

**IN SEARCH OF ALTERNATIVE POLICING:  
KYLEMORE NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH, THE  
PROTECTORS OF THEIR BELOVED COMMUNITY**

by

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## **DECLARATION**

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

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## OPSOMMING

Hierdie tesis ondersoek die konsep en praktyk van gemeenskaps polisieëring as 'n alternatiewe polisieërings meganisme. Gemeenskaps polisieëring het sy oorsprong in ontwikkelde lande, maar het vinnig die status van 'n reisende model verwerf soos die idee versprei het en selfs Suid-Afrika bereik het.

Gemeenskaps polisieëring is 'n relatiewe breë konsep en laat dus ruimte vir interpretasie. Hierdie tesis fokus egter op hoe die konsep van gemeenskaps polisieëring geïnterpreteer en geïmplementeer word op grondvlak, met ander woorde, dit fokus op hoe mense sin maak van hierdie konsep in hul plaaslike omgewing en die kompleksiteite wat daarmee gepaard gaan. 'n Buurtweg van die relatiewe klein semi-landelike gemeenskap van Kylemore in die Wes Kaap was gebruik om praktiese kennis te verkry oor die proses en dinamiek wat gevind word in 'n plaaslike ligging.

Hierdie tesis ondersoek dus die manier waarop Kylemore Buurtweg die reisende model van gemeenskaps polisieëring hul eie gemaak het om by hul plaaslike konteks te pas. Dit ondersoek ook die response van die plaaslike gemeenskap asook dié van die plaaslike polisie beamptes.

Hierdie studie is gegrond op antropologiese beginsels en daarom is die data-insamelings metodes wat gebruik is hoofsaaklik deelnemende waarneming, gestruktureerde en ongestruktureerde onderhoude met lede van die buurtweg, die plaaslike polisie en inwoners van Kylemore. Deur hierdie antropologiese benadering is daar gepoog om die essensie van die buurtweg te verstaan deur deel te neem aan hul aktiwiteite, onder andere die bywoning van vergaderings en deelname aan patrollerings in die area.

My hoof bevindings beweer dat konteks, wat 'n gemeenskap se historiese agtergrond, geografiese ligging sowel as inwoners se sosio-ekonomiese status insluit, 'n belangrike rol speel in terme van die implementering van polisieëring in 'n plaaslike ligging. Daar is verder gevind dat die idee van gemeenskaps polisieëring ruimte laat vir interpretasie. Die Kylemore buurtweg het dus die gemeenskaps polisieërings beleid aangepas om by die konteks van hul gemeenskap te pas. Hierdie proses het tot 'n alternatief tot konvensionele wyses van polisieëring gelei en terselfdertyd ook 'n sin van bemagtiging en verantwoordelikheid aan die lewens van 'n paar van die inwoners van Kylemore gegee.

## **ABSTRACT**

This thesis explores the notion and practice of community policing as an alternative policing mechanism. Community policing originated in developed countries, but soon obtained the status of a traveling model as this notion moved across the globe even reaching South Africa.

The notion of community policing is relatively extensive, thus leaving room for much interpretation. For the purpose of this thesis the focus was on how this notion was interpreted and implemented at grass-roots level, thus exploring how people make sense of community policing within their local setting and furthermore exploring the complexities associated with it. To obtain a practical understanding of this process and the dynamics found within a local setting, a Neighbourhood Watch located in a relatively small semi-rural community by the name of Kylemore in the Western Cape was chosen for this purpose. The thesis therefore investigated the manner in which Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch indigenized the traveling model of community policing by implementing it to suit their local context and furthermore, looks into the responses of the local community and local police authorities.

As this is an anthropological study, the data collection methods mainly comprised out of participant observation and structured- and unstructured interviews with Neighbourhood Watch members, local police authorities and residents of Kylemore. Through this ethnographic approach I made it my endeavour to understand the essence of the Neighbourhood Watch by participating in their activities which included attending various meeting and going out on patrols in the area.

The main research findings suggested that context, which included a community's historical background, geographic location, and residents' socio-economic status, played a vital role in terms of implementing community policing in a local setting. Furthermore, it was discovered that the notion of community policing was somewhat elusive, thus leaving much room for interpretation. The Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch therefore molded the community policing policy to suit the context of their community. This process did not only brought about an alternative to the conventional ways of policing, but at the same time it brought about a sense of empowerment and responsibility in the lives of a few residents of Kylemore.



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## **CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The relatively new concept of 'community policing' struck my interest as crime and crime prevention are such relevant and contemporary issues facing South Africa. Various strategies of policing have been introduced, especially after the democratisation of South Africa in 1994. Crime levels seemed to escalate dramatically, which resulted in a range of crime prevention initiatives by various actors within and outside of the state.

In this thesis I take a closer look at the concept and practice of community policing as an alternative policing mechanism. The notion of community policing first made its appearance in developed countries and eventually travelled to various countries across the globe, including South Africa.

Much can be said about community policing, but for the purpose of this thesis the focus is on how this notion was interpreted and implemented at grass-roots level, i.e. how people make sense of community policing within their local setting and highlighting the possible complexities that are associated with it. To illustrate the latter in practical terms, a relatively small semi-rural community by the name of Kylemore (Western Cape) was chosen as a case study.

My initial thought was that the notion of community policing should be easily definable as well as to discuss? Through my investigation and research I soon discovered that this notion was more complex than I had initially thought and that various external factors – social, economical and historical - had an impact on how it is understood and implemented. The latter discovery was explored more broadly later in this thesis.

This chapter firstly sketches a brief background of South Africa, with the emphasis on crime and preventative mechanisms, which were the motivation for this research project. Secondly the key questions that are explored throughout this thesis, the methodology used in the data collection process and the layout of subsequent chapters will be addressed.

## 1.2 Background and motivation for the study

*"Unlike so many other challenges facing the international community - for example hunger, disease and poverty, which are devastating in certain countries - the challenge of crime is faced by all societies" (Jeremy Travis 2000:229).*

Globally, various communities are faced with societal problems that may ultimately culminate into criminal activities. The United Nations (UN) Global Report on Crime and Justice (1999) presented data from the International Crime Victimization Survey (ICVS) which shows that half of urban respondents throughout the world reported that they had been victimized by crime over the previous five years (Travis 2000:229).

In South Africa, the phenomenon of crime was also a concern which seemed to escalate continuously. Between 1997 and 1998, South Africa was already rated number one in the world for murder, rape, robbery and violent theft per capita. Additionally, the country saw its numbers of robberies, burglaries and thefts rise significantly, while murder rates held steady and rapes declined (Travis 2000: 230). Crime and the fear of crime became topics of heated debate and serious concern among many South Africans in recent years and still is today. Within this context, the South African government had to develop and implement a new and workable crime prevention strategy as a response to its concerned citizens.

Due to this contemporary concern about crime and the fear of crime, I found it extremely relevant to conduct a study on strategies of crime management and crime prevention as so many issues were raised on these matters. Various policies and strategies have been developed by government as well as civil society in an attempt to combat crime or at least reduce the level of criminal activities and to address the fear of crime. Most, if not all, of these national and local crime prevention notions were influenced by policing models which derive from neo-liberal governments<sup>1</sup> across the world.

The contemporary crime management or crime prevention strategy that seems to dominate the policing literature was the notion of community policing. Government and policing authorities have increasingly become aware that the input of local communities with regards to crime prevention is needed. They have come to the realisation that the context of each community differs, as each has its own internal dynamics for example each community has

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<sup>1</sup> A neo-liberal government focuses on the market and the individual, suggesting that there is a preference for private enterprise over state enterprise or nationalisation. In short faith is placed in self-help, individual responsibility and entrepreneurialism (Heywood 1997:48).

its own specific social and economic needs. It would therefore be beneficial to make use of local people to get to the crux of a community's problems because they have first-hand knowledge of them.

The notion of community policing was introduced to the world by western countries since the 1960s. Various organised initiatives, such as community police forums and Neighbourhood Watch schemes, emerged as a result of community policing. For the purpose of this study I will be focusing on a Neighbourhood Watch as a form of community policing in order to shed more light on the process of community policing as a form of crime prevention, its dynamics and how it is implemented in a local setting, i.e. how local people make sense of it.

The levels of recorded crime in South Africa began to increase in the mid-1980s and continued to grow over the years (Shönteich et al 2001:1). There was, however, no single satisfactory answer to the reasons for the dramatic crime increase, but instead there were numerous explanations that helped to clarify the high levels of crime South Africa was facing. The most frequently used explanation for the escalating crime in South Africa, was the country's transition from authoritarian rule to a democracy (Shaw 2001:9).

For decades before 1994, South Africa was under the authoritarian rule of the 'white man' who introduced *apartheid*. This filtered through all aspects of the government of the time, including the Police Force. The police served thus as an agent for the government, resulting in the concentration of most police resources in white towns and suburbs, while black people were policed mainly for political control and not crime prevention as such (Shaw 2002:1). This suggests that the police aimed to prevent crime in white areas, not by reducing it in the black areas, but by preventing the uncontrolled movement of black people who were considered to be its perpetrators (Shaw 2002:1).

Many crimes therefore were unreported as the majority of non-white South Africans feared and mistrusted the police, making it seem as though there was less crime during the *apartheid* era (Shaw 2002:1). The violent crimes currently seen in South Africa were therefore not new and were present in South Africa before the transition to democracy. During the *apartheid* era, violence was concentrated in black areas and often remained invisible and unreported. In addition, violent acts against non-whites by the police were legitimized by the *apartheid* government. Therefore "paradoxically, *apartheid* generated high levels of crime and yet acted as a crime prevention measure at least for privileged white communities, by isolating them from its impact" (Shaw 2002:15). This is but one contributing factor with regards to South Africa's high crime situation at present.

After the *apartheid* era, the democratic government of South Africa came to the realisation that there was a need to restructure the police system to ensure that the South African Police Department would survive as a core structure and to ensure it operated optimally. Changes thus had to be made which meant that policies had to be revised or new ones had to be developed. It was at this time that the concept of 'community policing' became increasingly a key component for police strategy (Shaw 2002:26). This concept suggests that policing should be located primarily in the institutions of civil society, thus encouraging the public to become involved in crime prevention activities and to take responsibility for their own security (Loader et al 2002:89). This does, however, not suggest that the public should take the law into their own hands, but instead local police forces are encouraged to develop direct community relationships through devices such as Neighbourhood Watches (Brogden et al 1993:103). These Neighbourhood Watches served therefore to maintain safety and security within their communities. It was argued that the success of Neighbourhood Watches hinged on liaison between them and the local police officials (Brogden et al 1993:106). The latter scenario could be termed the "responsibilisation strategy" (Garland 1994:453), which suggests that the community should take responsibility for their own safety and security. At the same time, the ideology behind this responsibilisation strategy has contributed to the growth of the private security industry, as there was a realisation that communities did not necessarily have to depend on the state police for their safety and security (Shaw 1996:9). Some writers argue therefore that the state was no longer responsible for the 'steering' and 'rowing' of policing as these two functions became separated due to the development of new responsibilities and a network of private and public institutions (Shearing 1996:85). A neo-liberal political ethos has now emerged advocating "choice, personal responsibility, and control over one's fate, self-promotion and self-government" (Rose 1996:335). This is closely linked to the basic principals of community policing that focus on policing by the people in partnership with the state police.

This neo-liberal approach spread across the nation also reached the Dwars River Valley in the Western Cape, South Africa. This region is situated on the outskirts of Stellenbosch on the road to the famous tourist town of Franschhoek. Despite its remote location, the valley is not without outside influences and social problems, for example social evils such as drug- and alcohol abuse. The valley essentially consists of commercial fruit and wine farms as well as several villages. A large part of the residents in this region are farm workers who earn only minimum wages. Due to the Dwars River Valley's geographical location, relatively low socio-economic status and lack of entertainment facilities, residents have to travel about 12 kilometers to the nearest town for entertainment. A common form of entertainment is



therefore walking to the nearest shebeen<sup>2</sup> to consume alcohol and to socialise. Many of the youth got addicted to drugs and alcohol which at times led to promiscuous or criminal behaviour. Despite these occurrences it seemed as if Christian values were deeply embedded within this small, mainly 'coloured'<sup>3</sup> valley and therefore it was a big cause for concern for the majority of the residents to see so many young people falling into addictive habits which often led to criminal behaviour.

Consequently, a few residents in the community of Kylemore made the choice to take control over their fate and the fate of their community by establishing a Neighbourhood Watch. Their primary goal was to protect their families and community from criminal activities, thus safeguarding them from becoming victims of crime. Every Neighbourhood Watch however, needs the help and support of the local police force to perform optimally. In the case of Kylemore, a good partnership has been formed between the local police and the Neighbourhood Watches. This is however not the only organised body that the Neighbourhood Watches are working with. Over the years the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch has formed partnerships with various organisations and institutions within the community and together they attempt to protect their community.

Whilst studying the literature and documentation on community policing, it became evident that the focus was mainly on policy. There was thus a need for a closer understanding of the working of the community policing policy in a local context. I therefore made it my endeavor to investigate what seems to be the dominant form of alternative policing, namely community policing as a policy and practice that focuses on crime prevention.

Community policing is however an exceptionally broad term to investigate and to discuss comprehensively. I therefore narrowed my focus down by concentrating on certain aspects of the international and local phenomenon of community policing, namely where it originated, how it eventually was adopted in South Africa and how it is understood and implemented on grass-roots level. This study will not only focus on the theoretical component of community policing, but will, in addition, provide insight in community policing in practice i.e. how it is implemented within a specific local setting and the dynamics associated with it. This will be achieved by focusing on the Neighbourhood Watch scheme as one of the examples of community policing. As mentioned earlier the Neighbourhood Watch under investigation for the purpose of this thesis is located in Kylemore. The community policing policy will

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<sup>2</sup> A shebeen, known as a *smokkelhuis* amongst the Afrikaans speaking locals, was similar to a tavern, but without a liquor licence. Alcohol and occasionally drugs are sold illegally and even to underage children.

<sup>3</sup> The term 'coloured' is used here not as a bounded racial term for a certain group, but instead it refers to a historical label that was used as a population category for people of 'mixed decent' in the apartheid era.



therefore be discussed within the context of South Africa but more specifically on a more grass-roots level, thus within the context of Kylemore, Dwars River Valley.

So often government or civil society creates various models and policies to improve living conditions, but it is not always understood by all, which might lead to the possible failure of the implementation process. This could be the case because local needs are not taken into account when developing these policies. In a similar fashion, the policy of community policing is not truly understood by all and it was not always successful in each community. Therefore, by conducting this case study of community policing in Kylemore, I am attempting to make sense of the notion of community policing and through the process discover how it unfolds within that specific context.

### **1.3 Problem statement**

The primary question with regards to this study was therefore: How did the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch fit into the policy of community policing in their community? Further, how did people at local level make sense of community policing in their local setting, and what were the interactions between the community, Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch and the local police? I therefore investigated how the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch indigenised the international phenomenon of 'community policing' to suit their local context, as well as the responses of the local community and the local police.

In addition, I pose further sub-questions in an attempt to bring forth the rich dynamics and complexities found within the valley. These questions were as follows:

- What was the primary rationale behind the development of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch?
- What was the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch's organisational structure and how did it function?
- What were the primary challenges facing Kylemore as a community as well as the Neighbourhood Watch?
- What was being policed? I.e. was the focus only on crime?
- What were the possible tensions between the Neighbourhood Watch, the community and between various role-players?
- How did the Neighbourhood Watch legitimise itself within the community of Kylemore?

## 1.4 Methodology

The study aimed to explore and obtain information about the Neighbourhood Watch as an alternative policing mechanism within Kylemore in the Dwars River Valley and how it functioned to implement community policing. As this is an anthropological study, a large percentage of this thesis is based on fieldwork that I have conducted within the Dwars River Valley from February 2006 until the end of 2007. During the course of this study, qualitative methods were predominantly used. A qualitative study can be defined as an "inquiry process of understanding a social or human problem, based on building a complex holistic picture, formed with words, reporting detailed views of respondents and conducted in a natural setting" (Creswell 1994: 12).

Researchers, who make use of the qualitative approach, typically try to understand the social world from the perspective of the people they are studying, rather than from the perspective of an outside observer (Popenoe 1995:37). This is exactly what I was attempting to achieve through my fieldwork. In conducting an ethnography of Kylemore, one had to understand the Dwars River Valley as a whole as well, which meant that I examined various aspects of the communities located in the Dwars River Valley, especially Kylemore, in order to gain a better understanding of the Neighbourhood Watch and its role in the community.

Due to my qualitative approach, my data collection comprised of participant observation, structured and unstructured interviews. During my fieldwork, I discovered that informal conversations delivered satisfactory results when gathering information especially around security issues. People, especially from a so-called homogeneous community such as Kylemore, were extremely enthusiastic when talking about their community and their life experiences. Thus with regards to interviewing, I therefore specifically structured my questions in such a manner so that interviewees would not be limited when answering, as the idea was for them to talk freely about their community, their concerns and their experiences. Through this technique, various issues emerged that I had not initially considered, but which provided tremendous insight into the issues I was investigating. The people interviewed for the purpose of this study ranged from the chairman of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch, to members of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch, various leaders in the community, ordinary residents of the community, both from the so-called 'upper class' and 'lower class', the Groot Drakenstein Police and the Stellenbosch Municipality. Interviewing was mostly conducted on a one-on-one basis, as this allowed people to speak more openly about various issues within the community. In addition I conducted two informal focus groups with some of the youth in the community. In order to maintain confidentiality and anonymity, I have made use of pseudonyms when referencing my interviews.

Furthermore, textual analysis formed part of my data collection. This involved gathering literature on the historical background of, not only the area under study but of the broader Western Cape as well, with special emphasis on the 'coloured' community. A literature review on crime, community and community policing has been completed to support my reasoning throughout this thesis. In addition, I have included a discussion of the history of South Africa, with special emphasis on the Western Cape, as this information is important to contextualise the notion of community policing and to understand the way it has been implemented in the specific location under study. The literature research was obtained through academic literature, newspaper articles, Internet articles and documentation that was made available at the relevant institutions.

In my ethnographic approach it was my endeavour to understand the essence of the Neighbourhood Watch by participating in their activities. The chairman of the Neighbourhood Watch allowed me to accompany Kylemore's Neighbourhood Watch on their patrols and sit in on their meetings. The use of participant observation as a data collection method delivered satisfactory results. Participant observation is said to be one of the core elements that sets anthropology apart from other disciplines. This involves getting close to the people being studied and making them feel comfortable enough with your presence to ensure that you can observe and record information about their lives and surroundings (Bernard 1994:136). Participant observation also reduces the problem of reactivity i.e. "people changing their behaviour when they know that they are being studied" (Bernard 1994:141). The lower the reactivity for those being studied, the higher the validity of the data. Thus, participant observation equips a researcher to understand the meaning of what is being observed (Bernard 1994:141). I was therefore explicitly keen to become aware of the details around me, such as the built environment, the social atmosphere, people's body language and the like. It was also important for me as a researcher to adapt to various circumstances and various individuals. For example, I had to adapt my approach and way of speaking when I interviewed younger people on the streets, thus using mainly slang and making the interview very informal in order to make them comfortable with my presence. These techniques changed slightly when I interviewed older people or when I addressed people in a meeting or a formal setting.

Despite the importance of participant observation in an anthropological study, it was equally important to maintain some distance to ensure objectivity. It is very important to be objective and not get too emotionally involved, but no human being can ever be completely objective, as we humans can not rid ourselves of our experiences (Bernard 1994:152). It was therefore at times very challenging not to get emotionally involved when people spoke about their life experiences and the many challenges they were faced with. I, however, deemed it important

to show people, especially those I was dependent on for information, a degree of genuine compassion, sympathy and understanding, but not to the extent that it would jeopardize me or my research. Therefore, as a researcher I had to look beyond my biases and give a detailed description of the insider's experience to the best of my ability and then attempt to analyse it.

Objectivity gets its biggest test when you study your 'own culture' or 'own people'. The advantages I experienced while conducting my study were that I could speak the language and I understood the local 'lingo' (slang). As a so-called 'coloured' person myself I could therefore relate to various aspects of the lives of the people of Kylemore. The disadvantage of studying your "own people", however, is that it is harder to recognise various cultural or organizational patterns, as one is most likely to take many things for granted that an outsider would pick up right away (Bernard 1994:154). This was one of my concerns, as the Dwars River Valley predominantly consists of 'coloured' communities, the racial category I fall under in the South African context. What I discovered, however, was that although I was studying my 'own people', they were living in a different context and under different circumstances than myself, therefore almost forming a culture of their own. Thus, even though I could relate to many aspects of their lives, I discovered that there was so much more for me to learn and uncover.

### **1.5 Chapter layout**

This study contains seven chapters. The first chapter is an introductory chapter which serves as a map to guide the reader through the study. It contains a comprehensive description of the background and motivation for this study, provides the problem statement and sub-questions, and lastly the methodology used during this study.

Chapter 2 is theoretically based. This chapter gives a literature review of the various topics being dealt with in this study. Firstly the concept of crime and community policing is briefly introduced. Thereafter I look into the conceptualisation of the term 'community'. Various understandings of community policing are supplied and a range of arguments on the notion of community policing and its origins are discussed, referring both to international as well as the local authors. In addition I touch on issues of governance and policy as they contribute to my argument.

In Chapter 3 the main theme is policing, especially within the broader South African context. This chapter starts off by briefly discussing South Africa's crime status followed by the history behind South Africa's crime situation. In addition, the eventual adoption and adaptation of the

notion of community policing by the government and civil society will be discussed. The two forms of community policing discussed for the purpose of this study were Community Policing Forums (CPFs) and Neighbourhood Watch schemes. Chapter 3 concludes with some reactions from society in terms of crime and crime prevention.

Chapter 4 starts off by sketching the historical background of community life within the Western Cape, with special emphasis on the 'coloured' community and the concept of *ordentlikheid* (respectability). Furthermore the issues of crime and crime prevention within the broader Western Cape are discussed. Thereafter a detailed historical background is sketched of the Dwars River Valley within the context of South Africa. This chapter highlights the rich history of the region with special emphasis on Kylemore. In addition Kylemore at present is discussed to create a better understanding of the place, its people and the complexities found within the community.

Chapter 5 elaborates on the social and economic tribulations that so many residents were faced with in Kylemore. Thereafter an attempt was made to interpret the reasons behind the eventual establishment of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch. Furthermore, this chapter focuses on the organisational structure of the Kylemore Neighbourhood Watch whereas chapter 6 focuses on the more functional aspects of the Neighbourhood Watch: looking at how it implements community policing in the local setting and lastly looking at what the local community's reactions were towards the Neighbourhood Watch and their way of implementation.

In chapter 7, the concluding chapter, I attempt to integrate insights from the literature with my findings. I look at what made Kylemore's situation so unique, but at the same time search for similarities to international models of policing. My ultimate goal is therefore to find the connectedness and linkages in addition to contradictions between my findings and general policing theories and policies.

## **1.6 Conclusion**

The purpose of this chapter was to give an overview of the main themes that will be discussed throughout this thesis. The subsequent chapters attempt to unfold these themes and locate them within the context of South Africa and ultimately, the community of Kylemore.



## **CHAPTER 2: PERSPECTIVES ON COMMUNITY POLICING**

### **2.1 Introduction**

In recent years the concept of community policing has enjoyed growing popularity across the world as various policing agencies were adopting this strategy in their respective countries. The South African Police Service (SAPS) was no exception. After South Africa's transitional period from an authoritarian regime to a democracy, the then SAP (South African Police) soon realised the need to adopt the policing strategy of community policing.

Much has been written about community policing as it has been the subject of numerous academic studies, locally and abroad. This chapter explores the concept of community policing and attempts to define it by providing a theoretical account of community policing. In addition, this chapter discusses where and how the notion of community policing originated. The chapter starts off by stressing the problem of crime, especially within the South African context, to create the scenario which eventually led certain governments adopting this alternative form of policing.

It is important to first embark on the concept of 'community' within community policing to better understand and discuss the notion of 'community policing'. In this chapter I explore the vast literature to formulate a better understanding of the concept of community policing and its implementation within local settings. A concept of this nature goes hand-in-hand with ideologies of governance and policy. With that said, this chapter further attempt to illustrate the various focal shifts that occurred within modern governments globally and nationally and how it influenced not only government policies, but the behaviour of civil society itself.

### **2.2 Crime and Community Policing**

Crime is a concept that lacks objective or absolute definition (Thomson 2004:1). The concept is closely related to the notion of deviance, which refers to "the violation of the norms of a society or group" (Thomson 2004:2). In this regard it suggests that what is deemed deviant is relative to the norms of the society or group under discussion. In instances where behaviour is considered to be dangerous or threatening to the society, it is usually the state that defines the behaviour as a 'crime' and as such it should be handled and punished within the state's criminal justice system i.e. the police, courts, and correctional service. Thomson (2004:2) therefore defines crime as "violations of a specific subtype of norms, that is, the criminal laws of a society". Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990:3) however, imply that crime is behaviour in violation of the law and acts of force or fraud undertaken in pursuit of self-interest.

What must be noted, however, is that the dominant norms and laws in a society are not always decided by the majority. Instead it is often the norms and laws of the powerful in society that are imposed and they often make up a small section of society (Thomson 2004:3). This was evidently the case with the *apartheid* regime in South Africa. The ruling whites of the apartheid regime were a minority population group in South Africa, but yet each South African citizen had to abide to their rules and regulations. Many non-white South Africans suffered immensely under, what could be called, a suffocating authoritarian logic (Parnell 2003:2). The state therefore decided what was considered crime or not, thus legitimising their 'acts of deviance', that included the torturing and killing opponents of the regime, mostly from the black population.

Returning to theory on crime and deviance, followers of the functionalist approach believe that societies tend to be stable and orderly and that shared values and norms form the basis of social order and enable communities to function. Crime thus occurs when this social order is disrupted (Thomson 2004:4). The French sociologist Emile Durkheim (1858-1917) believed that social behaviour normally has a positive function for society. Thomson (2004:4) suggests that the same principle applies to crime. According to Durkheim, crime is a positive social force as it tests the laws, challenges the status quo and brings about change. He goes further by suggesting that crime can also bring people together, for example if a crime occurs in a community, members of that community will share a strong social bond of disapproval. He does, however, realise that too much crime will damage a society (Thomson 2004:5). If the latter occurs, it suggests that there will be no shared set of values, harming the social structure. Durkheim termed this situation as 'anomie' which links to two of his other ideas namely, "unless regulated by society, people may become less attached to the values of society, and society should regulate people's desires because unrealistic desires may result in deviance" (cited in Thomson 2004:5).

South Africa is one of the hardest hit countries in the world when it comes to the intensity of crime. The South African government, following other governments, realised that drastic measures had to be taken to put crime under control. Certain changes thus had to be made as it was clear that the conventional way of operating delivered inadequate results. The governments realised that the public police forces were but one resource in solving crime as a social problem. As a result, the policy of community policing was introduced which allowed groups other than the police to become involved in policing, thus promoting community input into the policing process (Carrier 1999:3). Government therefore essentially shifted some power over to the ordinary citizen, thereby making them responsible for their own safety as well.

## 2.3 Conceptualization of Community

Before embarking on the conceptualization of community policing policy, it makes sense to firstly unpack the notion of 'community' within the term 'community policing'. The notion of 'community' is a complex one.. 'Community' is generally associated with the people living in a specific geographic location as well as with a sense of belonging and sameness among them. . According to Thornton and Ramphela (1988:29) the meaning of community is one that is forever changing as there are various usages tied to 'community'. These multiple uses can at times cause confusion in terms of what exactly is meant by the notion of community, especially in academia. Here follows a few definitions and understandings of 'community'.

Margaret Lynn (2006:110) describes a community "as (a) place where public amenities and services are provided, but often grossly inadequately and without integration, where needs are met, but also denied or ignored, where children are educated, but also sometimes alienated, where identity is shaped, but also sometimes limited. And where difference is shaped, but also sometimes limited, and where differences are appreciated but also sometimes denigrated". This statement alone tells us that the meaning of 'community' is complex, contested and fraught with definitional ambiguity and assumption (Lynn 2006:111) which may ultimately result in inclusion and exclusion within a so-called 'community'.

Margaret Lynn (2006:111) continues by arguing that "no discourse is real, unmediated or provides the naked truth of community life. All discourses may be applied to an understanding of a single community, with greater or lesser degree of fit, and will account for factors that are salient from different perspectives". This is a fairly true argument. Various actors, such as governments, community-based organisations (CBOs) or citizens, generally make use of different discourses with regards to community, as a result of diverse goals and beliefs.

The South African government in the apartheid era is a good example of how the discourse of community was used to achieve specific goals and objectives. The term 'community' was used to denote aggregations of people who had something in common. This included common residence, geographic region and shared beliefs, or who claimed membership in a common lineage structure, or who were distinguished by similarities of economic activity or class position (Thornton and Ramphela 1988:30). The government used generic and ethnic labels for official racial categories such as 'coloured community', 'white community', and 'black community'. They thus used the term 'community' interchangeably with terms such as 'ethnic groups', 'nation' or 'people' in order to justify their insistence that "since each is a



distinct 'community' it must develop separately" (Thornton and Ramphela 1988:30). Most black, Indian and coloured people were respectively relocated into townships and the wastelands outside of the urban areas, while the whites lived comfortably in the best urban areas.

In a study conducted by Gene L. Theodori (2005:662) that focuses on community and community development, the term 'community' is understood as an extremely elusive construct which can be used in a variety of ways. He suggests that the two more common uses of the term refer to 'territory-free communities' and 'territory-based communities' (Theodori 2005:662). 'Territory-free communities' is the term usually used to describe types of social groupings or networks, such as 'the business community', 'the prison community', 'the Baptist community' or 'the Internet community' (Theodori 2005:662). This could be linked to a definition of 'community' that was developed in the 1970s and 1980s in workshops led by Organize Training Centre with thousands of religious, labour and civic leaders which states that: "a community is a group of people, sharing a common bond or tradition, who support and challenge each other to act powerfully, both individually and collectively, to affirm, defend and advance their values and self-interests" (Miller 2002:32). Steven Brint's (2001:1) argument also correlates with the latter statement, as he suggests that community refers to many appealing features of human social relationships such as "a sense of familiarity and safety, mutual concern and support, continuous loyalties, even the possibility of being appreciated for one's full personality and contribution to group life rather than for narrower aspects of rank and achievement". It is thus evident that 'place' is not mentioned in these definitions.

'Territory-based community' refers to geographically localised settlements. There is of course no universally accepted definition of the term, but from a sociological point of view certain components are emphasised, such as: shared territory, common life, collective action and mutual identity (Theodori 2005:662). For the purposes of Theodori's study, 'community' is defined as "a place-oriented process of interrelated actions through which members of a local population express a shared sense of identity while engaging in the common concerns of life" (Theodori 2005:662-663).

This definition views social interaction as the substantive element of community, which ties together the four ingredients of community namely: shared territory, common life, collective actions and mutual identity (Theodori 2005:663). This suggests that community occurs in places and is place oriented, "but the place itself, per se, is not the community" (Theodori 2005:663). Instead, the place serves as the setting in which social interaction occurs. This could be used to illustrate Kylemore as a 'community'. Steven Brint (2001:3) states that

although community might suggest a common way of life, it does not necessarily suggest common beliefs among people in a community. Therefore people may share the same territory, way of live and mutual identity, but ultimately they remain individuals with different beliefs.

Furthermore, this conceptualisation of community suggests that it occurs in a local society. A local society, which is also a contested term, could be defined for the purpose of this study as “the area in which a population meets its daily needs and encounters shared problems” (Theodori 2005:663). Theodori suggests that there are three features that are inherent to any local society. These include a geographic dimension (locality), human life dimension (people living there) and relatively complete organisation (institutions and patterns of behaviour that cover the broad range of human interests) (Theodori 2005:663). These features are seen as a prerequisite for a community, however having all three does not ensure the existence of a community. Instead, only where these three elements exist does the potential exist for community (Theodori 2005:663). One must, however, keep in mind that each feature will differ within and across local societies and over time.

Harold Kaufman’s (1959:9) definition of ‘community’ correlates substantially with that of Theodori as he states that “community is a social unit of which space is an integral part; community is a place, a relatively small one ... community indicates a configuration as to a way of life, both as to how people do things and what they want - their institutions and their collective goals. A third notion is that of collective action. Persons in a community should not only be able to, but frequently do act together in the common concerns of life”.

Jane Hill and Graham Wright (2003:292) argue that the concept of community is usually employed for some sort of ideological effect and “that it is a ‘feel-good’ term that can mask the further implementation of formal and informal social control as well as appear to minimise the centrality of the role of government”. It is therefore a word rich in symbolic power. Steven Brint (2001:1) agrees with this as he states, “as a symbol and aspiration, the idea of community continues to resonate in public discourse”. This argument can be linked to government’s introduction of community policing policy as a means to fight crime. My interpretation of this use of ‘community’ is that it is being romanticised, thus giving the ordinary citizen a sense of belonging and a sense of existence and in so doing it may lead them to take action to preserve that which is being jeopardised, i.e. their supposedly coherent community. In this way government (people with power) shifts a part of their duties over to the public, but portrays it in a much romanticised manner in order to make it easily acceptable by the people. Although some power has now been shifted to the ordinary citizen, the ultimate power still lies with the higher powers, i.e. government; therefore they still

implement social control. My sentiment is also seen in Hill and Wright's (2003:292) argument which states that "implicit in the use of 'community' in community safety social policies is the need to recreate or reinforce locally a sense of belonging, of consensus, inclusion, and homogeneity". But at the same time these very policies may recreate the conditions for condemnation, exclusion and alienation. This could be illustrated through community safety or community policing initiatives. It could be argued that individuals who partake in community policing initiatives unconsciously form a group or as Warner (2002) states it, a 'public'. Therefore those who do not agree with their 'regulations', those who step out of line and commit criminal acts would be excluded from this group even though they are from the same 'community'.

Warner's (2002) article on *Publics and Counterpublics* contributes in some way to the understanding of 'community'. In his paper, the term 'public' could be used interchangeably with 'community'. He argues that "a public is a space of discourse organised by nothing other than discourse itself" (Warner 2002:50). In other words, a public is a public because people talk about it and pay attention to it. He goes further by suggesting it is self-creating and self-organised and herein lies its power and its elusive strangeness (Warner 2002:52). The discourse of public therefore has immense resonance from the point of view of individuals, thus giving them a sense of power by defining their 'public' (community). Warner (2002) suggests that a public can only produce a sense of belonging and activity, if it is self-organised through discourse, rather than through an external framework. Any distortion or blockage in access to a public can be grave and might lead to people feeling powerless and frustrated (Warner 2002:53). This, ultimately, might lead to the inclusion of people into and exclusion of people from a 'community'.

One must however keep in mind that multiple publics exist and that individuals are not bound to belong to one public, but instead an individual can belong to more than one public (communities) simultaneously (Warner 2002:53). For example, an individual who belongs to the Neighbourhood Watch 'community' can simultaneously belong to the Christian 'community'.

After reading all these authors' definitions and thoughts on 'community' I think it is fair to say that 'community' is a 'fictitious' construct that exists within the minds of individuals to give them a sense of belonging and to make sense of the social world they live in, of their everyday lives and of their surroundings. Communities are therefore not given social phenomena that exist in the way they are talked about, but rather people make them exist within their minds and it is being portrayed through everyday lives and interactions with

others or in the policies created by people in power such as government and various powerful organizations.

One can argue that the 'community' in community policing has various meanings to various people, but despite this multiplicity, the term produces a sense of togetherness and belonging which to my thinking makes the term 'community policing' so much more powerful than just the traditional 'policing'. Therefore, just as people construct their own perception of 'community' so do they construct the notion of community policing to make it work in their immediate surroundings. Context thus plays a vital role as this is often the determining factor for 'community'. In the same way the concept of community policing is influenced by context. This suggests that the context of the community will ultimately influence the way community policing will be implemented. In short, the contextualisation of the notion of 'community' is basic for understanding the implementation of community policing policy in a local setting.

## **2.4 Definitions of Community Policing**

'Community policing' seems to have reached global recognition as the new way of policing. This international notion has been adopted and implemented in various countries across the globe, yet many people are not entirely sure what exactly this notion means. As with most concepts, term and notions, there is no single universally accepted definition for 'community policing', as it has different meanings and connotations for various individuals. This is evident in most literature on community policing. An exact definition of this term is therefore absent (Carrier 1999:3; Stevens and Yach 1995:6). Authors consequently describe it in their own way but recognise that their definition is but one of hundreds of definitions world-wide. The biggest contributing factors for these diverse, yet closely similar, definitions are context and time. An author's definition of community policing therefore depends on the specific context and specific time he or she is embedded in. This may make the definition seem unclear but may not necessarily hamper the implementation of community policing, it will just result in the creation of various implementation techniques. This suggests that a pre-determined plan cannot necessarily be followed to implement community policing, as each policing organisation is unique in its own way and therefore each requires a different approach. To implement community policing in a specific community, it must be tailor-made to fit that community's needs.

One British critic argues that community policing is little more than a brand name that "gives a common identity to a diverse range of independent concerns" (Smith 1987:54). For some it is a new philosophy of policing suggesting that "the same officer patrols and works in the same area on a permanent basis, from a decentralised place, working in a proactive partnership with citizens to identify and solve problems" (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux

1990:7), but Friedmann (1992:4) provides a reasonably concise statement of what is meant by community policing by suggesting that “community policing is a policy and a strategy aimed at achieving more effective and efficient crime control, reduced fear of crime, improved quality of life, improved police services and police legitimacy, through a proactive reliance on community resources that seeks to change crime causing conditions. This assumes a need for greater accountability of police, greater public share in decision making, and greater concern for civil rights and liberties”.

David Bayley (1994) used data collected in five countries namely: Australia, Canada, Japan, the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States (US) and came to the conclusion that four elements recur wherever police agencies resolve to change their traditional practices towards community policing in an attempt to prevent and control crime (1994:105). He collectively tagged these elements with the acronym CAMPS, which refers to:

- *Consultation* with local communities with regards to their security needs and the police assistance required in meeting these needs,
- *Adaptation* of organisational structures to allow local operational commanders greater decision-making powers,
- *Mobilisation* of public and private non-police agencies and individuals, and
- *Problem-Solving* to improve the conditions that generate crime and insecurity.

In the CAMPS formulation it is evident that the (state or public) police are central to the enterprise (Dixon 2000:6). This is the case in many writings, especially American literature, on community policing. It thus seems as though the police is the main player and the community serves simply as the eyes and ears of the police. The ‘western’ way of implementing democratic/community policing therefore leaves the state and its police in control of defining and maintaining order as well as the resolutions of communal problems (Brogden and Shearing 1993). This brings me to the view that the western notion of community policing could be classified almost as a *facade* i.e. making the public believe that they possess much power with regards to crime prevention, while in fact the ultimate power still remains with the state and its police. On the contrary, it would be a somewhat naïve decision to give full control to citizens in terms of crime prevention and crime control, as giving widespread power to all citizens in this regard may lead to chaos. The existence of some sort of authority is therefore still of utmost importance to maintain order, (as a supportive and guiding role player) and therefore not as a dictator.

Another western depiction of community policing, this time provided by Kelling and Coles (1996), states that the characteristics of community policing are:



- **Service oriented:** promoting the concept of community as client, and police as provider of safety and security that is effective, efficient and accountable,
- **Partnership:** to determine community needs and policing priorities. Consultation with the community through community policing forums is of critical importance,
- **Problem solving:** finding the root causes of crime,
- **Empowerment:** creating a sense of joint responsibility and a joint capacity for addressing issues of concern, and
- **Accountability:** creating mechanisms through which the police are accountable for addressing the needs and concerns of the community they serve.

Within this western description of community policing it seems as though the biggest responsibility lies with the police in terms of forming partnerships with the local community, patrolling the neighbourhoods and being accountable for safety and security. It is clear that the police once again play a central role within community policing, but unlike the previous description from Bayley (1994) and Brogden and Shearing (1993) the police seems to have a more supportive than controlling role.

Rosenbaum (1994:8) steers away from the centrality of the police and sums up community policing as “the role of the community in preventing crime”. Community policing thus describes a community’s ability to regulate and defend itself against crime as well as the perception of crime (Rosenbaum 1994:8). In Davis et al’s article, ‘Community Policing: Variations on the Western model in the Developing World’ (2003:286), they make use of Skogan and Hartnett’s (1997) definition of community policing which links with Rosenbaum’s argument. It states that community policing has the following characteristics:

- Decentralisation of authority occurs and patrol strategies are designed to promote communication between police and citizens,
- It focuses on problem-oriented policing,
- It permits the public to participate in setting police priorities and developing tactics and;
- Lastly, it empowers communities to help solve their own crime and disorder problems through sponsorship of crime prevention programs.

(Skogan and Hartnett 1997).

Rosenbaum (1994) and Skogan and Hartnett’s (1997) arguments are similar to that of the characteristics mentioned by the University of California, Irvine, Police Department. However, instead of making the police central to community policing, they (Rosenbaum 1994; Skogan

and Hartnett 1997) emphasised the importance of the community with regards to community policing.

Brogden and Shearing (1993) make use of Lee Brown's (1991) argument that goes one step further in his description of community policing when he states that "[the] police and citizens are partners in the maintenance of safe and peaceful neighbourhoods. The Police bring into the relationship their constitutional and legal values and their professional knowledge and skill [while] citizens bring into the relationship their intimate knowledge of neighbourhood conditions and their willingness to participate fully in controlling crime and maintaining order in their communities".

In the same way Stevens and Yach (1995:6) argued that communities lie at the heart of effective policing. According to them community policing suggested that safety and security of a local area is not left to the police alone, but instead it involved local residents too. Local people thus have the right to know what the police are doing, as well as, how and why they are doing it. For this reason the relationship between the police and the community must be based on mutual trust and respect for effective crime prevention. In a similar fashion Ellison (2006:12) – a former chief of the West Linn, Oregon, Police Department (USA) - states that "the basic concept of community policing remains to bring the community and the police closer together and improve rapport".

The fundamental nature of community policing was thus when the police realised that they were not able to effectively deal with symptoms of crime and eradication of causes of crime on their own without active assistance of local communities and when this realisation is then transformed into community based policing processes. Therefore communities, from the perspective of the police, have to accept shared responsibility for their own safety and security and work together with the police to combat crime in their local settings.

#### **2.4.1 Factors leading to community policing and its place of origin**

Crawford (1998:148) argued that the notion of community policing made its debut in North America sometime in the late 1960s. According to him it originated when the Kennedy administration realised that the traditional crime control measures were not truly cost-effective. At the time, western societies were faced with three fundamental problems with their police service. This included defining their role, devising effective controls over their discretion, and establishing the basis of their legitimacy (Carrier 1999:2). Alternative strategies thus had to come to the fore to make policing more efficient. As a result the

decision was made to expand the role of the ordinary citizens and those agencies and institutions outside the criminal justice system to assist in crime prevention (Rosenbaum et al 1998:6). In addition, the need emerged for effective crime prevention through problem-solving which led to research on a policing strategy that effectively addressed the underlying causes of crime (Fleissner and Heinzelmann 1996:3).

A report presented by the City Club of Portland on Community Policing in Portland in the United States of America claims that escalating crime rates in the 1980s increased public frustration with police practices which encouraged public support for alternative approaches to traditional law enforcement. The outcome of the public frustration was the establishment of Community Policing in various cities across the United States (Clark 2003:i) which opened up a conceptual space for a new understanding of policing (Carrier 1999:2). This links to Brogden's argument that declares that the concept of community policing was not initiated by the state alone but instead it was developed through a combination of recognition of the failings of the traditional policing, together with a variety of local ad hoc innovations and improvisations.

In the 1970s and 1980s the US Justice Department therefore encouraged local law enforcement agencies to stimulate citizen participation in passive crime prevention programs as they came to the realisation that ... "crime is a local problem that must be solved by local means" (Rosenbaum et al 1998:7). Citizens now took action against crime in their respective local communities, thus serving as the 'eyes and ears' of the police in their communities (Rosenbaum et al 1998:7). The importance of civil society was not the only logic behind this policing strategy. From the later 1980s certain governments realised that they had to curtail state spending in order to sustain their economies. This line of thinking was brought forth by individuals such as Margaret Thatcher, who was the British Prime Minister from 1979 until 1990, as well as the former governor of California in the United States of America, Ronald Reagan. They took on a neoliberal approach which seeks to transfer control of the economy from state to the private sector resulting in decentralised decision-making. State policing was also influenced by this approach. It was socially and economically demanding for the state to police the whole nation, therefore policing responsibilities were decentralised to include civil society and the private sector. Neoliberalism therefore placed faith on self-help and individual responsibility (Heywood 1997:48). This was not only a means to empower certain individuals by encouraging entrepreneurship, but more commonly to curtail state spending.

No longer was the state the sole provider of safety and security, but instead responsibility was partially shifted to civil society to help combat crime at its very core. Crawford (1998:9) stated that the community was the resource for crime prevention, as it was seen as the locus



of informal social control and as constituting an important force in reducing crime. This approach led to an organisational transformation within the police. It moved from a centralised command-and-control bureaucracy to a decentralised professional organization (Brogden 1999:173). Community policing was then implemented in various ways but yet all initiatives embodied the fundamental concepts of problem solving (looking at the underlying causes of crime) and partnership (community and police share responsibility for public safety and neighbourhood livability) (City Club of Portland 2003:i).

As mentioned earlier, the origin of community policing lies in North America, but soon this alternative policing model started spreading to other nations such as the United Kingdom through the networks of policing professionals and the power of globalisation. Globalisation can be described as “a process (or a set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions...generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power” (Dixon 2000:1). This enables the movement or flow of symbols, tokens and information across space and time (Held et al 1999:17). Thus through global networks of relations and connections (globalisation) the North American concept of community policing inspired many British social and developmental crime prevention initiatives (Crawford 1998:123).

Although it was the same concept that made its way to the United Kingdom, it took on various forms to fit the British context. There were many types of community policing initiatives that started to develop in England, such as public relations campaigns, Neighbourhood Watch schemes, self-help associations, police-community consultative schemes, multi-agency cooperation, unit beat policing and lay visitor schemes (Jagwanth 1994:167). The first Neighbourhood Watch Scheme was set up in Great Britain in 1982. By 1998 it was estimated that more than 14 000 Neighbourhood Watch Schemes were actively operating, covering an estimated six million households in England and Wales (Crawford 1998:147).

Jagwanth (1994:167) noted that a major part of the community policing strategy in Britain was that of statutory liaison forums. This suggests that “arrangements shall be made in each police area for obtaining the views of people in that area about matters concerning the policing of the area and for obtaining their co-operation with the police in preventing crime in the area” (Jagwanth 1994:167). These forums were referred to as Police Consultative Committees which included representatives from the police and members of the public as well as local councilors, members of parliament and representatives of statutory agencies (Jagwanth 1994:167). Regular meetings are held between the police officers and the local

community where they jointly discuss the police priorities for the local area. This approach to policing is also known as 'Sector Policing' (Dixon 2004:264).

The decentralised approach of sector policing intended to address the root causes of crime at specific geographical locations, in partnership with particular communities at local level (Maroga 2004:1). Sector policing can thus be seen as a 'tailor made' policing approach, as it is created to suit specific local needs (Maroga 2004:1).

Community policing was seen in the same regard, hence the interchangeable usage of these two terms. The basic principles of community policing still existed, namely problem-solving and partnership, but these were applied in a flexible way to allow local people to reshape the principles to suit their specific needs. People within the international and local settings wanted to achieve the same end result through community policing, but it was the manner in which they implemented this notion that differed substantially.

The spread of community policing did, however, not stop with the United Kingdom. Through the international contacts it soon spread to various western democracies such as Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Davis et al 2003:286). Although these countries shared a common feature of being Western democratic countries, differences still occurred when it came to the implementation of community policing.

As time progressed, more and more developing countries became independent democracies. These countries struggled to move from authoritarian policing to democratic policing and thus desperately searched for models to adopt (Davis et al 2003:285). Through exchange of ideas, a number of these countries turned to community policing as a means to strengthen police accountability towards citizens (Davis et al 2003:285). In essence it could be said that the spread of community policing brought about its evolution. Community policing can therefore be seen as a travelling model as it moved around the world taking on various forms as it was influenced by local contexts. The travelling model of community policing policy also made its way to South Africa and replaced the old traditional policing rules that were laid down by the apartheid government.

## **2.5 Theoretical perspectives on policy and governance**

A concept such as community policing is linked with ideologies of governance and policy. In Chris Shore and Susan Wright's (1997) book *Anthropology of Policy*, they argue that the term 'policy' has become an increasingly central organising principle in contemporary societies, which shapes the way we, as world citizens live, act and think. Furthermore, they

are of the opinion that policies even create new categories of individuals which include 'subject', 'citizen', 'professional', 'national', 'criminal' and 'deviant'.

The term 'policy' is highly instrumental, especially when it is being used by government. Government uses policy as a tool to regulate a population from the top down and through rewards and sanctions (Shore and Wright 1997:5). Policy, in this regard, is thus "an intrinsically technical, rational, action-oriented instrument that decision makers use to solve problems and affect change" (Shore and Wright 1997:5). Government therefore uses the discourse of policy to their advantage in order to achieve their aims and objectives. In many instances they determine the discourse of policy which, in effect, reshapes people's behaviour and their way of thinking. To take the 'community policing policy' for example, we see that it was ultimately an initiative of government to address the escalating crime issue. With regard to South Africa, the policy suggested that each police station in the country adopt this policy and establish a Community Police Forum to ensure the participation of the public. Although many did not realise it at first, this policy did indeed reshape people's behaviour as well as their perception of various issues. Where police officers were used to working on their own, reprimanding and controlling the public, they now had to work together with the public to achieve their goals in crime fighting. On the other hand, the public now all of a sudden had to take on the responsibility of their own safety and security and work together with the police, who most had feared and disliked in the past.

As mentioned earlier, policy also has the ability to categorise individuals. This is ultimately what is happening with regards to the community policing policy. The guidelines of this policy stipulate its goals for crime reduction and methods to achieve it, also laying out what is classified as deviant behaviour or not. In this regard the policy thus indirectly distinguishes between 'good' and 'bad' citizens. Without knowing it, people are labeled (categorised) which leads to a sense of inclusion and exclusion, i.e. all 'bad' citizens are excluded from partaking in the Community Policing Policy.

Furthermore, government is associated with governance. Before the Second World War most governments internationally took the sole responsibility for law and order. This has however progressively changed over the years as the myth that the state could control law and order was slowly eroded (McDonald 2006:195). More emphasis was placed on the restoration of the rule of law, as well as the importance of punishment and deterrence. In addition, those who could afford it were encouraged to look into the private alternative for security. To many this new strategy was seen as a shift from 'government' to 'governance'.

Governance can be defined as “a shift away from government taking responsibility and authority for guaranteeing services and traditional state spheres of activity towards provision by other agencies, some private and some public, which in a sort of partnership, provide what should be full cover” (Williams 2001:541). Government as a result develops policies that should be implemented by public and private partners. Governance can also be described as an arrangement of governing-beyond-the-state, but often with the explicit inclusion of parts of the state apparatus, thus suggesting it is horizontal associational networks of private, civil society and state actors (Swyngedouw 2005: 1992).

Shore and Wright (1997:5) go further by defining governance as “the more complex processes by which policies not only impose conditions, but influence people’s indigenous norms of conduct so that they themselves contribute not necessarily consciously, to a government’s model of social order” (Shore and Wright 1997:5).

It could therefore be argued that governance modifies the way individuals, taken either singly or collectively, conduct themselves, creating a type of power which “both acts on and through the agency and subjectivity of individuals as ethically free and rational subjects” resulting in presupposing rather than annulling their capacity as agents (Shore and Wright 1997:6). Policy thus works on the individual’s sense of ‘self’. Durkheim (1982: 47) states that “... while institutions bear down upon us, we nevertheless cling to them; they place constraints upon us and yet we find satisfaction in the way they function, in that very constraint”. He continues with this argument by saying that “while external norms may indeed constrain us, they are nonetheless just as likely to be experienced as constitutive and liberating to the individual as they may be coercive” (Durkheim 1982:47). In other words, while many individuals have grievances about the state and their way of doing things, they still find themselves clinging to that which they almost despise, especially in time of need and vulnerability.

It is evident that policy has become a major institution especially in Western and international governance. By interpreting the above situation, it is clear that the discourse of policy can grant government a great deal of authority and power. For example, when the South African government decided to adopt the Community Policing Policy they insisted that the policy be installed at each police station. They legitimised their reasons for this policy by ensuring specific guidelines, goals and objectives. Whether or not government’s goals and objectives were the only reason for introducing this policy was not much questioned at the time and without much resistance this policy was adopted by police and the public at large. To my understanding, government was fully aware of the magnitude of the crime challenge, but at the same time came to the realisation that they had to scale down on resources for this cause. This line of policy development was strongly influenced by the more neoliberal public

policy approach of the South African government after 1996, as manifested in the GEAR policy document.

During the apartheid years, policing took on a more militant approach, but when South Africa shifted from an authoritarian form of government towards a more democratic one the police and the De Klerk (former president in the apartheid era) government brought about certain changes with regards to policing. These changes were not necessarily brought about to develop police efficiency, nor were they introduced out of the kindness of their hearts. Instead “they were concessions wrought from a government for which the political and economic cost of continuing with a military strategy in maintaining apartheid has simply become too high (Schärf 1991:3). A new strategy thus had to be developed in keeping with the democratisation process in South Africa.

The idea of scaling down on resources for policing led to the notion of “responsibilization”. This was a means to take some pressure off the government and divide the responsibility of crime control between government and civil society. Government thus expected citizens to become more responsible for crime prevention and to take action themselves through establishing Neighbourhood Watches and using better home and car security, basically shifting the responsibility of crime control to citizens. Government therefore used the power of discourse by setting up the terms of reference by disallowing or marginalising alternatives (Shore and Wright 1997:18). McDonald (2006: 195) argues that by placing more responsibility on individuals and communities, government is perhaps shifting blame for perceived failure. In various contexts it was found that despite a decrease in crime levels, the fear of crime amongst individuals was still on the increase and through the ‘responsibilization’ approach government almost fell free from blame.

When looking at community policing and its interconnectedness with governance and policy, it is argued that these notions can be interpreted through the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism. Symbolic interactionism is a major sociological perspective that derived from American pragmatism and particularly from the work of George Herbert Mead (Blumer 1969: 1). It was however Herbert Blumer, a student and interpreter of Mead, who coined the term ‘symbolic interactionism’. He suggested that the first basic premise of this approach is that “human beings act toward things on the basis of the meaning that the things have for them” (Blumer 1969:2). The second premise is that these meanings are derived from social interaction and modified through interpretation (Blumer 1969:2). The third premise states that “these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretative process used by the person in dealing with the things he encounters” (Blumer 1969:2).



This suggests that research by symbolic interactionists focuses on easily observable face-to-face interactions, rather than only on macro-level structural relationships involving social institutions. In addition, the focus on interaction and on the meaning of events to the participants in those events shifts the attention of symbolic interactionists away from stable norms and values, toward more changeable, continually readjusting social processes (McClelland 2000). Therefore, negotiation among members of society creates temporary, socially constructed relations which remain in constant flux, despite relative stability in the basic framework governing those relations (McClelland 2000).

Scott (1995: 104) goes further by stating that “symbolic interactionism adopts a stance of methodological individualism, (thus) seeing the social process as an outcome of individual action and denying any reality to social ‘structures’” Despite the latter statement, this does however not rule out the possibility of a focus on collective action. In John Scott’s book *Sociological theory*, he made use of Blumer’s (1962:84) argument that states that action of groups is an important social phenomenon, however, it should be seen as “the collective or concerted actions of individuals seeking to meet their life situations”. Blumer (1962:84) further suggests that “individuals interpret one another’s actions in an attempt to align their actions with one another, and group action can be seen as a particular form of aligned individual action”.

In my opinion the community policing policy and responses to it can be interpreted in terms of the symbolic interactionism approach. The community policing policy is a deviation from the conventional way of policing which was mostly state-centred, with the focus on deviant acts, and therefore it did not truly address the reasons behind those acts. As stated before, community policing is more focused on community participation and addressing social issues related to crime, which was not the case with conventional policing a few years ago. An interpretation based on symbolic interactionism helps one to see the shift away from stable norms and values towards more changeable, continually readjusting social processes (McClelland 2000). In this regard, systems (or social systems) are not seen as fixed, instead they are seen as phenomena that can be negotiated.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

In this chapter it was indicated that issues of crime, crime prevention and governance are a global concern and therefore not just relevant to South Africa. For the purpose of this study it is important to focus on the situation in South Africa.

This chapter attempted to contextualise the notion of 'community' theoretically to better interpret the concept of community policing. It was discovered that the concept of 'community' is somewhat elusive making it hard to define comprehensively. Consequently, the notion of community policing shares this same sense of elusiveness, causing individuals to define this notion for themselves. These various definitions and understandings of community policing were also discussed with the intent to better understand the concept and its principles. Despite the multiplicity in definitions, there were core principles that reoccur, setting a base to work from. It was evident throughout this chapter that context and time were pivotal factors when interpreting community policing, as those factors ultimately determined how a community policing policy was implemented within a local setting. Furthermore the chapter articulated that the discourse of community and policy respectively were often utilised by government in strategic ways to further their interests. The following chapter will focus on this policy within the South African context to see how it played out in this context as well as identify similarities and differences in the international and local implementation of the policy.

## **CHAPTER 3:**

### **CRIME AND COMMUNITY POLICING IN SOUTH AFRICA**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Most people suggest that “crime causes problems in society” but Dixon argued that in reality it is “society [that] causes the problem of crime” (2004:163). To a certain degree this statement could be linked to South Africa. So many South Africans were faced with ongoing struggles for decades under the apartheid regime and this resulted in uncountable violent criminal activities. However, it was only since the mid 1980s until the present that there was a noticeable increase in reported crime levels. This occurred especially in South Africa’s period of transition from an authoritarian country to a democratic country. This was not a unique occurrence as most countries that have undergone transition were marked by high crime rates and social upheaval.

The South African Police Service (SAPS) released statistics in 2006 indicating that at least two-thirds of all contact crime occurred between people who knew one another (Basson and Donnelly 2007). The SAPS came to the realisation that ‘social crime’ was the largest contributor to South Africa’s crime rate. Unemployment, lack of education, social exclusion and various social issues contributed to social crime. To stop this type of crime, the above-mentioned social issues should be addressed by society and its relevant institutions. The reality however was that the police was the only state agency that came in the firing line due to the escalating crime rates and this caused frustration for the police.

It seemed as though the conventional way of policing did not deliver very good results. The latter, together with South Africa’s serious crime situation and the frustration of the police, was one of the contributing factors that ultimately led the state developing alternative policing strategies. The state was convinced that there was no other option but to change its role as sole provider of safety and security and incorporate civil society in the fight against crime. South Africa thus saw the emergence of a new policing policy known as ‘community policing’. The eventual implementation of this policy was not an easy process and had to be implemented step-by-step. Furthermore, the policy took on various organisational forms, such as Community Police Forums and Neighbourhood Watch Schemes, which will also be discussed.



This chapter therefore embarks on the major concern about crime, with special reference to South Africa. The state eventually adopted the community policing policy to help control the major crime concern. This process will be discussed at length and society's reaction to crime and crime prevention strategies will be highlighted. Prior to the above mentioned discussion, it is fitting to provide an historical overview of South Africa's political and social situation, to contextualise the crime situation at present and what eventually led government to the adoption of the community policing policy.

### **3.2 South Africa's crime status**

"Crime is among the most difficult of the many challenges facing South Africa in the post-apartheid era. The country's crime rates are among the highest in the world and no South African is insulated from its effects" (Demombynes and Özler 2002:2).

The general world notion of South Africa is that its people have been free since 1994. The question however, is free from what? In the colonial era, as well as during apartheid, many of the population (mainly non-whites) lived in fear because they were almost 'shackled' down and treated as lesser humans. Those eras have passed long ago, but can it be said that the people of South Africa are truly free from fear?

The experience of fear is still present in South Africa, but its character has changed somewhat. South African citizens, regardless of their race, gender, religious or ethnic group, are now living in fear due to the dramatic increase of violent crime throughout the country.

Recent crime statistics indicated that in the 2007 financial year, the 47 million people of the country recorded 18 528 murders, 54 926 rapes and 119 726 violent robberies. This suggests that about 50 people are murdered every day (le Roux 2007: [www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za)). The SAPS found that the highest social contact crime ratios were in the Western Cape in respect of murder (60.7 per 100 000 people), indecent assault (59.1) and common assault (739.3) (Basson and Donnelly 2007:2). According to BBC News, South Africa, together with Iraq and Colombia, are the three most dangerous countries on earth with South Africa having the second highest rate of gun-related crime in the world (Simpson 2007).

Although crime is always in the media spotlight, it is not the only worrying thought of citizens. Policing itself is also considered to be a great concern as corruption often occurs within the SAPS and other policing bodies (Mokotedi and Koitsioe 1997). Very often there are reports on police corruption, inefficiency or brutality as well as involvement in crime syndicates. In

1997 about eleven hundred police officers were suspended on accusations of various crimes (Mokotedi and Koitsioe 1997).

South African President Thabo Mbeki stated early in 2007, that most South African citizens did not feel crime was out of control, thus living with little fear. He was heavily criticised by opposition parties as well as by many in civil society. Shortly after the criticism, President Mbeki made some concessions in his State of the Nation address at the opening of parliament in 2007. He recognised that crime was a major issue for South Africa and stated: "We...cannot claim the happiness that comes with freedom if communities live in fear, closeted behind walls and barbed wire, ever anxious in their houses, on the streets and on our roads, unable freely to enjoy our public spaces" (Le Roux 2007).

These high levels of crime have devastating effects for South Africa on various levels. Demombynes and Özler (2002:3) argue that the threat of crime diverts resources to protection efforts, exacts health costs through increased stress and generally creates an environment which is not conducive to productive activity. This directs foreign investment elsewhere which places strain on economic growth.

The reality in South Africa is that crime is very concerning, it is real and it is escalating on an unprecedented scale resulting in great emotional devastation. To comprehend the crime crisis South Africa is faced with currently, the present can only be understood in terms of the past. It is with this in mind that I provide a brief overview of South Africa and factors that influenced the crime status and the eventual adoption of the Community Policing Policy.

### **3.3 South Africa's history with regards to crime and crime prevention**

As mentioned in Chapter 1, South Africa was under the authoritarian rule of the 'white man' . for many decades These periods were known as the colonial and the apartheid eras. They were characterised by strife and bloodshed suffered by many of the non-white population under the 'white' government (Mokotedi and Koitsioe 1997).

As the white minority controlled the South African government, their authoritarian rule naturally filtered through to basically all facets of the South African society. Policing was no exception, as the South African Police Force was seen as a visible element of this system (Mokotedi and Koitsioe 1997). Thus crime control in the apartheid era was indistinguishable from political control as the police largely prevented crime through controlling the movement of 'black' people (Shaw 2002:xii).

As a result of apartheid, many non-white people were forcefully removed from their homes and resettled in townships. In Cape Town the oppressed population, who were predominantly coloured and Malay, were relocated from sites close to the city centre to the wastelands of the Cape Flats (Shaw 2002:4). This left the suburbs and central town areas mainly to the white population. Moreover, the police did not focus on crime prevention *per se*, but instead focused on controlling the movement of the black population in the white areas, as they were considered to be foreign temporary workers or illegal visitors. Thus, instead of confronting criminal violence in the townships, people were arrested for minor apartheid offences such as not possessing a 'pass' in a white area (Shaw 2002:1). These discriminative acts ultimately resulted in the mistrust of the South African Police Force by the majority of the non-white population. The police was subsequently feared which led to many victims of crime refraining from reporting any criminal activity (Shaw 2002:1). This could be the reason why criminal activity seemed less in the apartheid era. In reality, the violent crimes that occurred since South Africa's transition to democracy were not a new occurrence in South Africa. These acts of violence featured in the old regime as well, but they were concentrated in the black areas and it remained invisible and unreported as well as unattended to for the most (Shaw 2002:15). Furthermore, many acts of violence aimed at non-white individuals were not considered as criminal offences as the non-white people were seen as lesser beings that could be treated in such a manner.

In 1994 South Africa witnessed its first national democratic election. The election was won by the African National Congress (ANC) which was the first black party to govern South Africa. All South Africans, regardless of their skin colour, could now enjoy the freedom of living as equal citizens. The rules and regulations of the old regime were therefore abolished and a new constitution was presented. This brought about various changes in government as well as the public and private sector. The brutality suffered by many blacks at the hands of the police was no longer tolerated.

Despite these changes, the legacy of mistrust and suspicion of the police still remained, to a large extent, in the minds of the previously oppressed, as "the police were perceived to be the arch-villains in the struggle against apartheid" (Mokotedi and Koitsioe 1997). Many innocent people had died at the hands of the police and a lot more had been maimed or were tortured, while others had disappeared without a trace in that time. A 1997 survey by the Human Sciences Research Council found that about one-fifth of crime victims still did not contact the police (Peron 1999:1). This perception of mistrust was reinforced by the fact that until recently, the senior levels of the South African Police Service were, by and large, unrepresentative of the communities they served (Stevens et al 1995:2). Furthermore, reports have shown that in 1995, the South African Police Service was undermined by

inadequate facilities, had an unprofessional image and lacked knowledge and understanding of local community needs (Stevens et al 1995:3). This stirred up great concerns among the public.

### **3.4 Government's response and the adoption of the Community Policing Policy**

A new democratic country needs new democratic principles throughout all sectors and the South African Police (SAP) was no exception. The SAP had to undergo a serious transformation to replace the brutal apartheid laws they had to enforce for years. Elrena van der Spuy (2000:1) states that South Africa, like many other transitional societies at the time, looked North for ideas, principles, practices and instruments associated with democratic policing. Therefore the reform of the SAP has by no means been a purely indigenous development, but instead it has drawn much of its inspiration from foreign policing ideas (van der Spuy 2000:1). Policing in post-1994 South Africa therefore underwent a mutation as international ideas interacted with the local context, providing basically a uniquely South African way of policing as the global met with the local.

In Shearing's article 'Transforming Security: A South African Experiment' (2001:15), he notes that the contemporary normative literature on governance argues that the activities of government should be undertaken within and outside the state sector and therefore also within civil society. This notion has been found acceptable by many and is now shaping the agendas of governments around the world. Shearing (2001:15) goes further by discussing the 'Tool kit on Good Urban Governance' which was developed by Leo Fonseka in February 1999. Fonseka's argument stated "that governance can no longer be left to the state alone but required the active partnership of the state...civil society and the private sector" (Shearing 2001:15). Civil society, in this regard, refers to a variety of institutions such as non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations, academic and research institutes, religious groups and the media (Shearing 2001:15).

As mentioned in Chapter 1, various governments globally, were embracing the notion of neo-liberalism, which aims to strive towards a balance between government, civil society and the private sector. The South African government soon realised that they had to pursue this notion as well and reached a consensus that civil policing should be developed in parallel with the state system to address the crime crisis. Along with the international notion of neo-liberalism came the notion of participatory governance and decentralisation of policing activities. These notions brought about the concept of 'community policing' which eventually made its way to South Africa and ultimately reshaped policing strategies and civil society's

attitude towards crime prevention. Community policing can thus be seen as a travelling model, circulating internationally. Adopting this type of policing strategy did not just happen over night. Instead it was a process that developed in various stages.

Although certain common features are easily identified in the literature on community policing, Dixon argues that the term still remains fairly uncertain, which creates a virtue of innovation, flexibility and discretion (2004:252). These common features, however, include “organisational decentralisation, an expansive, problem-oriented police mandate, and a commitment to consulting with, responding to and working alongside the public in setting priorities, developing tactics and co-producing safety” (Skogan and Hartnett 1997:5-9). Dixon’s argument therefore suggests that there is no exact blueprint on community policing, that provides each country the ability to reshape and mould the policy of community policing to suit their specific context. In essence this suggests that within each location, people try to make sense of, and to deal with community policing in their own way. This is exactly what took place in South Africa.

Schärf (1991:3), Jagwanth (1994:170) as well as Pelser (1999) are of the opinion that the notion of community policing was officially publicized in South Africa with the signing of the National Peace Accord on 14 September 1991. The National Peace Accord was initiated by the African National Congress (ANC) in response to the vicious political violence that engulfed the country shortly after the unbanning of the liberation movements, in February 1990 (Pelser 1999). Kwazulu-Natal and large areas of Gauteng (previously known as Transvaal) were destabilised as levels of violence were increasing immensely during the first few months of 1991 as well as mounting evidence of police collusion in the violence (Pelser 1999). In an attempt to address this matter, the ANC began to motivate for a peace summit to strike a formally binding agreement between themselves, the Inkatha movement and the government (Pelser 1999). On 14 September 1991 all three parties eventually came to an agreement and signed the accord (Schärf 1991:3-4). This eventually led to the transformation of the South African Police and laid the ground principles for community policing in South Africa.

Some of the general provisions of the agreement were as follows: “The police shall endeavour to protect the people of South Africa from all criminal acts and shall do so in a rigorously non-partisan fashion, regardless of the political belief and affiliation, race, religion, gender or ethnic origin of the perpetrators or victims of such acts...The police shall be guided by the belief that they are accountable to society in rendering their policing services and shall be guided by the belief that they are secure and retain the respect and approval of the public. Through such accountability and friendly, effective and prompt service, the police shall



endeavour to obtain the co-operation of the public whose partnership in the task of crime control and prevention is essential..." (National Peace Accord 1999, Section 3.1.1-3.1.4).

Although general principles appropriated for policing were set out, the agreement still received much criticism, primarily due to the lack of concrete mechanisms of enforcement (Pelser 1999).

The SAP increasingly became aware that many of the police officers were not truly representative of their assigned areas, as most of them lived outside these areas. As a result, these police officers did not always have a close bond with their assigned communities and often did not understand the dynamics within these communities, which included the customs, traditions, religions, cultures and socio-economic situations (Stevens et al 1995:90). This meant that the established forms of policing were far less effective, equitable and efficient, than had originally been imagined (Rosenbaum 1994:5).

This led to the rethinking of policing strategies. Brogden and Shearing's implied that the place to start is with a bottom-heavy system, rooted in a network of civil institutions. They argued that "policing....is a problem solving process in which the resources available to the state police - in particular coercion and the authority of the State - are best deployed in combination with other resources located within the institutions of civil society" (Brogden and Shearing 1993:186). Therefore, it is argued that the locus of control lay in civil society rather than the state (Brogden and Shearing 1993: 186). The institutions of civil society should, however, draw on the coercive powers and unique authority of the state police as a resource. Policing is thus best described in the words of Shearing as "everybody's business" (1994:8).

The police realised that it was almost impossible for them to control crime alone. Taking sole responsibility of community safety became costly as well as strenuous for the police. It was thus in their best interest to move towards a more decentralised approach. The system and strategies in the post-apartheid government had to be restructured to include the active and voluntary support of the community in crime prevention (Jagwanth 1994:165). They had to move away from the top-down strategy and instead work together with civil society in the fight against crime. At the same time, the idea was that this partnership with civil society would boost the previously mistrusted police's credibility and legitimacy (Jagwanth 1994:165). It was with this in mind that the concept of 'community policing' became increasingly a key component of police strategy from 1990 onwards in the SAP (Shaw 2002:26). Thus these thoughts of change within the SAP started even before South Africa became a true democratic country.



In 1993, the negotiating partners for a new South African government realised the great need for police-community consultation for further change within the policing system. The Interim Constitution of South Africa (1993) thus stipulated the need to establish Community Police Forums (CPFs) at each police station, as an attempt to create a formal structure that would ensure adequate community consultation (Steven and Yach 1995:65). This concept of CPFs will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

After the first democratic elections in South Africa, the newly appointed Ministry for Safety and Security of the first democratic government released a green paper articulating a new vision and mission of the police services (Mokotedi and Koitsioe 1997). With a new vision and mission to render a service to all South Africa citizens, it was deemed appropriate to change the SAP's name to South African Police Service (SAPS).

At the opening of parliament in February 1995, the then President Nelson Mandela addressed the growing public concern about crime in South Africa (Rauch 2002:9). In response to this concern, an inter-departmental strategy team, composed mainly of civilian officials, was tasked to draft the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS), in May 1995. The government ministers supported the idea and the NCPS was approved by the Cabinet and launched in May 1996 (Rauch 2002:11). To some authors the NCPS introduced community policing to South Africa, as it was the first official document of the new democracy that attempted to set radically new parameters for crime policy by creating a comprehensive macro-strategy (van der Spuy 2000:168). The NCPS proposed the following to deal with crime in South Africa:

- The government cannot deal with crime on its own; therefore the institutions of government - on national, provincial and local level - must work together and with civil society to reduce crime.
- Law enforcement and criminal justice responses alone are not adequate enough for addressing crime.
- Better co-operation between the departments that constitute the system and integration of their activities is required for the criminal justice system to operate effectively.
- Crimes differ and therefore have to be 'dis-aggregated' if effective prevention strategies are to be designed and implemented.
- The focus of prevention efforts have to be on victims and potential victims and not purely on perpetrators, as is the case with traditional systems of criminal justice.
- It is an important necessity that prevention efforts take cognisance of the fear of crime, as well as of actual crime patterns. (Rauch 2002:12-13).

The NCPS policy did not however deliver such remarkable results as was anticipated. Thus, in 1998, the White Paper on Safety and Security was brought forth in an attempt to deepen government's policy approach to crime prevention in South Africa and to revise the original NCPS (Rauch 2002:18). The White Paper was approved by the Cabinet in September 1998 and was entitled "In Service of Safety". This was intended to provide the policy framework for government's provision of safety and security until 2004 (Rauch 2002:18).

After the implementation of these policies, many government officials expected great success with regards to crime prevention. This was, however, not the reality as many disregarded the fact that the main causes of crime were rooted in social and economic inequalities, which were so prevalent in South Africa.

In Demombynes and Özler's research paper on *Crime and Local Inequality in South Africa* (2002) they state that economists believe that inequality may capture the differential returns to criminal activity and thereby may have an association with crime rates. The paper goes further by discussing how sociologists have hypothesised that inequality and social welfare in general may have effects on crime through other channels (Demombynes and Özler 2002:2). They are thus suggesting that inequality may be linked with lack of social capital, lack of upward mobility, or social disorganization, which may ultimately cause higher levels of criminal activity (Demombynes and Özler 2002:2).

Furthermore, they argue that "economic inequality between groups may provoke conflict in a society by consolidating and reinforcing ethnic and class differences" (Demombynes and Özler 2002:3). In addition, this paper draws on Becker's (1968) seminal work where he argues that there is a relationship between property crime and local inequality, suggesting that the expected level of crime will be greater in a community with higher inequality (Demombynes and Özler 2002:4). However, this "model does not imply that inequality per se causes crime but rather that empirically inequality may capture the incentives for criminal activity" (Demombynes and Özler 2002:4). I concur with this statement but am mindful that this does not necessarily account for all cases of disenfranchised individuals. The gap between the haves and the have-nots should therefore be bridged to conquer the major issue of inequality which lies at the core of most criminal activities.

Unfortunately the SAPS is not sufficiently equipped to handle such inequalities, as they are trained rather, in the equally important task of maintaining social order by reacting to crime incidents and other emergency situations (Leggett 2004:11). This suggests that they are not social engineers and therefore need to work in partnership with various other government departments, as well as civil society to address inequalities and ultimately combat crime.

As noted above, policing was no longer only the responsibility of government. Civil society now also played an important role in maintaining safety and security in communities. Bayley and Shearing's (1996) review of the changes in policing that confronted Western industrial societies, argued that the restructuring of policing was driven by the coming together of broader social factors, which ultimately led to community initiatives to prevent crime or making use of alternative mechanisms such as private security. In a similar fashion this happened in South Africa and can be described in the words of Bayley and Shearing (1996) as the 'pluralisation' of policing.

It might seem that South Africa experienced a smooth policing transition, but this was however not the case. Unlike Western societies, South Africa had a historical context of apartheid that impacted on the transition of policing. Michael Brogden (2002:171) sums this up well by stating that South Africa's policing transition was hindered due to three criminogenic factors: "the social disorganisation left by the collapse of apartheid; the political vacuum as old politics, structures and institutions were dismantled without new ones with adequate viability, effectiveness, and political legitimacy being constructed at adequate speed; and the township crime problem newly confronting the wealthy inhabitants of the South Africa's white suburbs". Table 1 below illustrates the development of community policing in South Africa from 1993-1999:

Table 1: The development of community policing policy 1993-1999

1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
<b>Interim Constitution (Act 200 of 1993)</b>	<b>Minister's Draft Policy Document: Change</b>	<b>SAPS Act (No.68 of 1995)</b>	<b>National Crime Prevention Strategy</b>	<b>Community policing policy framework and guidelines</b>	<b>White Paper on Safety and Security</b>	<b>Focus on operations in priority areas</b>
Structured democratic oversight of the police	Cultural change: a new (civil) professionalism for the SAPS	Structured liaison and consultation between SAPS and those they serve	Crime as a multi-faceted social issue rather than a one-dimensional security issue	Collaborative problem solving	Participatory and complementary local crime reduction	Operation Crackdown
Intention: address political legitimacy of police	Intention: address acceptance of policing in a democracy	Intention: enhance police and community liaison to improve legitimacy of police	Intention: focus and integrate government and civil society initiatives to address priority crimes	Intention: establish broad partnership with the community to improve police services and reduce crime	Intention: establish multi-agency approach to crime reduction at local level	Intention: address crime, enhance police services and public perceptions in priority areas
Provides for CPFs and Boards with oversight functions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• accountability</li> <li>• monitoring, and</li> <li>• evaluation</li> </ul>	Advocates: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• democratic accountability,</li> <li>• demilitarisation,</li> <li>• decentralisation and,</li> <li>• community consultation</li> </ul> "Philosophy of community policing must inform and pervade the entire organisation"	Establishes CPFs with primarily liaison and communication functions. Such liaison to be about: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• partnership,</li> <li>• co-operation,</li> <li>• police services,</li> <li>• problem solving,</li> <li>• transparency,</li> <li>• accountability</li> </ul> Includes provision for CPF oversight functions provided for in the 1993 Constitution	Provides for a co-ordinated and integrated approach to priority crimes. Acknowledges that the state cannot deal with crime on its own. Advocates: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• maximising civil participation in crime prevention initiatives,</li> <li>• improving community responsibility for the prevention of crime</li> </ul>	Details community policing as a methodology for: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Improving local police services,</li> <li>• Participatory problem solving, and</li> <li>• Crime reduction</li> </ul> Details method for establishing CPFs and main functions and activities	Provides for a supplementary role for local government on core CPF functions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Directs CPFs to co-operative relationship with local government in crime social prevention</li> <li>• Shifts CPF community role to community mobilisation</li> </ul>	Unclear impact on objectives of community policing

(Pelser et al 2002: 28-29).

### 3.4.1 Community Policing Forums

Various policies and initiatives were designed both within and outside of the state in an attempt to maintain safety and security, some achieving more success than others. As mentioned before, the SAPS was for decades a “paramilitary force charged with maintaining order in a racially stratified state” (Davis et al 2003:296). The situation has changed as the post-apartheid government, together with its police department, aimed at implementing policies that would consolidate police accountability and at the same time enhance effectiveness in the policing and prevention of crime. They wanted to achieve this by developing an organisation where local police and a local community can come together and talk about matters of concern in that community, and work together towards possible solutions. The process of community policing was taken further in Section 221 of the interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1993, stipulated that community policing forums (CPFs) should be provided at each police station, as an organisation that promotes police accountability and cooperation, and at the same time enables the community to advise the police on policing priorities (Burger 2007:1). In 1995, more extensive legislative prescripts followed in the South African Police Service Act (Act No 68), as well as a number of policy and guideline documents to assist the police and communities with the implementation and management of CPFs (Burger 2007:1).

CPFs were therefore installed at each police station in the country. The main thrust behind these forums was to establish a partnership between the police and the community within each community. Additional functions of the CPFs included:

- “Service orientation: the provision of a professional policing service, responsive to community needs and accountable for addressing these needs.”
- “Partnership: the facilitation of a co-operative, consultative process of problem solving.”
- “Problem solving: the joint identification and analysis of the causes of crime and conflict and the development of innovative measures to address these.”
- “Empowerment: the creation of joint responsibility and capacity for addressing crime.”
- “Accountability: the creation of a culture of accountability for addressing the needs and concerns of communities” (Maroga 2003:15).

Each CPF had its own chairperson and Community Committee. One or two police officers also formed part of these forums but their function was solely to assist the community

members and they may therefore not dominate these forum meetings. These forums were similar to the British model of Police Consultative Committees which focused on 'sector policing' (Dixon 2004:264).

It must be noted however that both the businesses and the NGOs have also played vital roles in the implementation of community policing in South Africa, especially with regards to training and providing support to CPFs.

Before the transitional period, police officers hunted many people down like animals and were only accountable to the repressive government of that time. A huge shift had since been made, leaving police officers not only accountable to the new democratic government, but to the whole of civil society as well. It was the vision of policy makers that accountability would be achieved through the creation of CPFs as this would give participatory members of a community a chance to scrutinize police activities and voice their concerns. The CPFs were "meant to be established at every police station, in which community representatives [were] involved daily, and in a structured way provided by law, in oversight of policing in their area" (Cawthra 2005:5). The rationale behind a CPF was that it should serve as a platform for the community to keep the police accountable and to make sure that their needs were looked after (Schärf 2000:9). The community was thus seen as the client and the police the service providers. Therefore the needs of the community had to be taken into account in order for the police to provide efficient and effective service (Mistry 1997:2). It must be noted that the latter vision and objectives of the CPFs did not always materialise as stated in practice, but instead this was the language used by policy officials and within policy documents.

Davis et al (2003:296) argued that CPFs were the keystones of community policing in South Africa, as they informed the police about community concerns and developed plans to address crime and public order issues. In addition, CPFs helped the police communicate with the community and at the same time encouraged the community to get involved in anti-crime efforts (Davis et al 2003:296). The CPF could also educate the public about the law and the justice system which in turn contributed to the public and police understanding each other better. This relates to Shearing's (2001:33) statement suggesting that Community Policing Forums were statutory bodies established to liaise between the community and the police. One must remember that the CPF was not necessarily an institution where formal complaints could be made against a police station or a specific police officer, as there was a body called the Independent Complaints Directorate that dealt with such issues. The primary



premise of the CPF was therefore to establish a liaison between the police and the community for more effective crime prevention.

Despite all the positive connotations with regards to CPFs, one must keep in mind that it was not without shortcomings. The CPFs were open to any individual or organisation of society to join in their cause of crime prevention as it was seen as a model of transparency and openness. Kirsch (2006:3) argued that the elements of transparency and openness could be detrimental to what CPFs were supposed to do, namely crime prevention. The principle of openness allowed for the participation of potential transgressors. Therefore criminal networks could infiltrate local CPFs and consequently use it as their mouthpiece. In the same way, political parties, local authorities or interest groups could use the CPF as a mechanism to further their interests by means of manipulation (Bruce 1997:6), thus almost hijacking the CPF (Rakgoadi 1995:7). As for the principle of 'transparency', Kirsch (2006:3) argued that it "substantially confines the [CPF's] range and success of activities in crime prevention because - once being public knowledge - these activities can more easily be evaded by others".

Maroga (2003: 15) is of the opinion that CPFs represented large areas consisting of different communities, making it an unsuitable forum for police to develop specific crime prevention strategies with particular community representatives. Thus CPFs often covered areas that were too large and diverse for any one police representative to have the kind of detailed knowledge of a particular location (Maroga 2003:15).

In addition, not all CPFs experienced optimal success, as many CPFs lacked resources and skills (Maroga 2003:15). A key element for effective functioning of a CPF was thus to empower the community. The historically disadvantaged communities have suffered a heavy blow with regards to their social fabric under the apartheid government. As a result, most of those communities were less organised and were lacking the capacity to meet their needs and to solve their problems in an efficient and effective manner (Rakgoadi 1995:4). Rakgoadi therefore argues that civil society could play a significant role in the empowerment of both the community and the police through the CPFs, by providing resources which include skills and information.

### **3.4.2 Neighbourhood Watch**

Wilfried Schärf (1989:208) has demonstrated in his article, *Community Policing in South Africa*, that the involvement of civil society in policing long predates South Africa's transition

to democracy. In this study, undertaken in the 1980s, he covers a vast range of civilian policing initiatives which were organised both in defence of, and in opposition to, the apartheid regime and discussed civil society involvement in quite some detail. He discovered that it was only in the middle class suburbs that there was any evidence of the kind of partnership between police and community similar to that of the Anglo-American conception of community policing (1989:219). This was mostly in the form of Neighbourhood Watch schemes.

Arguably, the most successful expression of community policing and closely associated with the philosophy of community policing, were the Neighbourhood Watch Schemes. The Neighbourhood Watch Schemes were a means of involving the public by encouraging community members to come together in neighbourhood groups, who were then assisted and advised by the police to fight against crime. Thus the main idea behind forming a Neighbourhood Watch was to get together with your neighbours to take action and cut local crime. According to Crawford (1998:148), the primary aim of a Neighbourhood Watch was to reduce crime, which included notably opportunistic crime, residential burglary, vehicle crime and criminal damage. A secondary set of aims for a Neighbourhood Watch was to reduce the fear of crime, to encourage awareness about crime prevention, to improve domestic security, facilitating greater contact between neighbours, as well as improving the liaison between the police and the public (Crawford 1998:148). These schemes have achieved many successes in other countries and were eventually adopted in South Africa. With the eventual adoption of Neighbourhood Watch schemes in South Africa in 1984, the apartheid government made use of these schemes to their advantage. Instead of utilising this initiative throughout the country across racial borders, the state police encouraged mainly middle-class white residents to launch such schemes (Schärf 1989:219), as yet another means to control movement of non-whites, thus safe-guarding the white areas. Soon these Neighbourhood Watch schemes rapidly spread throughout the country and a few schemes were eventually set up in middle-class 'coloured' areas as well, where the schemes flourished.

Today many Neighbourhood Watch Schemes work in partnership with other agencies and organisations such as *Eye on the child*, and form part of CPFs to help reduce the fear of crime within various communities and therefore not just the so-called white areas.

I am however mindful that there are various other policing initiatives established by civil society that focus on crime prevention and safety and security such as, but for the purpose

of this study the emphasis on civilian policing is on CPFs and Neighbourhood Watch schemes.

### **3.5 Society's reaction towards crime and crime prevention**

It has been noted that the South African society does not just sit back and allow themselves to fall victims of crime. Many individuals have decided to contribute to their own safety and the safety of their family and community, by joining forces with the police through CPFs or Neighbourhood Watch Schemes. Two approaches taken by South Africa, private security companies and vigilante groups, will be discussed below.

#### **3.5.1 Private Security Companies**

The private sector in South Africa experienced growth as not only companies, but many individuals and organisations were now adopting business strategies to further themselves by entering the private sector. The same counts for policing. A business flourishes if it sufficiently supplies to the demand at hand. One could therefore think of policing as a kind of business reaction to a demand. As illustrated previously, in a country such as South Africa, there is a high demand for safety and security. Unfortunately, the South African Police Service is experiencing an all-round lack of manpower, as well as sufficient skills that ultimately effects their efficiency. Many citizens find this unacceptable and turn to alternative mechanisms to meet their need for safety and security. In addition, many people all around the world have become increasingly consumer-orientated and individuals experience new levels of consumer freedom and choice (O'Malley et al 1996: 147). Due to the latter together with policies designed to promote private intervention, countless private security companies were established to see to people's needs through means of monetary rewards. Since South Africa's transitional period, the private security industry has flourished. The presence of these companies is basically everywhere and have more people in their service than the public police (Shaw 2002:102).

In 2002 it was estimated that there were more than four private security guards for every uniformed member of the SAPS, who were engaged in visible patrol work (Shaw 2002:102). In 2004 an estimated 30 000 active registered security officers were located within the Western Cape alone (Berg 2004:109). These figures have since grown, increasing the gap between private and public security.

Shaw (2002:103) argued that the growth of the private security industry was due to the abolishment of apartheid, as insecurities were evoked among many of the previously advantaged groups. As mentioned before, the service of the private security companies does not come without a price. Therefore, those who can afford it, often whites, now rely mostly on private policing, while the poor, who are generally black and coloured, must resort to often inefficient public police due to a lack of resources (Shaw 2002:110). Shearing (2001:19) goes further by stating that the wealthy have done much to shift the control over the governance of their lives away from the state into the hands of a variety of organisations. Shearing (2001:19) too, recognises that there is a vast difference between the ratio of private security personnel to state police agents and argues that private organisations and companies now routinely undertake many of the functions that states have regarded as central to their role.

It could therefore be argued that “in some way the (private) security industry continues to reinforce the divisions and barriers of society that the political transition sought to undo” (Shaw 2002:110).

### **3.5.2 Vigilante Groups**

In other instances, civilians rise up against the perceived failure of the state to provide protection for all citizens and almost take matters into their own hands. According to Schärf (2000:14) they thus form civilian policing initiatives that are in favour of an imagined quality of order. Their vision of law and order is more extreme than the constitutional order, and they are prepared to break the law in order to achieve their preferred state of being (Schärf 2000:14). Such civilian policing initiatives are known as vigilante groups.

According to Bill Dixon (2002) the most sophisticated description of ‘vigilantism’ is most probably the one provided by the British criminologist, Les Johnson (1996) who states that there are six essential features with regards to ‘vigilantism’, namely:

- Vigilante involves a degree of premeditation and planning by the would-be vigilante.
- It is voluntary activity by private citizens.
- These activities are undertaken without the state’s authority or support which represents a form of ‘autonomous citizenship’.
- A vigilante or vigilante group makes use of force, or the threat to use force in order to achieve their aims. They therefore create a level of intimidation greater than the one used by the state.

- The act of vigilantism is a response to the real or perceived threat to some established order. Activities may be aimed either at controlling crime or enforcing other rules of behaviour among particular social groups.
- Vigilante activity is to guarantee the security of the vigilantes and others.

Lars Buur (2003:6), of the Roskilde University in Denmark, suggests that “more often than not the emergence of vigilant formations is premised on a deep-seated mistrust of the police and /or perceived lack of initiative by police in providing basic human and economic (usually household goods) security.” The incapacity of the South African law enforcement was an example of the latter statement and it encouraged citizens to take the law into their own hands and often in a violent manner. Buur (2003:6) continues by stating that the relationship between the state and the vigilante groups were not as simple as the above mono-casual relationship suggest. Instead, the vigilante groups were involved in state-like performances as well which includes security enforcement and involvement in a perpetual renegotiation of the boundaries between state and society, despite the claims that they were based outside and in opposition to the state (Buur 2003:6). In this sense, vigilante formation becomes difficult univocally to distinguish between what is state and what is not (Buur 2003:6). In a case like this it is best to analyse who exercises authority, in whose name they act and how they do it in order to distinguish between state and non-state activities (Buur 2003:6).

Furthermore, vigilante groups view themselves as the moral and virtuous defenders of a community. The latter statement assumes that “there exists a community that can be readily identified, and the community is faced with danger and is in need of protection” (Buur 2003:7). When approaching these assumptions from an academic point of view, we see it is somewhat problematic, as the concept of community is far from the pre-discursive category, presumed by its defenders (Buur 2003:7). Therefore, it is argued that ‘community’ is “overdetermined to an extent where it has become an empty signifier around which diverse groups contest and negotiate claims to exercise legitimate authority over and for the ‘people’ “ (Buur 2003:7).

Daniel Nina (2000) argues that vigilantism, within the South African context, can take on a normative definition. The reason being, that what was defined as political violence in the past, can be classified as vigilantism today. In the past, the South African state had little influence over many communities and a common factor across many communities in response to the illegitimacy of the state, was their willingness to take the law into their hands, through organising popular forms of justice. It is argued that the contemporary vigilantism in South Africa is a continuation (by other means) of popular forms of pre-1994



justice (Nina 2000:18). Hence the examples of vigilantism in South Africa could be seen as a cross between the 'good' and the 'bad' community.

'People against gangsterism and drugs' (PAGAD) is one of the latter examples. The emergence of PAGAD took place in early 1996 as a response to the apparent state of decadence that the new dispensation brought to communities, where drugs dealers and gangsters were out of control. During their first year of existence (1996-1997), they claimed that drugs and gangsterism were destroying many communities and that the state was not able to handle the crisis created by drug dealers and gangsters, due to the state being corrupt, inefficient, and lacking the necessary capacity to handle the crisis. Therefore, the only alternative left to the community, was for PAGAD to facilitate a 'community response' to this problem (Nina 2000:25).

Their initial intentions were viewed as 'good', and perhaps they were sincere in their attempt, but their approach was somewhat unconstitutional, as their public display of activities was at times violent and disruptive. During 1997, PAGAD agreed to enter into negotiations with the state, but the negotiations were called off when the SAPS could not agree to all PAGAD's demands (Nina 2000:25). Allegations were also made that PAGAD was involved in serious criminal and terrorist activities. The latter involved the bombing of academics' houses and shopping centres. Despite PAGAD's claim that they were not responsible for the terrorist acts, sections of the media and the state blamed PAGAD (Nina 2000:25). Thus PAGAD's 'social control' mode has moved beyond its initial agenda on crime.

### **3.6 Conclusion**

To conclude this chapter, it must be noted that the notion of community policing had different meanings to different people. Although it is based on two primary principles, each person still has his or her own interpretation of what community policing means. I think it is precisely this lack of clarity and flexibility that allows people to reshape this notion to fit their specific needs. People therefore take this international notion of community policing and make it their own by indigenizing it. Many countries make the mistake at first, to adopt this western notion of community policing as they (western governments) use it. They later discover that the results they have hoped for are not being achieved. They discover that they have to make use of their local knowledge, therefore considering the specific time and context they find themselves in. South Africa is one example of this. The South African government looked towards the West for inspiration and knowledge with regards to their crime dilemma, but



soon realised that they have to reshape and mould community policing to suit South Africa's unique context.

This chapter attempted to provide a systematic progression of community policing in South Africa. This resulted in the development of organisation such as Communtiy Policing Forums and Neighbourhood Watch Schemes, but this was however not the only alternatives to policing. Private companies increasingly emerged, due to the crime concern and some civilians even took it so far as to establish vigilante groups, thus taking the law into their own hands. Since the democratisation of South Africa, the country has seen various changes not only in bureaucratic terms, but in policing avenues and civil society participation. Not all South Africa's attempts achieved success but South Africa is still a young democracy on the path of learning.

The next step is now to relate these policies and theories to practice by situating the implementation of community policing policy within the community of Kylemore.