

INEE Round Table “The Role of Education and Youth in Preventing Urban Violence and Countering Violent Extremism”

~ Case Studies from Research and Practice ~

Summary

 <p>AMERICAN INSTITUTES FOR RESEARCH®</p>	Organisation	American Institutes for Research
	Location	Washington, D.C.
	Title	Championing Education’s Role in Reducing Urban Violence: Preliminary Findings From South Africa
	Key Themes	Violence prevention and reduction; urban violence; education
<p>Overview:</p> <p>Urban violence is a considerable threat to the stability and development of states and the well-being of their populations. In 2025, the urban population in Africa is expected to be larger than in Europe and Latin America combined. During the same period, Latin America (which is already considered to be the most urbanized region of the world) is likely to witness a rise in city-to-city migration resulting in the proliferation of medium-sized cities. While such urbanization is likely to help in overall economic development, it is also likely to exacerbate inequalities, which, in turn, may increase the already high levels of violence experienced by many communities living there.</p> <p>The role and effectiveness of violence prevention and security programs require examination. Recent reviews of such initiatives show a shift from ‘heavy-handed’ approaches (which emphasize the use of police force), towards ‘softer handed’ civil society methods (which aim to create order through prevention or addressing risk factors). Often, education and training is at the heart of these latter methods and not part of security and safety planning at the city or state level.</p> <p>South Africa demonstrates high levels of socio-economic development, but also inequality and interpersonal and public violence. This case study explores the ways in which South Africa has used education to approach violence reduction and prevention. It also identifies significant gaps and needs in addressing urban violence from an education perspective. A few key examples are provided of nonformal education interventions that seek to mitigate urban violence in South Africa.</p>		

Description of Context: (problematize, include figures/data where possible)

Fifty-four percent of the world’s population currently lives in urban areas, according to the United Nations (UN). Projections show that urbanization, fueled by population growth, could increase to

66% by 2050.¹ In the last two decades, violence in most of the world's largest cities has increased—especially youth crimes and crimes committed by minors, which have “exponentially” exploded in the southern hemisphere.² In urban contexts, inequality and exclusion (unequal access to employment, education, health, and physical infrastructure) intersect with poverty to precipitate violence.³ Although urban violence is often context-specific, some notable risk indicators are associated with violence globally. A 2000 UN Centre for Human Settlements report, for example, cited the presence of street children, school dropout rates, widespread social exclusion, civil wars, and small arms trafficking as aggravating factors for violent crime in urban communities.⁴

The World Health Organization's 2002 *World Report on Violence and Health* defines violence as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation.”⁵ The report distinguishes four ways that violence may be inflicted: physical, sexual, psychological attack, and deprivation. According to The Brookings Institution, violence as a definition is contested, but distinctions can be made between social, economic, institutional, and political violence, each a primary motivating factor driving an unconscious or conscious physical act to gain or maintain power.⁶

Victim-perpetrator relationships central to violence also can become interchangeable, depending

¹ REFERENCES

United Nations. (2014). *World's population increasingly urban with more than half living in urban areas*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/news/population/world-urbanization-prospects-2014.html>

² United Nations Centre for Human Settlements. (2000). *Prevention of urban crime*. Retrieved from http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/drivers_urb_change/urb_society/pdf_violence_rights/HABITAT_Vanderschueren_prevention_urban_crime.pdf

³ Moser, C.O.N. (2006). *Reducing urban violence in developing countries*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. Retrieved from <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2006/11/globaleconomics-moser/20061121moser.pdf>

⁴ United Nations Centre for Human Settlements. (2000). *Prevention of urban crime*. Retrieved from http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/drivers_urb_change/urb_society/pdf_violence_rights/HABITAT_Vanderschueren_prevention_urban_crime.pdf

⁵ Violence Prevention Alliance. (2015). *Definition and typology of violence*. Retrieved from <http://www.who.int/violenceprevention/approach/definition/en/>

⁶ Moser, C.O.N. (2006). *Reducing urban violence in developing countries*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. Retrieved from <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2006/11/globaleconomics-moser/20061121moser.pdf>

on time and context. Women, girls, and young men are disproportionately affected by violence.⁷ A 2013 global review of available data on violence found that 35% of women worldwide have experienced physical or sexual intimate partner or nonpartner violence. Some national violence studies indicate that up to 70% of women have experienced physical or sexual violence in their lifetime.⁸ The UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)'s 2011 *Global Study on Homicide* reports that young men—particularly in Central and South America, Central and Southern Africa, and the Caribbean—are at greatest risk of intentional homicide. Approximately 6.9 persons per 100,000 are killed globally each year: the rate among young males is three times higher (21.1 per 100,000 persons). In addition, 80% of victims and perpetrators of violent crime, specifically homicide, are men.⁹

Popular policy-driven approaches to mitigate or reduce violence often focus on citizen security, which comprises institution strengthening, community and civilian policing, criminal (and juvenile) justice programs, and rehabilitation programs.¹⁰ Environmental design and urban planning that create safe public spaces are other approaches. Education also is an effective protective measure. The first prevention measure cited in the *United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency* is “the provision of opportunities, in particular educational opportunities, to meet the varying needs of young persons and to serve as a supportive framework for safeguarding the personal development of all young persons, particularly those who are demonstrably endangered or at social risk and are in need of special care and protection.”¹¹ Included in the UNODC *Handbook on the Crime Prevention Guidelines* is a resiliency framework that illustrates key factors contributing to the risk of crime and violence. Schools and school policies are strong community influences. The handbook emphasizes that at the local level, lack of good education facilities and poor or disorganized schools, poor achievement, high dropout rates, bullying behavior, and exclusion from school all have been identified as risk factors for offenses and victimization among

⁷ Act Alliance. (2010). *Humanitarian protection*. Retrieved from <http://www.actalliance.org/resources/policies-and-guidelines/humanitarian-protection>

⁸ UN Women. (2014). *Facts and figures: Ending violence against women*. Retrieved from <http://www.unwomen.org/en/what-we-do/ending-violence-against-women/facts-and-figures#sthash.R0jW7jHa.dpuf>

⁹ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2011). *UNODC study shows that homicide rates are highest in parts of the Americas and Africa*. Retrieved from <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/2011/October/unodc-study-shows-that-homicide-rates-are-highest-in-parts-of-the-americas-and-africa.html>

¹⁰ Moser, C.O.N. (2006). *Reducing urban violence in developing countries*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. Retrieved from <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/papers/2006/11/globaleconomic-s-moser/20061121moser.pdf>

¹¹ United Nations. (1990). *United Nations Guidelines for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency (Riyadh Guidelines)*. Retrieved from <https://www.crin.org/docs/resources/publications/hrbap/IHCRC/UnitedNationsGuidelinesforthePreventionofJuvenileDelinquency.pdf>

children and youth.¹² If, according to a Good article,¹³ studies show school performance contributes most to whether youth become involved in drugs or violence, then education interventions need to be seen as a strategic behavior and attitudinal change tool. A 2007 longitudinal study that the UN and World Bank conducted in 62 countries found a significant relationship between higher levels of education and lower homicide rates, demonstrating that along with low income per capita, limited access to education is a critical contributor to violence in developing countries.¹⁴

Explanation of the Intervention: (*rationale, conceptual basis, process*)

American Institutes for Research (AIR) is experienced in international development and committed to research, capacity building, and dialogue that address the greatest challenges affecting the world's most marginalized. AIR recognizes the need to look outside conflict and postconflict paradigms—where the greatest development assistance is focused—to middle-income countries where violence and lawlessness threaten political, economic, and social stability and growth. AIR invested in an initial exploration of urban violence in South Africa as part of a partnership with the Network for International Policies and Cooperation in Education and Training (NORRAG) and at the same time the Igarapé Institute was conducting a similar study with NORRAG in Brazil. The objective of the South Africa study was to learn the role education plays as a preventive or response measure in urban violent crime.

South Africa provides insight into a middle-income country with significant regional presence where staggering levels of violent crime challenge development. AIR systematically reviewed formal and nonformal education initiatives limited to certain cities that were experiencing high rates of violent crime, including murder, assault, and rape. The mapping's goal was to:

- Identify formal and nonformal education interventions addressing a culture or climate of violence.
- Ascertain whether an evidence base exists to link education to violence reduction or prevention.
- Recommend steps to strengthen education's role in violence reduction or prevention based on observed gaps and needs.

¹² United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2010). *Handbook on the crime prevention guidelines: Making them work*, 11. Retrieved from http://www.unodc.org/documents/justice-and-prison-reform/crimeprevention/10-52410_Guidelines_eBook.pdf

¹³ Aptman, J. (n.d.). *Preventing violence by teaching literacy*. Retrieved from <http://magazine.good.is/articles/preventing-violence-by-teaching-literacy>

¹⁴ USAID. (2007). *Education's role in preventing youth crime and violence in LAC*. Retrieved from http://www.gem2.org/sites/default/files/Youth%20and%20Violence%20in%20LAC_S EPT_19%20FINAL.pdf

The findings highlight existing realities and provide recommendations to strengthen education as an essential prevention and response tool. Most research on urban violence in South Africa has been conducted from a safety and security perspective, not an education perspective. The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development project on armed violence, for example, conducted a mapping on violence prevention and reduction that included South Africa and Brazil, but education interventions were not explicitly identified or addressed.¹⁵

AIR developed a methodology to review formal and nonformal education interventions in South Africa. This systematic mapping used desktop research and semistructured field interviews that were conducted between November 2014 and January 2015. The main sources were open-source institutional, organizational, or project documents (databases, websites, annual reports, evaluations). When documents were inaccessible or missing or AIR needed further contextual information, AIR conducted phone calls and in-person interviews to supplement the data.

AIR restricted the inventory to interventions between 1995 and 2014¹⁶ For South Africa, 20 years postapartheid accounted for the establishment of a strong civil society. In the wake of such dynamic democratic change, state violence receded, but communal violence increased at unprecedented levels.¹⁷ Many formal and nonformal education programs started in 1995. The cities of Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban are the three highest crime areas. Of these, the author chose Cape Town and Johannesburg. The author also added Port Elizabeth to examine a smaller city with a high rate of violent crime.¹⁸

This report uses the UN's definitions of formal and nonformal education. The UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization defines *formal education* as the hierarchically structured, chronologically graded educational system running from primary through tertiary institutions.¹⁹ *Nonformal education* (NFE) is defined as an organized educational activity outside the established formal system, with identifiable learning objectives. Governments, UN agencies, trade unions, sports clubs, and youth organizations deliver NFE.²⁰ NFE's importance rests in its ability to reach at-risk and marginalized individuals (i.e., children and youth) who often suffer from socioeconomic

¹⁵ AIR chose not to limit its approach to preventing and reducing *armed* violence in South Africa. A high degree of violence occurs here without the use of weapons, so AIR wanted to examine programs that addressed violence rather than just armed violence.

¹⁶ AIR's original intention was to adhere to the same time period as Brazil, but a pattern quickly emerged that helped AIR determine that limiting the scope to only those organizations that began in the past 5 years would detract from the mapping's value. Most South African initiatives have a longstanding postapartheid context; they began before 2010 and continue today.

¹⁷ Shaw, M. (2002). *Crime and policing in post-apartheid South Africa: Transforming under fire*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

¹⁸ Port Elizabeth provides an interesting example of a South African city and province organizing policies and practice within the education sector aimed at violence prevention and reduction.

¹⁹ UN Social Development Network. (2011). *Feature: Youth and non-formal education and community involvement*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/newsletters/2011/YouthFlashJune2011>

²⁰ UN Social Development Network. (2011). *Feature: Youth and non-formal education and community involvement*. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/newsletters/2011/YouthFlashJune2011>

inequities that impede access to formal education and skills-training opportunities. *Awareness campaigns* are not considered to be formal or nonformal education interventions.

Prior to mapping, AIR developed an item list to analyze similar information about formal and nonformal education interventions:

- Organization, type, and mission
- Project, objectives, and goals
- Type of violence addressed (e.g., armed, rape)
- Risk factors addressed, intended or unintended
- Education approach, formal or nonformal
- Target population profile
- Beneficiary groups, size, and type
- Monitoring and evaluation method
- Policy linkages, intended or unintended
- Funding level

Terms and examples used for each item were country-and language-specific. *Armed violence reduction* and *citizen security*,²¹ for example, are common terms in Latin America but not in South Africa. Violence-reduction and crime-prevention initiatives were therefore used without reference to armed violence, and safety and security were used without reference to citizen. Definitions and age categories for youth also vary among countries. In South Africa, for example, the legal age of majority is 18, whereas government, academia, and civil society categorize anyone age 35 or younger as youth.

AIR conducted an initial scan to identify organizations working in education, crime prevention, development, and civil society. These groups included nonprofit organizations (NPOs), civil society organizations, faith-based organizations, corporate entities, government departments, and academic institutions. In South Africa, AIR used lists of registered entities to identify organizations with an education focus on violence-reduction activities.

Finally, AIR drafted a list of risk factors contributing to urban violence and definitions for these factors. Existing literature on the causes of violent crime in each setting and discussions with people working in violence reduction and prevention in each country informed this list. Data collection then consisted of reviewing organizations or interventions in each selected city. AIR added these data to the item list using NVivo.

Several key limitations bear mentioning. South Africa has no systematic process to collect reliable data on violent crime or share data across sectors. No single government department is responsible for safety, for example, and no interdepartmental process exists to share

²¹ The term *citizen security* works well in Latin America because Spanish has only one word for safety and security: *seguridad*. But in English, safety and security can have two different meanings, especially when the use of military or militarized police has been a challenge to peace and stability. The idea that *noncitizens* are not part of safety, security, prevention, or reduction discussions also seems counterproductive to peace and stability objectives.

responsibility related to violence prevention. In addition, no consensus exists on statistics involving violent crimes; the more reliable data are based on mortuary statistics. The unstructured use of terms by NPOs and civil society to define education activities—versus an advocacy or awareness campaign—also was problematic. Another major challenge was the limited information that many organizations provided on their websites. Information often was provided on general focus areas, but little detail existed on individual projects. This could in some cases be attributed to the nature of NPO funding in South Africa because organizations would implement smaller or ad hoc projects whenever they received funding and would not spend time updating websites. Finally, AIR did not analyze any organizations or programming for quality of design, content, or implementation.

Results & Findings: *(outcomes, direct/indirect results, intended vs unintended, challenges)*

URBAN VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE EDUCATION SPACE

Violent crime in South Africa is defined as contact crimes, or crimes against the person. These include murder, sexual offenses, attempted murder, assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm, common assault, robbery with aggravating circumstances, and common robbery. Until 1994, South Africans had little reason to respect or believe in the rule of law.²² The history of the South African state's use of violence against its own people is significant to bear in mind when looking at attitudes and social acceptance of high degrees of violence. Urban South Africans will cite "immunity to low levels of violence" as an accepted cultural norm, having been habituated to frequent exposure to violence at the hands of the state and as part of collective expression, action, and response for decades.^{23 24}

Multiple and overlapping risk factors contribute to urban violence in South Africa. Mass inequities and class divides, reinforced by violent precolonial, colonial, and apartheid eras—and exacerbated across 20 years of a democratic awakening—provide a challenging backdrop. At the state level, corruption and government failure to provide basic public services are risk factors. A widespread dependence on NPOs to assume responsibility for health, education, justice, and safety also is misguided and untenable—especially in the presence of extremes, such as the existing *white capital*²⁵ and the new "Black elite" who believe "it is my time to eat."²⁶ At the community level,

²² Gould, C. (2014, September 18) Why is crime and violence so high in South Africa? *News24.com*. Retrieved from <http://www.news24.com/Columnists/GuestColumn/Why-is-crime-and-violence-so-high-in-South-Africa-20140918>

²³ Project for Conflict Resolution and Development and Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Interviews, December 2014.

²⁴ Several researchers and practitioners interviewed underscored the pattern of violence in South African communities. They argue that patterns found in mortuary data suggest predictability—and if predictability exists, violence should be preventable.

²⁵ Access to capital was more easily obtained by Whites as compared with other racial groups during the colonial and apartheid eras.

²⁶ Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, Interview, December 2014.

gangsterism, dysfunctional families, and traditional patriarchal and gender roles contribute to turf and identify wars, abuse, and power struggles. Finally, a weak public learning environment for the most marginalized and a lack of relevant skills training for youth seeking to enter the workforce contribute to violent social and emotional responses to the status quo. Drugs and substance abuse also contribute to the violent nature of crime.²⁷ Drug-related crime as a “crime detected as a result of a police action” rose by 210.4% in the last decade.^{28 29}

Public violence and interpersonal violence are two different arenas. In South Africa, 65% of violent crimes are interpersonal and police cannot intervene in a private space unless called to do so.^{30 31} Analysis of the national murder statistics collected from police precincts suggests that residents in low-income areas are far more likely to be murdered than those in middle- and high-income areas.³² In cities, black males between ages 20–40 are roughly 17 times as likely as white males in the same age group to die from homicidal violence.³³ Although homicide in South Africa has decreased in recent years, it also is still relatively high—44% of the 41 homicides per 100,000 persons in Cape Town alone take place in the poorest neighborhoods (Khayelitsha, Nyanga, and Gugulethu). In these neighborhoods, unemployment is 80% higher than

²⁷ South African Government. (n.d.). *Delivery agreement for outcome 3: “All people in South Africa are and feel safe.”* Retrieved from http://www.gov.za/sites/www.gov.za/files/Outcome%203%20Delivery%20Agreement_0.pdf; South African Police Service. (2014). *South African police service department of police*. Retrieved from <http://www.saps.gov.za>.

²⁸ South African Police Services. (2014). *Crime situation in South Africa: April 2004 to March 2005 to April 2013 to March 2014*. Retrieved from http://www.saps.gov.za/resource_centre/publications/statistics/crimestats/2014/crime_stats.php

²⁹ A 2/17/2015 e-mail from the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) also states: “One has to understand that there has been a huge police focus on drug-related crimes because of the unconfirmed but perceived increase in drug use. Therefore the increase is most likely the result of police action through search and seizures and raids. We do not know what the underreporting rates are for violent crimes but it is high, especially for assaults. Drug-related crimes may be more closely linked with the increase in robberies and property theft but there are no causal data to substantiate this hypothesis.”

³⁰ Institute for Security Studies. Interview, December 2014.

³¹ ISS also provided this information in a 2/17/2015 e-mail: The survey that determined the 65% was done in 2007 and we do not know how it has changed. We will guess that it has decreased somewhat because of the decrease in murders and reported assaults. The same study showed that 16% of murders were the result of another crime such as robbery. With increases in robbery we estimate that this amount is now closer to 20% to 25%.

³² Institute for Security Studies. (2014). *Total contact crimes per capita in Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Port Elizabeth [map].*; Institute for Security Studies. (2014). *Total contact crimes in Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Port Elizabeth [map].*

³³ Ratele, K. (2010). Watch your man: Young black males at risk of homicidal violence. *SA Crime Quarterly*, 33, 19–24. Retrieved from <https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Ratele.pdf>

the city average and public services range from dismal to nonexistent.³⁴ Other violent crimes, such as rape and assault, follow a similar pattern.

Credible statistics, such as those that can be cited for the Brazil case, are problematic in South Africa. The data on violent crimes presented in Table 1 are the most reliable of their kind:

Table 1: Crime in the RSA: April to March 2009–2014

Crime Category	2009/2010	2010/2011	2011/2012	2012/2013	2013/2014	Percentage change 2012/2013 and 2013/2014	Percentage change 2004/2005 and 2013/2014
CONTACT CRIMES (CRIMES AGAINST THE PERSON)							
Murder	16,834	15,940	15,609	16,259	17,068	5.0%	-9.2%
Total Sexual Offences	68,332	66,196	64,514	66,387	62,649	-5.6%	-9.4%
Attempted murder	17,410	15,493	14,859	16,363	17,110	4.6%	-30.2%
Assault with the intent to inflict grievous bodily harm	205,293	198,602	192,651	185,893	183,173	-1.5%	-26.5%
Common assault	197,284	185,891	181,670	172,909	167,157	-3.3%	-37.6%
Robbery with aggravating circumstances	113,755	101,463	101,203	105,888	119,351	12.7%	-5.9%
Common robbery	57,537	54,883	52,980	53,540	53,858	0.6%	-40.7%
CONTACT CRIMES	676,445	638,468	623,486	617,239	620,366	0.5%	-26.8%

Source: SAPS 2014 at http://www.saps.gov.za/resource_centre/publications/statsitics/crimestats/2014/crime_stats.php

Furthermore, limited data are available on school violence and the use of corporal punishment in schools apart from the available research undertaken by Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP). In a CJCP 2012 National School Violence Study ($N = 6,000$ children), 22.2% of children interviewed were victims of violence; this excludes theft. A total of 58.7% of children were victimized, which included bullying and cyber bullying. Furthermore, 49.8% of learners claimed to have received corporal punishment, even though this was officially banned in schools in 1996.^{35, 36}

³⁴ United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. (2011). *Global study on homicide*. Retrieved from http://www.unodc.org/documents/data-and-analysis/statistics/Homicide/Globa_study_on_homicide_2011_web.pdf

³⁵ Burton, P., & Leoschut, L. (2013). *School violence in South Africa: Results of the 2012 National School Violence Study*. Cape Town, South Africa: Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention. Retrieved from http://www.cjcp.org.za/uploads/2/7/8/4/27845461/monograph12-school-violence-in-south_africa.pdf

³⁶ Global Initiative to End All Corporal Punishment of Children. (2012). *Country report for South Africa*. Retrieved from

From the mapping exercise, Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Port Elizabeth organizations most identified inequality or social marginalization as the risk factors targeted by education programming. Twenty percent of organizations in Cape Town, 26% in Johannesburg, and 26% in Port Elizabeth provide counseling and life skills development to address these risk factors. Lack of education as well as relevant employment and life skills training were identified as a subsequent risk factor, targeted by 20% of organizations mapped in Cape Town, 19% in Johannesburg, and 24% in Port Elizabeth. Organized literacy, life skills and employability skills teaching, and training interventions are implemented to counteract the influence of these risk factors. The third most targeted risk factor varied by city. In Cape Town and Johannesburg, 17% of organizations mapped cited gang culture. In Port Elizabeth, 18% of organizations mapped cited the absence of a parent or caregiver and dysfunctional families.

IDENTIFYING INTERVENTIONS: EDUCATION'S ROLE IN ADDRESSING URBAN VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa has achieved almost universal access to education and spends about 7% of gross domestic product and 20% of total state expenditures on education, making it one of the highest public investments in education in the world.³⁷ Teachers' salaries are the largest part of public spending on education and teachers represent 3% of employed adults in South Africa; teachers and teacher unions are powerful and are a strong political, social, and economic interest group that can "delay if not thwart" policy reform.³⁸ The quality of education remains poor, with nearly half of those enrolled in Grade 1 not advancing to Grade 12.³⁹ Overcrowded classrooms, high student-teacher ratios, high dropout rates, and low literacy and numeracy results are evidence of poor teacher training, unskilled teachers, lack of commitment by teachers, poor learner support at home, and a shortage of adequate basic resources directed specifically at learning and achievement.⁴⁰ The central government outlines the national framework for school policy, but administrative responsibility lies with the provinces. Further decision making and spending is devolved to the local level, where community-led school governing bodies have significant

<http://www.endcorporalpunishment.org/progress/country-reports/south-africa.html>
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³⁷ South Africa.Info. (2013). *Education in South Africa*. Retrieved from

<http://www.southafrica.info/about/education/education.htm#.VY1B0xNViko>

³⁸ Seekings, J. (2004). Trade unions, social policy and class compromise in post-apartheid South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*, 100(4), 299–312.

³⁹ Modisaotsile, B. M. (2012). The failing standard of basic education in South Africa [Briefing No. 72]. Pretoria, South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa. Retrieved from <http://www.ai.org.za/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/03/No.-72.The-Failing-Standard-of-Basic-Education-in-South-Africa1.pdf>

⁴⁰ Modisaotsile, B. M. (2012). The failing standard of basic education in South Africa [Briefing No. 72]. Pretoria, South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa. Retrieved from <http://www.ai.org.za/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/03/No.-72.The-Failing-Standard-of-Basic-Education-in-South-Africa1.pdf>

influence on the school environment. Often, the representatives of these governing bodies also lack formal education and training.⁴¹

In South Africa, 221 formal and nonformal education interventions were identified in Cape Town, Johannesburg, and Port Elizabeth. Of these mapped projects that have been operating throughout the past 20 years, 215 were ongoing in 2014, 3 were listed as closed within the past 2 years, and 3 did not provide a current status.⁴² The 92 implementing organizations had a mission or specified project objective to provide teaching and learning activities that would directly or indirectly address risk factors of violence in a specific neighborhood or community. So for example, 35 of these organizations listed education as a goal of their mission, while 26 defined the teaching of life skills as a clear goal. In addition, most organizations worked in communities, not in schools. Eighty-two of the 92 implementing actors were NPOs. Universities or corporate organizations that implemented projects had established an NPO to do so (e.g., General Motors Foundation or Students Health and Welfare Centres Organization at University of Cape Town). The NPOs serve 31 distinct townships or communities in Cape Town and 24 in the urban or peri-urban areas of Johannesburg. In Port Elizabeth, 10 NPOs serve 3 urban communities.

The fragmentation of civil society and development work in South Africa is a clear obstacle to addressing risk factors systematically. The review of 221 projects indicated that 20 are classified as operating within or complementary to the formal education system and 200 implement nonformal education interventions. One organization operates in the formal school system and the community.

Beneficiaries in each of the three cities represent children (one quarter of mapped organizations listed them as target beneficiaries) and youth (one third listed them as target beneficiaries).⁴³ Projects also are focused on a small number of people, with 47 of 65 organizations working with fewer than 500 people and 24 of these working with fewer than 100 people. Although smaller projects might demonstrate a higher impact, little evidence exists to support this fact.

AIR interviewed 17 individuals from the education, law and law enforcement, and security sectors in each of the cities. All interviewees believed more than just the police were needed to combat urban violence. They also believed that a multipronged effort including the formal education sector and civil society partners was critical.^{44 45} Currently, the Department of Basic Education does

⁴¹ Modisaotsile, B. M. (2012). The failing standard of basic education in South Africa [Briefing No. 72]. Pretoria, South Africa: Africa Institute of South Africa. Retrieved from <http://www.ai.org.za/wp-content/uploads/downloads/2012/03/No.-72.The-Failing-Standard-of-Basic-Education-in-South-Africa1.pdf>

⁴² Development Initiatives. (2013). *Investments to end poverty: Real money, real choices, real lives*. Bristol, UK: Author. Retrieved from http://devinit.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/09/Investments_to_End_Poverty_full_report.pdf

⁴³ *Children* are defined as preprimary through primary school age and *youth* are defined as between 14–35. While 18 years old is the age when a child becomes an adult, the government and NPOs use 35 years and younger to capture the youth population.

⁴⁴ Institute for Security Studies, Interview, December 2014.

⁴⁵ Interviewees suggested we consider France and New Zealand as examples more often: They have created effective National Crime Prevention Agencies and the Prime Minister is responsible for crime prevention rather than the police.

not play a significant role in municipal or provincial strategies to combat violence through curriculum development that could be integrated into classroom learning to address local risk factors. Instead, the Department of Community Safety and Department of Social Development are involved in provincial-level strategies to address safety in schools. The South African teachers' union is referenced as an enabler of ongoing corporal punishment and violence in schools because head teachers close ranks when complaints are made or transfer teachers between schools to address the problem.⁴⁶ One NPO in Port Elizabeth discussed the "culling of children in Grade 11" because of pressures on teachers to graduate the highest number of students. Given this pressure, teachers discourage children from entering Grade 12 if they do not show promise for passing the secondary-school equivalency by Grade 11.⁴⁷

Funding flows for education interventions to combat South Africa's high levels of violence also are dismal. From available data on funding, only three reporting organizations operate activities at over \$500,000 (USD), sixteen operate activities on funding between \$100,000 and \$499,000 (USD), forty-nine operate activities with \$100,000 (USD) or less in assistance, and 30 of these operate with less than \$50,000 (USD) in assistance. The organizations mapped stated that they apply for funding from a variety of sources operating in South Africa and abroad. The three most frequently cited funders of NPOs belonged to the business or private sector (which were 42 of total funders mapped); trusts (41 of total funders mapped); and the national government (37 of total funders mapped).

Several positive examples exist of formal and nonformal education interventions in South Africa. In Cape Town, AMANDLA EduFootball has used the power of sports to attract more than 3,000 children and youth each week to Safe-Hub spaces in high-crime neighborhoods. Through an integrated and holistic approach to building youth leaders, teaching interpersonal social skills through fair play, providing tutoring and homework sessions in English and mathematics, and job training, AMANDLA has documented with local police a decrease in violent crime since beginning its activities within a 600-meter radius of the Safe-Hub in Khayelitsha.⁴⁸ In Port Elizabeth, Masifunde trains more than 200 youth to design and lead *change projects* that help build safer communities in violent-crime neighborhoods. Homework clubs and tutoring also are provided in collaboration with schools; teachers in partnering schools help monitor and increase school achievement. Youth in Grades 10–12 are provided leadership and safety training. They also create a nontraditional project to address local risk factors, which is supported by Masifunde.⁴⁹ Finally, Street Law South Africa, which operates across South Africa in urban and rural areas, was established to provide basic legal education to communities and schools. The organization has developed learner support materials (including for learners with low literacy levels) and training protocols to build the capacity of local law enforcement officials, health care practitioners, lawyers, prosecutors, candidate attorneys, paralegals, voluntary legal advisors, community leaders, and educators to help strengthen community understanding of legal and human rights violations and remedy options. Street Law provides weekly lesson materials on democracy, human

⁴⁶ University of Cape Town, Interview, December 2014.

⁴⁷ Masifunde, Interview, December 2014.

⁴⁸ Please see <http://www.edufootball.org/en/#!/impact> AMANDLA has recently partnered with the International Committee of the Red Cross and the University of Cape Town to conduct several impact evaluations of programming in Mannenburg and Gugulethu, including a longitudinal study following children across a 10-year period.

⁴⁹ Please see <http://masifunde.com/>

rights, and legal education to more than 300 schools in South Africa countrywide and reaches 30,000 learners annually. It focuses on crime and violence as well as crimes against women and children specifically.⁵⁰

EVIDENCE FOR EDUCATION'S ROLE IN VIOLENCE REDUCTION AND PREVENTION

South Africa has no shortage of academic research on violence. A basic journal query limited to 2010–2015 on *violence* and *South Africa* yielded more than 15,000 articles, and a search inputting *urban violence, education, and South Africa* still produced more than 500 results. Despite the time and funds spent on academic research, this research is rarely applied and it does not appear to feed into better implementation practices.

The preliminary findings emphasize a need for several key components of strong monitoring and evaluation that would build an evidence base for more effective education interventions. These include:

- Indicators that include formal and nonformal education benchmarks (and where these intersect with violence prevention and reduction efforts).
- Good practices and lessons learned from field-based NPOs and development actors.
- Coordinated data collection and data analysis studies on key interventions that focus on violence prevention and reduction.

In South Africa, consistent and relevant indicators have yet to be defined for tracking performance above the activity level between donors and implementers. Current discussions exist at the donor level and among several think tanks. Although these discussions are said to have a multiagency approach, the formal education sector is not included. Furthermore, although widespread recognition exists that violence is an enormous and complex challenge across the country, little rigorous monitoring and evaluation have been done to provide a solid evidence base of good practices or lessons learned that could systematize or leverage programming, define indicators with greater accuracy, and show impact. This may be because of funding constraints or the way that research funds are used to strengthen and document an evidence base that implementers can use. Of 92 mapped organizations, only 5 displayed information regarding evaluations that had been conducted externally to assess their activities. Only 17 of these organizations displayed any reference to continuous program assessments, external evaluations, or qualitative or quantitative interviewing of beneficiaries regarding project effectiveness and impact. Two major donor organizations stated in interviews that evaluations above activity-level monitoring and reporting are not conducted.

Conclusions: *(suitability of the approach, adaptability to other contexts, lessons learned, outcomes, direct/indirect results, intended vs unintended)*

Based on the systematic identification and analysis of education interventions in South Africa, the author recommends the following:

⁵⁰ Please see <http://www.streetlaw.org.za/>

- Education must be part of a formalized, holistic, and strategic top-down, bottom-up process for addressing local risk factors that contribute to urban violence.
- Education interventions—formal and nonformal—must consist of quality content and training as well as be designed for replicability and scalability at the community, province, and national levels.
- Replicability and scalability will be achieved when a proper evidence base of lessons learned, good practices, and impact is developed that can show a reduction in violent behaviors.
- Quality data collection, analysis, and visualization must be prioritized and shared across sectors.
- Funding for safety and security interventions in low- and middle-income countries demonstrating persistent levels of violent crime must be restructured to reflect prioritization of education as a contributing factor to violence reduction and significant individual- and community-level behavior change.

To build sustainable and effective formal and nonformal education programs with an objective to mitigate urban violence, interventions must be based on strong evidence, technical capacity building, and multisector dialogue. Existing ad hoc education-focused project implementation needs to be systematized through practical networks and communities of practice that would share and leverage quality content and resources. Funders should prioritize this as a way to build effective linkages and maximize resources. In addition, developing professional training and implementation skills (i.e., building capacity) and strengthening an organized and systematic approach to service delivery needs the support of the government at the national and regional or provincial levels.

Finally, a cross-sector dialogue with follow-up action items is critical at the municipal, provincial, and national levels that would clearly define and enact shared roles and responsibilities, timelines and objectives, and benchmarks for progress. Furthermore, the prioritization of data sharing, data access and transparency, and accountability in data collection is essential to any discussion about context, progress and achievements, and impact. Indeed, attention to quantitative and qualitative evaluations above activity-level findings would prove impact through time as part of something more holistic and strengthen the future ability of a project to scale up its efforts.

Key questions and considerations for further engagement: *(points for further discussion among members in the Roundtable discussions)*

- **How can education best be ‘marketed’ and used as a behaviour change tool for violence reduction and prevention?**
- **If the formal education system, or ‘school’, is one of three spaces (school, community, home) in which a child experiences or witnesses violent behaviour, how do we address this and what role can nonformal education play in behaviour change?**

- What are the resources available for strategically building a body of evidence that demonstrates education's impact on violence prevention/reduction? And, as well, what is the existing evidence that needs to be organized to demonstrate at the policy and implementation levels the impact that violence is having on student learning outcomes in low and middle income countries?

Links: *(documents, references, websites etc.)*
