbers show that more arrests do not lead to more people being incarcerated, and in this respect South Africa is not exceptional.²²

Figure 12: Inmate population 2006–2015



Source: Annual reports of the Department of Correctional Services 2010-2015/16.

It may be alarming to realise that there is no apparent correlation between spending more on the criminal justice system, increasing the number of police and a reduction in crime rates. But in this regard South Africa is not alone. Indeed, theorising the link between increasing or decreasing crime rates and criminal justice policy has been a central focus of criminological research and theory for many years.²³

Put simply, there is no reliable evidence that more police and more people in prison equals lower crime rates. There is however plenty of evidence that imprisoning people has negative effects on the communities from which they come, on their children and on society, while having little or no impact on the probability that they will offend again.²⁴ This policy brief now looks at how much the country is spending on preventing violent crime, and the cost of inaction to prevent violence.

The cost of violence

The criminal justice system costs South Africa some R126bn a year in direct costs, and an additional R45bn is spent annually on buying security from companies. But the real cost of violence is much higher than this.

Victims of violence often suffer injuries, both physical and psychological; they may need medical attention, and if employed will probably miss time at work. Even after they have recovered physically, the trauma of experiencing violence affects their well-being. It may lead to anxiety, depression and even long-term physical problems. This impacts not only on the victim's employer, but also their family, affecting children and their ability to realise their potential.

Two South African studies have assessed the cost of gender-based violence and violence against children. Their findings show that the combined costs are enormous.

In 2014 KPMG reported that they estimated the cost of gender-based violence in the 2012/13 financial year to have been anything from R28.4bn to R48.2bn,²⁵ about 1% of GDP at the time. However this was by their account, an underestimation, as it did not include the cost to civil society – and most services for victims of gender-based violence are provided by non-governmental organisations.²⁶

The report pointed out that the real costs of gender-based violence were borne not only by the state, perpetrators and victims but the whole of society: companies whose staff were harmed, children whose parents were harmed, parents whose children were harmed, and so on. These costs escalate each year with inflation, and the number of people carrying a burden of trauma as a result of having experienced or witnessed violence rises each year, greatly increasing the effect this has on families across generations.

There's no reliable evidence that more police and more people in prison leads to less crime

The other study, commissioned by Save the Children South Africa,²⁷ found that in 2015 the loss in human capital due to experiences of violence during childhood in South Africa was estimated to be around R238bn. This is about 6% of the GDP, double what we are currently spending on the criminal justice system annually, and more than 10 times the cost of gender-based violence.²⁸

The lesson from this study is that preventing children from witnessing and experiencing violence, and ensuring that they have a good start in life, is critical to building an inclusive economy in the medium to long term and will have a direct and significant impact on our country's GDP growth.²⁹

Both of these studies demonstrate what the cost is of not acting to reduce and prevent violence. Not investing sufficiently in preventing gender-based violence and violence against children contributes significantly and directly to lowered human capital, which severely impinges on our country's economy. That is because children who experience neglect and abuse, or who witness violence, are likely to go on to repeat the cycle of deprivation and disadvantage.

This is exacerbated by exposure to violence in the home, stressed parents, harsh corporal punishment at school and at home, and bullying at school. Together this creates a toxic mix that massively reduces human potential and lays the basis for continuing cycles of violence.

So how much is the government spending to address this?

How much are we spending to prevent violence?

When the Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation (DPME), on behalf of the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Violence Against Women and Children, and the cabinet undertook a Diagnostic Review of the State Response to Violence Against Women and Children,³⁰ they found that there was no simple answer to the question: How much is the state spending to prevent violence? This is because spending on preventing violence is split across 10 national and provincial departments, and is not clearly delineated in budget line items.

Nevertheless, the DPME arrived at a way of calculating the costs and concluded that only R9bn was spent on early interventions (to prevent violence) and care and support programmes, 'a mere 2.5% of the 10 national departments' entire expenditure budgets combined'.³¹

The financial and opportunity costs of not acting to reduce and prevent violence are massive

In addition, a budget analysis by UNICEF concluded that the budget for prevention and early intervention services made up less than 1% of the combined national and provincial Department of Social Development budgets. Moreover, all provinces – with the exception of Gauteng – showed a decrease in allocations to prevention services over the medium-term expenditure framework for the period of 2016/2017–2018/2019.³²

Of course this is not all that is spent in South Africa on violence prevention. A key finding from the diagnostic review was that there was a strong reliance on donor funding for violence-prevention programming, as well as on non-governmental organisations to provide services that prevent violence in communities. Unfortunately the total value of donor investment in primary violence prevention is not a matter of public record.

The problem with this approach is that it results in services that are unsustainable and inconsistent over

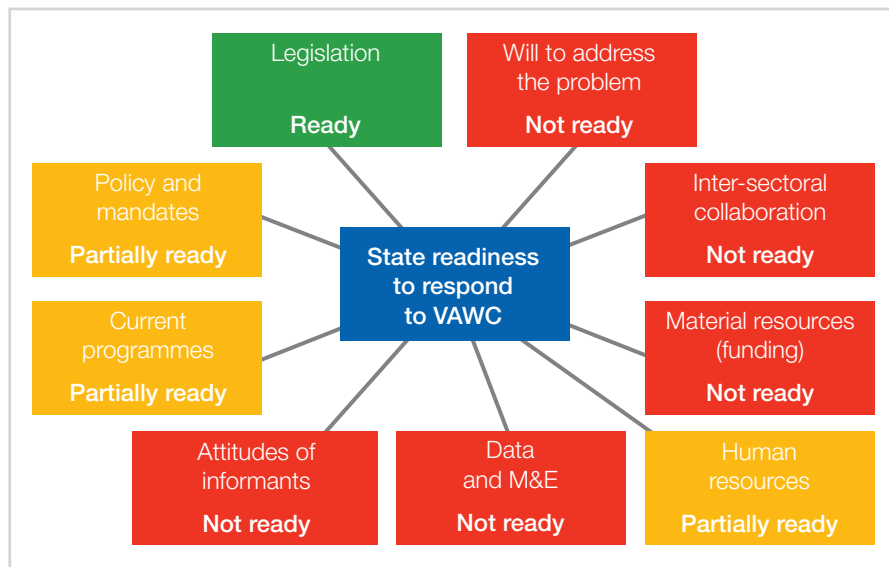
time. For any NGO, raising funds to support staff and services is a constant struggle. Donor strategies and decisions about what to fund change over time, and few donors are willing to fund individual NGOs for more than a few years at a time, expecting that NGOs will thereafter find alternative sources of funding or access state funding. These expectations are often not met. Also, over the past few years there has been a decline in donor investment in South Africa and this means that the services NGOs do provide are threatened.

According to the evaluation the current shortcomings of the state's response to preventing violence against women and children include:

1. A poor definition of the problem. Violence against women is defined as 'a women's issue' or a 'crime issue', leading to an emphasis on the wrong part of the state having to respond, and underplaying the need for services to prevent and respond to violence. The result is that much more money is spent on criminal justice and less on services that prevent violence and help survivors recover from trauma.
2. There is a comprehensive framework of laws and policies but inadequate political will to consistently drive the agenda for change. This means violence against women and children is not prioritised, despite the lip service paid to it. Also, most laws are not costed before they are promulgated, and the state doesn't have adequate financial or human resources to implement them.
3. Those working for the state and responding to violence (including to child abuse and neglect) experience significant vicarious trauma, have inadequate support, and often have to deal with unmanageably large case loads. They therefore become insensitive and harsh in their attitudes. Not enough is being done to address their own inequitable gender norms and normalised views of violence.
4. Finally, a substantial lack of coordination at community level. The sectoral mandates are clear but they are not being applied in communities in a coordinated way that maximises the strength of each government department, and NGOs, to reduce violence.³³

The following graphic provides an overview of the findings from the diagnostic review, and shows where there are weaknesses and gaps and where things are working well.

Figure 13: Overview of government readiness to respond to violence against women and children³⁴



Source: Department of Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation.

In 2016 the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Violence Against Women and Children (IMC on VAWC) accepted the findings of the diagnostic review (and the resulting improvement plan). The DPME facilitated interdepartmental discussions to develop an ‘improvement plan’ to address the shortcomings identified by the diagnostic review. The improvement plan, which has the Department of Social Development taking the lead, commits departments to:

- Revitalise, strengthen and relaunch the Programme of Action (this is the responsibility of the technical task team of the IMC on VAWC).
- Comprehensively define response services and minimum core services that the state must provide to survivors of violence, and cost these to determine how much funding departments need to provide NGOs and other service providers.
- Improve data on the prevalence of VAWC.
- Stop using crime statistics as an indication of prevalence and reported cases as an indicator of police performance.
- Build the evidence base for what works to prevent violence through programme evaluations.
- Improve accountability by establishing a body to provide oversight and coordination to the sector.³⁵

What we need to do to prevent and reduce violence

The World Health Organisation argues that if we want to reduce and prevent violence we have to tackle the social, familial, community-level and individual factors that increase the chances that someone will resort to violence – or become a victim of violence. These factors have been well documented through research nationally and internationally.³⁶



EXCEPT FOR GAUTENG,
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A recent study commissioned by the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Violence Against Women and Children and undertaken by a consortium of researchers from the University of Cape Town drew on a range of datasets to show that conditions in the home significantly affect the chances of a person becoming a victim of violence. That research tells us that the chances of being a victim of violence are increased for children who live in a poor, one-parent family, where a family member is involved in crime, where alcohol and drugs are used and where family conflict occurs regularly.³⁷

The key challenge is to develop a society in which all persons feel they have a stake

Save the Children South Africa's costing study estimated that South Africans who were physically abused as children earned on average 11.7% less a month than people who were not physically abused, and 9.2% less if they were emotionally abused as children. This is critical evidence to support the argument that in order to improve human capital and earnings in South Africa, the root causes of violence need to be addressed early. If we were to reverse this, by reducing and preventing violence, improved earnings would lead to increased revenue generated through taxes and greater participation in the economy – a situation in which the economy, the state and citizens benefit.

It is clear that to reduce and prevent violence, we have to address the social, economic and psychological well-being of citizens. The upside to this approach is that addressing the risk factors also means improving lives, increasing educational outcomes, improving the chances of employment and reducing the health and associated costs of violence.

This is not as impossible as it may seem. In South Africa there is a growing wealth of knowledge about the kinds of interventions that can work to do this. However the current approach to violence prevention is not effective. The country should be investing more wisely and undertaking the kind of research (including implementation research) that can help determine how to make evidence-based violence prevention

programmes available where they are needed and with the resources available.

This would include conducting costing analyses of these interventions, understanding how funding and resourcing work, strengthening the relationships between the government, NGOs and academics, and learning from beneficiaries' experiences and local knowledge. This is so that collective knowledge is used to inform resource allocation and the development of a sustainable system for providing programmes where they are needed most.

The kinds of things that need to be done include following the seven strategies identified by the World Health Organisation's INSPIRE package for ending violence against children, and increasing safety:³⁸

- **Implementing and enforcing laws**, such as those limiting access by young people to firearms and other weapons and those criminalising the violent punishment of children by parents.
- **Norms and values**: changing beliefs and behaviours around gender roles (for example the belief that men are only financial providers in the home and don't have a role to play in caring for children).
- **Safe environments**: creating safe spaces by targeting violent 'hotspots' and enhancing the built environment.
- **Providing parent and caregiver support** through parenting training programmes.
- **Income and economic strengthening**: strengthening the financial circumstances of poor families through microfinance and grants combined with training around gender norms.
- **Response and support services**: providing good response and support services, such as treatment programmes for juvenile offenders and counselling services for victims of violence.
- **Education and life skills**: establishing safe schools and improving children's life and social skills.³⁹

While there are many examples of how South Africa is already doing much of this, the country is not yet managing to do it consistently, sustainably or at the scale that is needed. This is in part because the prevention response has been concentrated on specialised services (e.g. increasing the number of social workers). But a new approach, one that is collectively defined by communities,

government, NGOs and academics, is needed to deal with the high levels of violence and trauma.⁴⁰

South Africa's approach needs to incorporate not only preventing violence before it happens, but also acting swiftly when violence does occur to prevent it from happening again, and providing excellent services to victims of violence to help them recover emotionally and physically. This is essential to breaking the cycles of violence, where trauma, if untreated, can reinforce cycles of violence – both for the perpetrator and the victim.

Conclusion

Increases in spending on the criminal justice system over the past 10 years have failed to deliver a decrease in violent crime. This is not surprising since the criminal justice system is largely reactive, and comes into effect only after a crime has been committed. While good professional policing may reduce certain types of crime such as armed robberies, organised crime and inter-group conflict (e.g. taxi or gang warfare), preventing interpersonal violent crime needs a different approach. It also requires greater investment in social programmes that address the risk factors for violence.

Though there is a great deal of progress in the development of laws, policies and programmes that define, criminalise and address violence against women and children, they have not resulted in sustainable, effective programmes that address the risk factors for violence.

To reduce and prevent violence in the long run, South Africans must start grappling with the difficult questions of how to make programmes that have been shown to be effective in addressing the risk factors for violence available where they are needed most.

But of course there is much more that must be done. As Keith Soothill and Brian Francis concluded after reviewing the theories about why there were reductions in crime in the United States in the 1990s, and the evidence for what caused particularly young men to engage in crime, 'the pivotal issue is whether one can develop a society in which all persons feel that they have a stake and, thus, develop internal controls to resist crime. The development of more prisons and more intrusive policing – measures of external controls – is a sad reflection of a failure to do this'.⁴¹

Civil society also now has an important opportunity to help departments, where possible, as partners in the implementation of the improvement plan, and by holding them to account for implementing the plan. Members of Parliament, non-governmental organisations and the media need to be asking departments about what they are doing to implement the improvement plan and ensure that progress is made.

In the next two years before South Africa's national general election, political parties are going to develop their election manifestos. Chances are that, as in the past, those manifestos will play to what party leaders believe voters want to hear: that they will be tough on crime and violence and increase spending on policing.

But this will not yield the desired results – rather it will further erode the chance that we (as a country) have to make a significant difference in the lives of people most affected by violence, and to improve the country's chances of climbing out of this harmful cycle. Political parties need to take note of the evidence and change their approach and their language from 'fighting violence' to 'preventing violence'.

Political parties should change their approach and language from 'fighting violence' to 'preventing violence'

In the meantime, it is essential for NGOs, government departments and academics to continue to find ways to communicate better, share information accessibly and work together to ensure that violence-prevention programmes are consistently and sustainably provided in communities where they are needed most. They have started doing this in the Dialogue Forum for Evidence-Based Programmes to Prevent Violence against Women and Children.

What is urgently needed is a coherent approach to reducing and preventing crime and violence. To this end the following is vital:

1. Understanding what works in South Africa to reduce and prevent violence in a context of a history of neglect, high levels of trauma and poverty. Lawlessness and a lack of hope have eroded

many communities and rebuilding requires multiple simultaneous interventions. There must be effective platforms to draw on the knowledge and experience of communities, NGOs, academics and government in order to ensure that interventions treating trauma, reducing domestic violence, changing harmful gender norms and ensuring children are safe at home, at school and in their neighbourhoods are available where and when they are needed.

2. A clear plan that takes into consideration the available resources. Since 1994 the tendency has been to plan for conditions where there are optimally functioning systems and sufficient human resources to implement costly and complex laws and policies. The reality is different. A national strategy that recognises resource constraints and works with what is available, harnessing the resources that exist at community level, is required. This means ensuring well-defined, sustainable community-based interventions supported by professionals to track families in trouble and support parents in raising their children in ways that encourage personal responsibility and non-violence, change harmful gender norms and respond to the needs of vulnerable families.

3. A strategy that recognises the power to change circumstances latent in communities. Each community has individuals who, despite their environment, have developed knowledge and skills to respond to their challenges. The strategy/ies should help communities tap into their communities' existing resources. NGOs and the government must work with communities in ways that do not import solutions but encourage communities to build on their collective wisdom. This must be done in a manner that is intuitive or resonates with their beliefs about life, family and society. This way the interventions can be successful and sustainable.

All this requires good cooperation and communication between researchers, policymakers, academics and community-based structures and organisations, and a research agenda that builds on what is known and provides answers on how to spend limited resources. This is what the national Dialogue Forum for Evidence-Based Programmes to Prevent Violence against Women and Children seeks to achieve. It is also important to remember that social change is a long-term project that needs a government committed to investing in interventions that take time to produce change.

Notes

- 1 National Planning Commission, National Development Plan 2030: Our future – make it work, The Presidency, Pretoria, 2012, 53.
- 2 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, The Global Study on Homicide 2013, Vienna, UNODC Research and Trend Analysis Branch, Division of Policy Analysis and Public Affairs, 2014, 23. A Kriegler and M Shaw, *A Citizen's Guide to Crime Trends in South Africa*, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2016, 85.
- 3 A Kriegler and M Shaw, *A Citizen's Guide to Crime Trends in South Africa*, Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball, 2016.
- 4 A Faull and B Rose, Professionalism and the South African Police Service: What is it and how can it help build safer communities? Pretoria, Institute for Security Studies, ISS Paper 240, 2016.
- 5 X Fang et al, The Social and Economic Burden of Violence Against Children in South Africa, Pretoria, Save the Children South Africa, 2016.
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About this policy brief

This policy brief flows from and contributes to discussions held at the Dialogue Forum for Evidence-Based Programmes to Prevent Violence against Women and Children. The forum, established in 2015, brings together academics, local and international non-governmental organisations that are evaluating violence-prevention programmes, and government officials. The government departments involved include the Departments of Basic Education; Women; Social Development; Health; Justice; Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation; and the National Treasury. The forum seeks to build strong, healthy inter-sectoral relationships, catalyse action and support processes that will lead to the sustainable implementation of evidence-based programmes to prevent violence in South Africa. It is convened by the Institute for Security Studies and guided by a driver group that includes representatives from Save the Children South Africa, the Medical Research Council, the Department of Women and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

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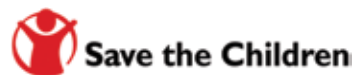
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The Institute for Security Studies (ISS) partners to build knowledge and skills that secure Africa's future. The ISS is an African non-profit organisation with offices in South Africa, Kenya, Ethiopia and Senegal. Our work covers transnational crimes, migration, maritime security and development, peace operations, crime prevention and criminal justice, peacebuilding, and the analysis of conflict and governance.

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