A new decade for social changes
Stakeholders’ experience of the innovative ways of co-producing neighborhood security in Johannesburg, South Africa

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Abstract. Purpose: The city of Johannesburg is known as South Africa’s crime capital, which hinders investment opportunities for the country and causes insecurities for citizens. This article analyzed the current neighborhood security challenges and sought to develop an innovative and inclusive model of co-producing neighborhood security in Johannesburg. Methods: The findings were based on a case study design. The data were collected through unstructured interviews with police officers in nine police stations in Johannesburg. Data were gathered on the experiences and perspectives of police officers regarding crime prevention, difficulties in policing and partnership with the community to improve neighborhood security. A content analysis was conducted using Atlas.ti 9 qualitative software. Results: The study’s findings revealed that neighborhood security challenges in Johannesburg include socio-economic status, crime, lack of trust, and inadequate resources. Other findings indicates that the use of information and technological means such as social media (App), radio shows, and newspapers are paramount in reducing insecurity and crimes in Johannesburg neighborhoods. The respondents acknowledged that working with other security platforms such as the neighborhood watches, street and community patrollers, and community members is more effective in fighting crime. Originality: This paper contributes to the practical understanding of difficulties in policing in Johannesburg and the potential of co-production in improving neighborhood security. To the best of the authors’ knowledge, no previous scientific research has studied how co-production can improve neighborhood security in developing countries, and this paper aimed to fill this gap. The article concludes that partnerships that are innovative and inclusive are far reaching in minimizing insecurity in Johannesburg neighborhoods.

Keywords. Johannesburg, co-production, neighborhood security, crime, innovation, inclusivity, policing

1. Introduction

During post-apartheid in South Africa, one of the objectives of the South African Police Service (SAPS) was to rebuild the trust and confidence the citizens had lost. Security challenges were on the rise; however, the SAPS lacked the resources to attend to these crimes immediately, forcing the public to place their trust in private-sector security companies and be vigilant in their communities (Singh, 2005:48). This was done to resolve the insecurities experienced by the people living in the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality (hereafter referred to as Johannesburg). Hence, Community Policing Forums (CPF) were created by the state and SAPS. According to Yesufu (2021:63), CPFs can be defined as a
“group of citizens, coming together for a common purpose, defined by both individual and collective safety.” However, Sebake (2020:168) states that the forum received criticism due to police service members obstructing the successful delivery of services to the public.

Since the public criticized CPFs, the suggested way is to develop an innovative and inclusive model of co-producing neighborhood security in Johannesburg. According to Brandsen and Honingh (2016:431), co-production is the “relationship between a paid employee of an organisation and (groups of) individual citizens, which requires a direct and active contribution from these citizens to the work of the organisation”. Leveraging publicly available resources is thought to be a possible answer to the public sector’s declining validity and dependability and the drop in resources (Brandsen & Honingh, 2016:427; Mangai & De Vries, 2018). Moreover, Brandsen, Fledderus and Honingh (2015:147) claim that it is necessary to correct any flaws uncovered in government policy because everyone has contributed, ensuring that the state and the public benefit. These efforts of introducing co-production could be the solution to combating the spread of crime in Johannesburg.

The significance of the article is to explore the existing body of knowledge on neighborhood security in South Africa, as it is crucial to find the flaws in the security initiatives that the SAPS and other security agencies have implemented. To achieve this, the researchers examined the impact of existing security initiatives implemented in Johannesburg and have recommended methods for improving these security initiatives. Furthermore, the article enables the SAPS and other security agencies to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the provision of neighborhood security in Johannesburg. Finally, it allows them to incorporate co-production so that the public has a say in how neighborhood security is provided. In this way, there is an improvement in neighborhood security provision, and in the long-term, it inspires future safety initiatives to include inclusivity and equality.

The main aim of the article was to develop an innovative and inclusive model of co-producing neighborhood security in Johannesburg.

To achieve the above-mentioned aim, the article was guided by the following objectives:
• Analyze the current neighborhood security situation in Johannesburg; and
• Develop an innovative and inclusive model of co-producing neighborhood security in Johannesburg.

The authors used the following questions to guide the study to reach its aim and objectives:
• What are the current neighborhood security challenges in Johannesburg?
• How can co-production be innovatively and inclusively incorporated into neighborhood security in Johannesburg?

The next section synthesizes the literature on neighborhood security and co-production, followed by the Methodology, Findings, and Conclusion sections.

2. The theory of co-production

Co-production is researched in several fields, including economics, political science, public administration, and voluntary/third-sector research, which have all contributed to this study (Brandsen & Honingh, 2016:427). Mangai and De Vries (2018:83) state that co-production as a public administration discipline is adopted to outline the benefits of citizen and public-official collaboration in delivering public services – but what is co-production in public administration? Mitlin (2008:347) claims that the process is integrated, ensuring no signs of individualization and creating a centralized space for collaboration between and public participation of those involved in the process. Moreover, the Mitlin further states that since it is more central, the benefits are equally distributed. Mitlin (2008:345) mentions that state agencies must take responsibility for ignoring and mishandling government issues so that the relevant issues are detected and handled correctly as a collective gain. When solutions are
designed around user demand, public service delivery improves, it is more innovative and efficient (Bartlett & Mitlin, 2018:355; Lamb, 2021; Mangai & De Vries, 2018), and there is a higher level of user satisfaction. Mitlin (2008) claims that it also promotes transparency to those not conscious about the process, whether it is advocated for by state agencies or civil society, for example, better use of public resources. Scott (2002:152) mentions that implementing co-production builds individuals’ and communities’ self-confidence and capacity. Subsequently, according to Bartlett and Mitlin (2018:356), co-production creates a platform for challenging specific kinds of governmentality and government structures and processes in numerous dimensions. This allows for inclusivity and innovation in policies based on user needs, so neither party is discriminated against or cast as an ‘outsider’ during the process of reform.

2.1. Co-production in neighborhood security

As previously mentioned, neighborhood security involves security provision by security agencies (publicly or privately owned) and the SAPS. If citizens experience insecurity, it remains the security agencies’ responsibility to ensure that public safety is implemented in the affected areas. Since the provision of neighborhood security is inefficient and ineffective, citizen participation allows the agencies to tackle these issues properly so that the public’s safety is prioritized at all times. Lamb (2021:103) states that these negotiated interactions will eliminate the authoritative imposition of order and create an environment where new and innovative ideas can be generated collectively. For example, police officers may be encouraged to implement co-production in areas where they believe there is a large resident population so that proper participation of the parties involved takes place. According to Mitlin (2008:344-345), state agencies must allow for personal and collective change within their departments so that this discipline can be implemented successfully. For co-production to be incorporated successfully, the participation of civil society is required. For example, civil society, together with the SAPS, must formulate innovative and inclusive ideas that encourage equality, which will result in community security initiatives promoting public safety in affected neighborhoods. Moreover, if the benefits of co-production are to be recognized, state agencies must respond to citizen experiences and create security initiatives that tackle those issues accordingly. At the same time, it is the citizens’ responsibility to report these issues so that state agencies can adequately implement community safety and security. The SAPS and other security agencies’ ability to offer adequate security services is hampered without meaningful citizen participation. As police and residents become more active in co-production, it will result in residents recognizing the improvements made by the police as an intrinsic element of the neighborhoods’ potential.

2.2. Neighborhood security in South Africa

Grabosky (2009:97) states that in post-apartheid South Africa, the country’s international governance principles and state policy urged communities to engage in their security development. According to Louw and Schonteich (2001:1), neighborhood insecurity in South Africa has been a growing factor daily, as the police have partially neglected public safety, especially in Johannesburg, seeing as it is known as the crime capital of the country. By implementing CPFs, the government tried to eliminate the extremely high crime levels and service delivery failures (Meyer & Van Graan, 2011:130). According to Bénit-Gbaffou (2008:95), CPFs were designed as a community and police platform to offer security projects to prevent crimes so that public safety and security are promoted. This was to be implemented at each police station. Bénit-Gbaffou (2008:94) also states that the intention behind the CPF was to decrease crimes and more specifically to regain citizens’ trust and build stronger links between the citizens and police.
However, the downfall of the CPF created a new sector for public-private partnerships and residents to play a role in generating solutions to deal with crime waves. According to Bénit-Gbaffou (2008:95), the aim of introducing public participation was to prevent crime, not only through social welfare and educational measures but through changes within the environmental design, forms of neighborhood watch, and other security initiatives, implemented collectively. Meyer and Van Graan (2011:130) state that if this process is implemented correctly, it should allow for improved police accountability, increased public participation in decision-making, and increased concern for public civil rights. Bénit-Gbaffou (2008:95) further mentions that it does not allow inequalities or segregation within the process and promotes inclusivity throughout the formulation and implementation of new security initiatives. Once this is implemented, it is important to address the problems established within the forum, and use those experiences to formulate innovative, coherent security initiatives and forums (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2008:102; Lamb, 2021:102).

According to Meyer and Van Graan (2011:141), a solution to eliminating the divide between the participation of those who are more and less economically well off could be to regard CPFs as forums or institutions. Many neighborhoods are not coherent in their crime prevention strategies, which contributes to increased crime; however, if the divide is eliminated, then inclusivity can be promoted throughout the process, and participation would be for all.

Bénit-Gbaffou (2008:102) states that the Gauteng Province’s government has adopted the zero-tolerance approach used in New York and has accumulated observable results during its implementation. However, the public is still skeptical of this approach as the policy is extremely strict toward any criminal behavior, and many view this approach as criminalizing poverty, for example, the metro police arresting beggars (Grabosky, 2009:97). The state, therefore, must find measures that ensure this approach focuses solely on crimes that do not comply with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa [No. 108 of 1996] (hereafter the Constitution), and perhaps at a later stage, this approach can be adequately incorporated into a South African context so that it works well with the country’s justice system.

There is much that needs to be done regarding the increase in crime, and those involved in the forums must ensure that changes are made in the respective environments. It is also important for the public to pressure the government to improve the justice system, as it still fails many today because perpetrators guilty of crimes that deserve a life sentence are walking around free.

3. **Methodology**

A case study research design was used in this research to extract meaningful and reliable data. Several unstructured interviews were conducted with police officers in Johannesburg. The police officers were stationed at the following police stations:

- Bramley Police Station;
- Hillbrow Police Station;
- Norwood Police Station;
- Yeoville Police Station;
- Cleveland Police Station;
- Alexandra Police Station;
- Jeppe Police Station;
- Johannesburg Central Police Station; and
- Langlaagte Police Station.
These interviews were conducted to gather information on the perspective, knowledge, and experiences of police officers regarding policing in Johannesburg. Particularly, information on the challenges of providing adequate security was gathered from station commanders and heads of visible policing departments. Each interview lasted an hour or slightly more. The interview transcripts were transcribed verbatim to ensure the actual experiences and opinions of the interviewees had been captured. It was important to know the role these police officers played in making public safety a reality, the challenges they experienced during this process, how they reacted to these issues, and how they formulated innovative ideas in promoting public safety in Johannesburg.

Content analysis was conducted to code and analyze patterns, themes, and relationships between the public and the SAPS, extract meaningful evidence and ensure the collection of rich and meaningful data. Atlas.ti 9 was used to code the data in order for the extraction process to be successful. The data presented by the application is further discussed in the Findings section below. When analyzing the data, research questions and objectives were presented and shown to be suitable for the article, as they boosted its validity and reliability. Therefore, the research instrument performed as expected.

4. Results
The results presented reflect the experiences and perspectives of police officers in Johannesburg and how neighborhood security in the city is improved innovatively.

4.1. The current neighborhood security challenges
Figure 1 presents the analysis of police officer perspectives on the challenges experienced in providing neighborhood security to communities. These include socio-economic status, crime, lack of trust, and inadequate resources, further discussed below.
4.1.1. Socio-economic status

In Johannesburg, communities are divided into informal settlements and suburbs. The security features in the various areas differ as different populations reside in those areas. For example, those who are economically well off live on the west side of Bramley, and since these individuals can afford it, security features include private security companies. In contrast, those who are less economically well off reside in the east of Bramley and mainly rely on the resources provided by SAPS, according to a respondent from Bramley Police Station. As the SAPS does not have enough resources, the available resources are deployed to areas where crime is more common, such as informal settlements. The informal settlements develop due to
rising unemployment and poverty, resulting in overpopulation. The shacks are constructed close together, resulting in no clearly demarcated streets and extremely low visibility at night. As a result, it is easy for perpetrators to grab items and run. It is difficult for SAPS to conduct their operations, as a lot of crimes happen within these settlements, which harms their response time (Respondents at the Langlaagte, Hillbrow, Johannesburg Central, and Cleveland Police Stations). However, not only citizens are victims. According to Respondent A from Langlaagte Police Station, police officers’ firearms are taken from them while conducting their operations in these settlements. This was reiterated by Respondent A and D at the Cleveland and Yeoville Police Stations, respectively. To conclude, the challenges encountered in the informal settlements must be investigated, or the crime rate in informal settlements will continue increasing.

4.1.2. Crime
According to Respondent B at the Cleveland Police Station, the most common crimes identified are business robberies, house robberies, murders, car hijackings, railway station robberies, and xenophobic attacks, which are committed due to the rising unemployment. Respondents also discussed other crimes occurring in their neighborhoods, including owning illegal firearms, selling alcohol without a license, illegal electricity connections, and illegal mining.

According to the respondents at the Cleveland, Alexandra, and Langlaagte Police Stations, unemployment is a major contributing factor to crime. Respondent B at the Cleveland Police Station states that these crimes are committed because individuals try to reduce the poverty they experience. Most respondents state that the youth commit these crimes, and therefore, various police stations in Johannesburg have collaborated with schools to work toward social crime prevention. According to Respondent A at the Jeppe Police Station, social crime prevention aims to educate and raise awareness on crime, drugs, and how to report a crime. After these talks, the youth is voluntarily recruited into being patrollers. In this way, the community assists the police officers; for example, Respondent B at the Jeppe Police Station states: “When we have operations, they come with us. They assist us [and] we patrol with them. When we are doing awareness campaigns, they are there, [handing] out pamphlets.” The kind of partnerships should be encourage as it is helpful in reducing insecurity in Johannesburg neighborhood.

4.1.3. Lack of trust
Another challenge the police stations face is the lack of citizens assisting with information about crimes occurring in the community. It is a challenge when community members do not give the police information at a crime scene or report a crime. According to Respondent A at the Cleveland Police Station, this may be for safety reasons because the trust between the police and the community is broken. It puts the police stations at a disadvantage, as many criminal cases are unattended or dismissed, and the perpetrators go unpunished. It thus is important for police officers and the government to ensure that the communities’ confidence and trust are restored, as it may assist in community members reporting and providing information to the police about crimes in their areas. According to Respondents B and C at the Langlaagte and Alexandra Police Stations, police officers can reestablish this trust and confidence by producing results and maintaining them through effectively and efficiently dealing with crimes. To conclude, with their trust and confidence restored, the community will
find it easier to become involved, and more cases will be solved – even those dismissed may be revisited by the courts, as there is more evidence against the perpetrators.

4.1.4. Inadequate resources

Most respondents mentioned that the lack of resources within SAPS is challenging, and it harms their ability to effectively and efficiently deal with crimes. The respondents stressed the need for more manpower, vehicles, and other resources and mentioned a lack of equipment at the police stations (such as pepper spray). Moreover, not having enough vehicles to patrol the affected areas is a problem when attending the CPF meetings and dealing with crimes in high-crime areas. According to Respondent B at the Alexandra Police Station, the police stations need more resources to sustain what they are doing. Since there are inadequate resources within SAPS, most police officers advocate for community participation, as it is the only tool deemed effective and efficient in combating crime in Johannesburg. Subsequently, the government and top management in the police force need to find a means to increase the resources available in SAPS so that crime is dealt with more adequately.

4.2. Co-producing neighborhood security

Figure 2 below is an analysis of how co-production can be innovatively and inclusively incorporated. The quotations produced are from the perspectives presented by the police officers in Johannesburg, including the different partnerships formed and methods used to improve neighborhood security, and how the CPF meetings are conducted to generate solutions to the problems identified within the communities. These are further elaborated on below.
4.2.1. **Innovation**

Many security companies and patrollers working with the Johannesburg Central Police Station have started using an application (app) called Zello to respond faster to crime within communities (Respondent A at the Johannesburg Central Police Station). The app is downloaded onto a cell phone oof the security companies and patrollers who in turn use it to
alert the police to respond to any crime situation; for example, when action of a passer-by looks suspicious, the patrollers alert the police, which makes the police officers responsible for immediately responding to the alerts. Positive results have come from this initiative, as the technology has enabled the SAPS to be at a crime scene in record time, and often, the perpetrators are apprehended. Other platforms used include social media, radio shows, and newspapers. Since the app’s reach is limited, the police have also created WhatsApp groups to maintain communication with CPF and other private security outfits. Using other communication platforms is important to ensure that the aim of improving neighborhood security in Johannesburg is achieved. Another respondent at the Johannesburg Central Police Station mentioned that neighborhood security could be made easier by building a hi-tech security center to install cameras and other devices around Johannesburg to detect crime faster and respond on time.

According to the Bramley Police Station respondent, international benchmarking is problematic as one cannot compare other countries to South Africa, because many South African police stations lack sufficient resources. Police visibility is present in other countries; however, in South Africa, that does not exist, which is an area that could be improved upon by the police force.

4.2.2. Inclusive

Most respondents stress that the SAPS can only perform their duties effectively through community involvement, as their main aim is to promote a safe environment for all in Johannesburg. According to Respondent B at the Jeppe Police Station, community involvement can be achieved through neighborhood watches, street and community patrollers, and community members producing helpful information for the police and attending meetings concerning community problems. This means that community involvement, government participation, non-government organizations, and partnerships play a crucial role in the SAPS’ effectiveness and reducing crime within the affected areas (Bramley Police Station respondent). These partnerships include business forums, community forums, sector brooks, taxi forums, iziduna forums, and youth desks. Most respondents state that private security companies are also involved in improving neighborhood security. Therefore, they all need to work together to try and achieve the aim of providing a safe environment for all.

According to Respondent A and B from the Langlaagte and Bramley Police Stations, respectively, before CPF meetings are conducted, the community elects a representative to take their problems to the sector manager and chairperson and also inform the community of upcoming meetings. These meetings are held to discuss the problems encountered within communities and develop inclusive solutions. In this way, the community is involved in decision-making strategies, and the SAPS is responsible for adequately implementing them (Bramley Police Station respondent). Through these meetings, a good relationship between the SAPS and the community is rebuilt, and the gap between the parties is reduced. According to Respondent B from the Langlaagte Police Station, for the meetings to be effective, community members must interact and participate in every way possible. These meetings are conducted monthly, but if deemed urgent, they are held immediately.

The results highlighted neighborhood security challenges and how co-producing neighborhood security in Johannesburg could be innovatively and inclusively incorporated. The next section discusses the results presented above.
5. Discussion

The study results show several neighborhood security challenges experienced by SAPS, including socio-economic status, crime, lack of trust, and inadequate resources. These challenges are among the reasons why criminal cases are not dealt with effectively and why adequate neighborhood security is not provided in Johannesburg. Mofokeng (2015:39) states that inadequate resources within SAPS result in poor performance, low morale, and a lack of police investigative skills. The challenges have significant repercussions for public trust and confidence in SAPS (Lekgau, Maluleke, & Roelofse, 2021:33). This reduces the public’s willingness to actively assist the police force in combating crime in Johannesburg.

Lamb (2021:96-97) states that community involvement is essential in assisting the SAPS in dealing with crime, as the partnerships work together to achieve the Vision2030 aim: provide a safe environment for all by 2030. These partnerships also involve private security companies, who work together with the SAPS to combat crime in affected areas (Kole, 2015:1). The government must ensure that the affected police stations have adequate resources and competent and skilled police officers to solve the crimes committed; if not, co-producing neighborhood security will be difficult. Moreover, Yesufu (2021:63), states that collaborating in co-producing neighborhood security enhances transparency and accountability between civil society, private security companies, and the SAPS. It further ensures that the parties work together productively to identify and solve social problems so the police force can provide effective service delivery to the neighborhoods. Subsequently, this collaboration ensures that all parties involved in the partnership partake in decision-making around new initiatives to improve neighborhood security in Johannesburg.

However, adopting innovative policies from other countries is difficult as South Africa’s traditions differ from theirs. For example, in Latin America, socio-economic status is characterized by high levels of societal inequality. Arias and Montt (2018:121) state that violence plays a significant role in neighborhood insecurity, as it is driven by inequality, social exclusion, and poverty. These challenges are the main contributors to the high crime rate in Latin America; however, the police force struggles to manage crime due to the inadequate resources within their departments. According to Arias and Montt (2018:122), this makes it easier for police officers to partake in corrupt activities because they are already underpaid, and there are insufficient resources to ensure they perform their duties effectively and efficiently. As a result, corruption within the police force influences how neighborhood security is carried out. Arias and Montt (2018:126) state that this damages the public’s trust and confidence in the police force as the provision of neighborhood security is not fulfilled. This affects police-citizen interactions; therefore, the government must ensure that reform takes place in the local police units, and there is increased funding, improved training and implemented security initiatives to ensure a significant improvement in neighborhood security (Arias & Montt, 2018:135).

The government must eradicate corruption within the police force so that co-producing neighborhood security will become easier. This requires the government, the SAPS, and civil society to create ideas on improving their participation. In this way, the communities’ challenges are identified and further discussed during CPF or governmental meetings, and solutions are collaboratively generated through innovation and inclusivity. To conclude, other innovative ideas could be generated if all the actors effectively participate in achieving the set aims– for example, researching how other countries deal with crime and implementing those in a South African context.
6. **Conclusion**

Crime in Johannesburg is increasing, and there has been no change to solve this challenge. The main study objective was to analyze Johannesburg’s current neighborhood security situation and develop an innovative and inclusive model of co-producing neighborhood security. The objective was achieved by examining the perspectives and experiences of stakeholders in Johannesburg, identifying common neighborhood security challenges faced by the police stations, and examining how each police station innovatively and inclusively incorporates co-production into its initiatives or policies. Participation from the government, civil society, and the SAPS is required to ensure that the crime rate decreases, and the decision-making process involves all affected parties so that the SAPS can provide successful service delivery.

Socio-economic status, crime, lack of trust, and inadequate resources, results in poor performance, lack of investigative skills, and low morale. This negatively impacts the public’s confidence and trust in the SAPS, and their authority is constantly undermined by the public. Sebake (2020:168) states that the police force is viewed as corrupt, which obstructs the successful delivery of services to the public. Therefore, innovatively, and inclusively incorporating co-production in neighborhood security could ensure a participative nature from the government, the SAPS, private security companies, and civil society so that everyone is involved in the decision-making around improvements in neighborhood security provision. This will ensure that the SAPS takes responsibility for their past mistakes, ensures transparency throughout the process, and works collaboratively to produce effective and efficient results. Sebake (2020:183) suggests that a radical policy shift be implemented to reinforce the present legislative frameworks. It could be achieved by strengthening the institutions and integrity commissions at all levels to acquire autonomous authority to take any corrective action; for example, the final removals of corrupt police officers from public office should be conducted immediately (Sebake, 2020:183). Throughout the process, the involved actors must remain professional, neutral, competent, and unbiased so that no fraudulent activities occur; however, they must be informed about these measures so that no one is left out. Once the radical policy shift is completed, the internal SAPS systems should be revisited to ensure that internal SAPS investigations and disciplinary mechanisms improve crime prevention and crime is dealt with efficiently and effectively (Lekgau et al., 2021:42). This requires police officers to attend training and development courses to deal with cases effectively; for example, gender-based violence is an ongoing issue in South Africa, and police officers attending these courses will ensure that they effectively deal with such cases.

Moreover, funding should be made available to ensure adequate resources are obtained. Lamb (2021:103) states that in 2019, Police Minister Bheki Cele increased resource allocation; however, this was mainly directed at militarized entities. Closer attention must be paid to inadequate resources to aim for a possible increase in the SAPS budget. According to Kole (2015:147), the response time could be improved through available resources; for example, there should be enough vehicles to ensure police visibility. However, proper internal control measures will need to be implemented. Internal control is a process used to assist the achieving of organizational goals, such as operational effectiveness and efficiency, reliability, timelessness, transparency, reporting, dependability, compliance, and adherence to the applicable laws, regulations, and bylaws (Chang, Chen, Cheng, & Chi, 2019:2). The resources made available by the government will require regular inspection so that fraudulent activity within the police force can be limited. In this way, the public’s confidence and trust in the SAPS...
are rebuilt and restored. It is essential to maintain these results for community involvement to remain consistent.

The introduction of laws related to the current provision of neighborhood security has had a minor impact on the crime rate in Johannesburg, and there is inadequate data on the implementation process of neighborhood security policies. Therefore, this is recommended as a future research field.

There is still a long way to achieve a safe environment in Johannesburg. The government, the SAPS, civil society, and private security companies will need to work together to eliminate the neighborhood security challenges mentioned in this article. Without these partnerships, the SAPS is unable to effectively combat neighborhood insecurity. Therefore, incorporating co-production will ensure that innovative and inclusive security initiatives are created. In addition, it will require reform within the police force and the proper implementation of newly created security initiatives to reduce Johannesburg’s crime rates and the public’s insecurities.

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