COMMUNITY POLICING AS A CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGY FOR THE CAPE TOWN CITY POLICE

A J VISSER

(13920839)

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STUDY LEADER : MRS B WEAVER

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

A J VISSER

30 January 2003

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study is to establish if community policing is being implemented by the Cape Town City Police and if so, to what extent. The study further aims to establish whether the full implementation of community policing could be expected to have a positive impact on the reduction of crime in Cape Town.

To this end, the reader is presented with a brief overview of local government in South Africa, an in-depth discussion of the transformation process which resulted in the current municipal structures, and an introduction to the non-traditional local government function of crime prevention. Local government's increasing involvement in crime prevention and the resulting establishment of municipal police services are discussed and it is argued that crime prevention strategies of municipal police services should build on existing local government efforts and should therefore focus on removing the root causes of crime.

Further to the above, a detailed discussion of community policing is embarked upon. This section provides a theoretical account of what community policing entails, as well as a theoretical framework against which the researcher's empirical study with regard to the implementation of community policing by the Cape Town City Police, can be planned, executed and the results thereof be evaluated. It deals with the relevant historical perspectives, presents a workable

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definition for community policing that will direct the further conduct of the research and provides detailed discussions on each of the elements of community policing. Implementation of this policing method with specific reference to South Africa, the requirements of a community police officer, as well as the relationship between fear, disorder and crime are also dealt with here.

The results of the researcher's empirical study are furthermore presented and it is concluded that certain steps have indeed been taken by the Cape Town City Police towards the institutionalisation of community policing and that the full implementation of community policing by this service can be expected to have a significant impact on the prevention of crime in Cape Town.

In closing, the reader is presented with practical recommendations which will ensure the effective implementation of community policing by the Cape Town City Police.

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OPSOMMING

Die doel van die studie is om vas te stel of gemeenskapspolisieëring tans deur die Kaapstad Stadspolisie toegepas word, en indien wel, tot watter mate. Die studie poog verder om vas te stel of dit verwag kan word dat die implementering van gemeenskapspolisieëring 'n positiewe impak op die vermindering van misdaad in Kaapstad sal hê.

Om hieraan te voldoen, word die leser voorsien van 'n oorsig van plaaslike regering in Suid-Afrika, 'n in-diepte bespreking van die transformasieproses wat gelei het tot die huidige munisipale strukture, asook 'n bekendstelling van die nie-tradisionele plaaslike regeringsfunksie van misdaadvoorkoming. Plaaslike regering se toenemende betrokkenheid by misdaadvoorkoming en die gevolglike vestiging van munisipale polisiedienste word bespreek en dit word aangevoer dat misdaadvoorkomingstrategieë van munisipale polisiedienste behoort te bou op bestaande plaaslike regeringspogings en behoort derhalwe te fokus op die verwydering van die onderliggende oorsake van misdaad.

In aansluiting met bogemelde word 'n breedvoerige bespreking van gemeenskapspolisieëring aangebied. Hierdie afdeling voorsien 'n teoretiese oorsig oor wat gemeenskapspolisieëring behels, asook 'n teoretiese raamwerk waarteen die navorser se empiriese studie ten opsigte van die implementering van gemeenskapspolisieëring deur die Kaapstad Stadspolisie, beplan, uitgevoer

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en die resultate daarvan ge-evalueer kan word. Dit bied 'n oorsig van die relevante historiese perspektiewe, 'n werkbare definisie van gemeenskaps-polisieëring wat die verdere navorsing sal rig, asook 'n breedvoerige bespreking van die elemente van gemeenskapspolisieëring. Implementering van hierdie metode van polisieëring met spesifieke verwysing na Suid-Afrika, die vereistes van 'n gemeenskapspolisieëringsbeampte, asook die verwantskap tussen vrees, wanorde en misdaad word ook hier behandel.

Die resultate van die navorser se empiriese studie word verder aangebied en die gevolgtrekking word gemaak dat sekere stappe wel geneem is deur die Kaapstad Stadspolisie ten opsigte van die instelling van gemeenskaps-polisieëring en dat verwag kan word dat die volle implementering van gemeenskapspolisieëring 'n daadwerklike impak op die voorkoming van misdaad in Kaapstad sal hê.

Ten slotte word praktiese aanbevelings aangebied wat die effektiewe implementering van gemeenskapspolisieëring deur die Kaapstad Stadspolisie sal verseker.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

		Page
List of Figures		i
List of Annexures		ii
CHAPTER 1 : PROBLEM FORMULATION AND METHODOLOGY		
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Purpose of the Study	4
1.3	Problem Formulation	5
1.4	Methodology	5
1.4.1	Literature Study	6
1.4.2	Survey Research	7
1.4.3	Field Research	9

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1.4.4 Unobstructive research 11

1.5 Structure of the Study 12

1.6 Conclusion 13

CHAPTER 2 : LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA : ITS TRANSFORMATION AND INCREASING ROLE IN COMMUNITY SAFETY

2.1 Introduction 14

2.2 Government by the People 15

2.2.1 Definition 15

2.2.2 The purpose of local government 16

2.2.3 Important requirements for effective local government 18

2.3 Local government transformation in South Africa 20

2.3.1 Pre-interim Phase : Local Negotiation Forums 21

2.3.2 Interim Phase : Elected Transitional Councils 22

2.3.3 The Third Phase 23

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2.4 New local government structures and the birth of the megacity : A new era in local government 24

2.4.1 Constitutional Framework and a Blueprint for local government 25

2.4.2 The Megacity 29

2.4.3 Developmental local government : Introducing a new era in local government 38

2.5 Crime prevention as a function of local government 43

2.5.1 Introduction and mandates for involvement 43

2.5.2 Why should local government be involved in crime prevention? 47

2.5.3 How can local government become involved in crime prevention? 50

2.6 Local Government Crime Prevention Initiatives 55

2.6.1 Internal crime prevention 56

2.6.2 Crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED) 56

2.6.3 Social crime prevention : Reaching beyond traditional municipal functions 59

2.6.4 Closed circuit television surveillance 64

2.6.5 Establishment of a municipal police service 65

Stellenbosch University http://scholar.sun.ac.za

2.7 Conclusion 78

CHAPTER 3 : COMMUNITY POLICING

3.1 Introduction 79

3.2 The concept 80

3.3 Evolution of community policing 81

3.4 Defining community policing 82

3.5 Elements of community policing 84

3.5.1 Philosophy 84

3.5.2 Partnership 85

3.5.3 Consultation 89

3.5.4 Personalised patrols 94

3.5.5 Decentralisation 98

3.5.6 Problem solving 99

3.5.6.1 Problem-solving techniques 100

3.5.6.2 Solving problems with crime analysis 111

Stellenbosch University http://scholar.sun.ac.za

3.5.7 Pro-active conduct 112

3.5.8 Accountability 113

3.5.9 Public order maintenance 114

3.6 Implementation 118

3.7 Community Patrol Officer 122

3.8 Fear, Public Order Maintenance and Foot Patrol 125

3.9 Implementation of community policing in South Africa 129

3.10 Conclusion 134

CHAPTER 4 : DATA GATHERING AND ANALYSIS

4.1 Data gathered by means of surveys, unstructured interviews, personal observations and the study of official documentation. 136

4.2 Data gathered by means of content analysis: Evaluation of city police training on community policing. 179

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4.3 Conclusion. 182

CHAPTER 5 : RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Recommendations towards the full implementation of community policing in the City Police 184

5.2 Conclusion 189

SOURCE LIST 191

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LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE	TITLE	PAGE
2.1	Establishment of the Cape Town Unicity	37
2.2	Relationships at Local Level	46
3.1	Problem Identification	102
3.2	SARA Checklist	106
3.3	A Policy Making Process	120

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LIST OF ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE	TITLE
A	Questionnaire directed at Patrol Officers
B	Questionnaire directed at City Police Middle Management

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CHAPTER 1

PROBLEM FORMULATION AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Cape Town which is affectionately known as the Mother City and which is regularly referred to as the City of Good Hope (City of Cape Town, 2001 e : 1), is regarded as one of South Africa's prime tourist destinations. The establishment of a single metropolitan government in December 2000 (Provincial Notice 479, No 5588 of 2000) resulted in Cape Town's area of jurisdiction now being inhabited by approximately 3,5 million people and accounts for 75% of the Western Cape's economy (City of Cape Town, 2001 b : 9).

The new Unicity local government structure provides for an integrated approach to development planning (White Paper on Local Government, 1998:60) and as Section 152 (1) (e) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act no 108 of 1996) requires that such structures adopt the principles of developmental local government, the researcher is of the opinion that a promising future for the inhabitants of Cape Town has been initiated.

Crime in South Africa has become one of the main threats to achieving significant levels of progress and prosperity in South Africa and Cape Town is now widely regarded as one of the country's most crime ridden cities, with South African Police Service (SAPS)

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crime statistics showing a significant increase in all major categories of crime, i.e. murder, rape, theft and robbery. Furthermore, incidents of organised crime and gang related violence has become an almost daily occurrence in the City (City of Cape Town, 2001 d : 2). Drug and alcohol abuse is also on the increase and it is evident that Cape Town's social fabric is in a state of deterioration (Sangster, 2002 : 1). Despite the rising crime levels, dwindling resources of the SAPS resulted in a scaling down of policing in Cape Town during recent years (City of Cape Town, 2001 (d) : 2).

Coinciding with the reduction of policing resources was, however, the realisation that more police officers on patrol would not necessarily bring down crime levels and that the root causes of crime need to be addressed at local level if any permanent results are to be obtained (Unicom, 2001 b : 79). Local government, because of the nature of its service delivery, was seen to be in the ideal position to address the social aspects that contributed to crime, and thus was identified as one of the key role-players in crime prevention (RSA, Dept of Safety and Security, 1998 : 33 - 34).

The researcher holds the opinion, that it is against this background that the former Cape Town City Council and Cape Metropolitan Council (CMC) (now collapsed into the Unicity) adopted the Safer Cities Programme. This project was launched with support of UN Centre for Human Settlements and the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime (Van der Schueren, 1998 : 30) and was aimed at strengthening Cape Town's social fibre.

Since adopting the Safer Cities Programme in 1998, the former Cape Town City Council

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and CMC found itself involved in a number of partnerships with local communities and NGO's attempting to address community problems that could lead to crime. These efforts supplemented the SAPS's community policing efforts as Community Police Forums (CPFs) were used as vehicles for a number of these programmes.

The synchronisation of these efforts seems logical to the researcher, as both the City's social crime prevention programmes and the SAPS community policing efforts were directed at preventing crime by removing its underlying causes. It can thus be argued that the City was involved in "community policing" even before the establishment of its own municipal police service.

The establishment of Municipal Police Services whose primary point of focus is defined by the South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act no 68 of 1995) as that of crime prevention, however, creates the opportunity for more focussed implementation of the principles of community policing.

As local government institutions are generally more sensitive to local issues and can, because of its "local" political structure, liaise more easily with community structures, it can be argued that the City Police Service is ideally positioned to implement community policing as a successful crime prevention strategy.

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1.2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Community policing is widely regarded as the ideal policing style for the modern day South Africa with its prevailing high levels of crime. It enjoys support from both politicians and police management alike (Pelser, 1999 b : 1 - 2) and is entrenched in the country's Constitution (Stevens and Yach, 1995 : 64).

However, the implementation of community policing principles in the SAPS is questionable and it often appears that the only principle being applied is that of structured consultation (Pelser, 1999 b : 13) which is a legislative requirement and therefore a function forced upon police officers to perform.

The establishment of a municipal police service with its "local" structures, is seen by the researcher as an opportunity for more effective implementation of community policing, as a local authority is expected to be sensitive to community issues and will most likely possess adequate social and developmental resources that can be utilised towards community problem solving.

To this end, the Cape Town City Police's Mission Statement provides for the implementation of community policing as a crime prevention strategy (City of Cape Town, 2001 a : 9) and its recruits are also trained in the principles of community policing.

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This study will endeavour to establish to what extent the principles of community policing are being implemented by the City Police as well as whether it can be expected to actually contribute to the prevention of crime.

The purpose of the research will thus be exploration which is described by Babbie (1992 : 90) as a research purpose that is used to study new interests or when the subject is relatively new and unstudied.

1.3 PROBLEM FORMULATION

In accordance with the above, this research will provide answers to the following questions:

a) To what extent are the principles of community policing being implemented by the Cape Town City Police?

b) Can the implementation of community policing by the Cape Town City Police have a significant impact on the prevention of crime in the City?

1.4 METHODOLOGY

According to Mouton & Marais (1992 : 16), methodology refers to how scientific

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research should be planned, structured and executed to meet scientific requirements. As data and methodology are interdependent from each other, the methodology to be followed must always be adopted with full recognition of the nature of the data that will be collected. The data will thus prescribe the methodology (Leedy, 1985 : 91).

In order to research the objectives as outlined in this chapter, an extensive literature and empirical study was conducted. The empirical research was conducted between 14 March and 30 August 2002 and was based on quantitative methodology. Quantitative data is usually produced by Field Research and refers to information which can be calculated to provide a statistical representation of the findings (Babbie, 1992 : 285).

The methods by which the research was conducted will now be discussed.

1.4.1 **Literature Study**

Mouton (2001 : 86) regards it as "essential that every research project begins with a review of the existing literature". Mouton & Marais (1992 : 197) maintain that no scientific research can be meaningful if it exists in isolation. It is thus important that a scientific project be integrated in a broader framework of existing research. Accordingly, an extensive literature study on local government involvement in crime prevention as well as on community policing, was conducted.

The researcher utilized a wide range of secondary resources in the form of

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published works, as well as primary resources which included various official documentation such as directives, policy documents and minutes of meetings.

1.4.2 **Survey Research**

Survey research is according to Babbie (1992 : 261) probably the mode of observation that is used most frequently in studying social behaviour. Schaefer & Lamm (1992 : 46) regard a survey as a study that is generally conducted by means of an interview or questionnaire that is aimed at obtaining information on how people think and act. Survey research is probably the most effective method of studying a population that is too large for direct observation and can be done by means of:

- Self-administered questionnaires
- Interview surveys
- Telephone surveys (Babbie, 1992 : 262 - 275).

The following two (2) surveys were conducted for purposes of this study:

a) Survey directed at operational members (patrol officers) of the Cape Town City Police.

A self-administered questionnaire (Annexure A) was distributed to operational members of the Cape Town City Police with the rank of

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Constable, Sergeant and Precinct Commander. The rank of Precinct Commander was included in this section as these members are still very much involved in patrol related functions. The purpose of the survey was to:

- establish to what extent the principles of community policing are implemented by the Cape Town City Police
- determine the perceptions of City Police Officers regarding the potential advantages of community policing as a crime prevention strategy.
- determine City Police Officer's experience of community needs and concerns.

The questionnaire was divided into different sections that each represents a key principle of community policing as contained in the definition adopted for purposes of this study.

Members were selected by means of Simple Random Sampling. This sampling method is executed by assigning a single number to each element of the sampling frame and the random selection of such numbers to represent the sample (Babbie, 1992 : 211).

To this end a Table of Random Numbers was used and the results reflected a cross section of the City Police's population as questionnaires were distributed to ranks which varied from Constable to Precinct

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Commander. A total of 200 such questionnaires were distributed.

b) Survey directed at City Police Operational Middle Management.

A self-administered questionnaire (Annexure B) was utilised in an effort to establish to what extent the principles of community policing are being implemented as well as obtaining Management's views on the importance of community policing. Once again, the definition of community policing adopted for this study, formed the basis of the questionnaire. Eleven copies of this questionnaire were distributed to Assistant Divisional Commanders and Divisional Commanders.

1.4.3 **Field Research**

Babbie (1992 : 285) sees field research as "the most obvious method of making observations". This form of research is engaged in every time a person observes or participates in social behaviour for purposes of understanding it, whether the person is a researcher or not (Babbie, 1992 : 285).

Field research was conducted as follows in an effort to obtain information that would shed light on the two main research questions:

- Various meetings of CPF's active in the relevant areas, as well as CPF

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Workshops, were attended and observations noted.

- Meetings of various structures/organisations aimed at crime prevention, including Community Safety Forums and U Managing Conflict (UMAC) were also attended.

- A week long seminar on Municipal Policing was attended by the researcher to gain additional insight.

The researcher attended these meetings, workshops and presentations in the capacity of 'complete participation' and his status as 'researcher' was not made known.

- The researcher participated in various SAPS crime prevention operations. Once again the researcher's status was that of 'complete participation' and his 'research' status was not made known.

Babbie (1992 : 288) questions this approach as it raises certain ethical issues. He asks the question whether it is ethical to hide one's status as a researcher in order not to influence the proceedings in any way. This approach is, however, not considered unethical in the above-mentioned instances, as the researcher could participate in these activities in an official capacity, both as a local government official attached to the City of Cape Town's Social Crime Prevention Centre and as a SAPS reservist.

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- Unstructured interviews were conducted with various members of the Cape Town City Police as well as with a senior official at the Provincial Department of Community Safety in an effort to gain additional information on the actual implementation of community policing principles by the City Police as well as the desirability of adopting this philosophy.

1.4.4 **Unobstructive Research**

Unobstructive Research allows the researcher to conduct his study without influencing or changing the subject of study. Content Analysis is one method of unobstructive research (Babbie, 1992 : 312 - 314) and was utilised in this study.

This research method was selected in an attempt to establish whether the course material on community policing that is presented at Phillipi is adequate in terms of community policing requirements.

To this end, the relevant course material was content analysed within the framework of the definition for community policing accepted for this study. (See Chapter 3.)

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1.5 STRUCTURE OF THE STUDY

The study was structured as follows, to comply with the aims of the researcher:

Chapter 1 represents the background and orientation together with the methodology that was used to conduct the research.

Chapter 2 gives an overview of local government and discusses its transformation in South Africa as well as its increasing role in community safety. This chapter furthermore deals with the recent phenomena of municipal police services.

In Chapter 3 the theoretical basis of community policing is discussed. The relationship between fear and crime, qualifications for a community police officer and the implementation of community policing in South Africa, are also dealt with in this chapter.

Chapter 4 represents the presentation of data gathered, as well as the systematic analysis of the data, and arrives at certain conclusions in regard to the extent of implementation of community policing by the City Police as well as the possible future impact that this philosophy might have on crime prevention. The researcher's recommendations on the implementation of community policing as a crime prevention strategy for the Cape Town City Police, are presented in Chapter 5.

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1.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter clearly identifies the objectives of the study and provides an adequate account of the intended methodology. It is in fact the opinion of the researcher that this chapter provides a workable "road map" for the efficient execution of the research, that will ensure that the research questions will be effectively addressed.

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CHAPTER 2

LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA : ITS TRANSFORMATION AND INCREASING ROLE IN COMMUNITY SAFETY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

As this chapter will show, the democratisation of local government in South Africa saw, apart from its political transformation, profound structural transformation aimed at improving service delivery to local communities as well as involvement in non-traditional local government functions aimed at improving the quality of life of residents.

This chapter will discuss these political and structural changes and will guide the reader through the transformation process with specific reference to the establishment of the Cape Town Unicity.

Local government's increasing involvement in functions which are not regarded as traditional local government functions is also discussed with the emphasis on its increasing role in community safety. Once again the study will focus on the Cape Town Unicity. It is, however, considered appropriate to first present the reader with an overview of the basic principles of local government.

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2.2 GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE

2.2.1 DEFINITION

Local Government, which is the oldest form of government, originates from early tribal villages and primitive communities. It is often called the third tier of government, the second and first tiers being the provincial and national government (Cloete, 1995 : 1).

As it will be very difficult for National Government to render certain basic services that are required by every resident, because of the magnitude of local issues that differ from locality to locality, and as such services can also not be provided by the individual or individual household, a collective approach is required. It is here where Local Government fits in the governing structure since it is in the ideal position to determine the needs of local communities (Heymans & Tötemeyer, 1998 : 17).

Heymans & Tötemeyer (1988 : 2) further defines Local Government as "a decentralised representative institution with general and specific powers devolved on it in respect of an identified restricted geographical area within a state." Cloete (1995 : 7) sees Local Government as the management and administration of local communities in order to regulate and promote activities of such communities.

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Most Local Authorities consist of the following:

i) A Local authority Council

- The Council comprises politicians who are elected by communities through democratic elections.

ii) An Administration

- The administration is the organisational structure that is responsible for the actual delivery of services to local communities. The administration is staffed by municipal officials who are employees of the Council.

(RSA, Department of Local Government, 2001 :1)

2.2.2 THE PURPOSE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

According to Craythorne (1997 : 70), the purpose of Local Government is two fold:

i) Administrative

provision of goods and services

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ii) Representative

involving local residents in identifying public requirements and how to deal with it.

In accordance with the above, Heymans & Tötemeyer (1988 : 13) identify services and participation as the two main purposes of Local Government.

i) Services

Local Government is to render services in a specified geographical area, mainly because of the fact that the national government are not able to effectively deal with all aspects of government

ii) Participation

This refers to the participation of as many of the members of local communities as possible in the decision making process.

One of the most important advantages of Local Government is in fact the ability to provide communities with the opportunity to be involved in dealing with matters that are specific to a certain municipal area (Heymans & Tötemeyer 1988 : 14 - 19). Cloete (1989 : 55) is of the opinion that the ideal situation would be if all residents could participate in meetings where decisions are taken with regard to local issues. As such an arrangement is in most cases unpractical, resident involvement is ensured by enabling them to elect representatives that can

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make decisions on their behalf.

Every Local Authority has a wide range of responsibilities. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act no 108 of 1996) mandates it to:

- Provide democratic and accountable government for local communities.
- Ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner.
- Promote a safe and healthy environment.
- Encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of Local Government.

2.2.3 IMPORTANT REQUIREMENTS FOR EFFECTIVE LOCAL GOVERNMENT

For local government to be able to fulfill its mandate successfully, it will have to meet the following requirements:

i) It is service-orientated

Its main focus is the planning and provision of facilities and services to meet the needs of local communities (Craythorne, 1997 : 72).

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ii) **Legitimacy**

Local Government needs to be legitimate to function effectively and therefore needs to be acceptable for the public. Factors that determine this are representativeness, fairness, equality, sensitivity and accountability (Heymans & Tötemeyer, 1988 : 2).

iii) **Viability**

Viability refers to the ability to adequately satisfy the physical, economical and social needs of a community. To this end it needs the necessary autonomy in making decisions and the execution thereof.
The decentralization of powers is another important prerequisite for viability. This enables Local Authorities to act in its own discretion in terms of such decentralised powers (Heymans & Tötemeyer, 1998 : 3 - 4).

Decentralization is characterized by the following:

- own budget
- own legal character
- authority to allocate resources
- autonomy in decision making

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- local community influence in decision making

(Heymans & Tötemeyer, 1988 : 3 - 5).

From the above, it is clear that local government is the most visible expression of democracy as it directly impacts on the daily lives of the citizens. It is furthermore evident that democratic local government provides the opportunity for direct resident participation in local issues and can in fact be regarded as "government by the people".

2.3 LOCAL GOVERNMENT TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

As society is constantly changing and adapting to changing circumstances, Government have to institute reforms to accommodate such changes when required (Cloete, 1995 : 1). It is interesting to note that Local Government in South Africa has undergone more changes in the past seven years than during the preceding 150 years (Sangster, 2002 : 2). According to the White Paper on Local Government (RSA, Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1988 : 2 - 3), Apartheid policies of segregation and economic exclusion and the communities' rejection of Black Local Authorities instituted in terms thereof, led to a major crises in the late 1980's. The crises mainly resulted from the collapse of Black Local Authorities. This was caused by payment boycotts on rent and service charges as well as the resignation of councillors under influence of the ANC-orientated civic leadership who in 1991 formed the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) (Cloete, 1995 : 3). This state of affairs led to the realization that

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an alternative was required (RSA, Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998 :3). It was the two major conflicting political parties, namely the National Party and the African National Congress who, in 1992, engaged in discussions through the Local Government Negotiating Forum (LGNF) for purposes of arriving at an agreement on the future of Local Government in South Africa (Cloete, 1995 : 2). The Forum paved the way for an agreement on finance and services allowing for writing off arrears to Black Local Authorities, as well as the acceptance of the Local Government Transitional Act, of 1993 (Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998 : 3). The political agreements incorporated in the above-mentioned Act, provides for restructuring of Local Government in three phases (Cloete, 1995 : 6). Two of the three phases of transition are outlined in parts IV and V of the Local Government Transition Act, of 1993 (Act no 209 of 1993).

2.3.1 **Pre-interim phase : Local Negotiation Forums**

This section regulated the negotiation process that would later result in the establishment of transitional local councils for non-metropolitan areas and transitional metropolitan councils with transitional metropolitan sub-structures for metropolitan areas. These structures would effectively take over the functions of existing municipalities (Local Government Transition Act, 209 of 1993 : Sec V(8)).

One of the most prominent features of the pre-interim phase was the division between statutory and non-statutory members of local negotiation forums.

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Statutory members were those that participated in Local Government elections in the past. New and inactive organizations or organizations that were not involved in past Local Government elections represented the non-statutory group. This group only comprised the ANC-aligned members (Cloete, 1995 : 12).

2.3.2 **Interim Phase : Elected Transitional Councils**

This section would initiate the delimitation of areas of jurisdiction arrangements to allow for local elections and the actual establishment of transitional councils (Local Government Transition Act, 1993 (Act no 209 of 1993) : Section V(8)).

This phase saw the establishment of a number of different forms of municipality:

- Metropolitan Councils with Metropolitan Local Councils (MLC's)
- District Councils
- Transitional Local Councils
- Rural Councils (RSA, Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998 : 4 - 7).

The White Paper on Local Government (1998 : 4), that was in fact published towards the end of phase 2, argues that despite significant progress by newly elected councils, huge infra structural disparities and inequalities remained and that the institutional frameworks created during this phase, would not be adequate for delivering on new municipal mandates.

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This view was widely echoed amongst others by the then Minister for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, Valli Moosa, who identified the following "generic deficiencies" that were present in the two-tier metropolitan system of phase 2 of the transition process. He called for it to be adequately addressed in the new design:

- Duplication of functions between Metropolitan Councils and Metropolitan Local Councils.
- Inability to direct resources to priority areas.
- Metropolitan Councils and Local Councils do not operate as a single governing unit. This resulted in fragmentation of service delivery.
- Complexity and inaccessibility.

(Cape Times, 1998 : 1)

The system was also found to be bureaucratic and slow. In some cases officials were taking all the important decisions which were then only submitted to politicians to be "rubber stamped" (RSA, Dept of Local Government, 2001 : 2).

2.3.3 **The Third Phase**

The third and final phase is not mentioned in the Local Government Transition Act, but would, according to Cloete (1995 : 6) be regulated by the final Constitution. To this end, Section 155 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act no 108 of 1996) does indeed provide for the

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implementation of the third phase.

This phase has been effected by the publication of the Local Government : Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act no 117 of 98) and has seen the establishment of a new Local Government system.

It is evident from the above that the implementation of phases 1 and 2 of the transformation process represents the democratisation of local government as well as a significant movement towards integrated and thus better co-ordinated service delivery. The finalisation of the transformation process was, however, marked by the implementation of phase 3, which was initiated by the local government elections held in December 2000 and which resulted in the establishment of new local government structures.

2.4 NEW LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES AND THE BIRTH OF THE MEGACITY : A NEW ERA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

As will be seen from this section, the final phase of local government transformation saw the establishment of a number of new structures which will be expected to enhance service delivery to the people. It is the researcher's opinion that megacities/unicities are the most significant of these new structures and that the establishment of such cities constitutes the ultimate goal of the transformation process.

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2.4.1 CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK AND A BLUEPRINT FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act no 108 of 1996) provides for the following categories of municipalities in terms of the provisions of Section 155(1):

"(a) **Category A**: A municipality that has exclusive municipal executive and legislative authority in its area.

(b) **Category B**: A municipality that shares municipal executive and legislative authority in its area with a category C municipality within whose area it falls.

(c) **Category C**: A municipality that has municipal executive and legislative authority in an area that includes more than one municipality."

With the publishing of the Local Government : Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act no 117 of 1998), a blueprint for local government restructuring was created. Its point of departure is spelled out in its preamble where it refers to "past policies" as being responsible for poverty, inequality in the delivery of municipal services and economic and spatial disruption. According to the President's Co-ordinating Council (2001 : 1), the Municipal Structures Act established a firm basis for participatory government to enhance democracy within the Local

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Government system. The Act provides for the same "categories" as mentioned in the Constitution and defines "municipal types" as required by the Constitution.

In terms of the provisions of Section 2 of the Local Government Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act no 117 of 1998), a Category A municipality which is often referred to as Megacity or Unicity is intended for an area of *high population density* with *intense movement, extensive development, a complex and diverse economy, integrated planning* and *interdependent social and economic linkages.* Its area of jurisdiction includes the entire metropolitan area (RSA, White Paper on Local Government, 1998:58).

The following metropolitan areas have been classified for Category A Status:

Johannesburg;

East Rand;

Durban;

Pretoria;

Cape Town;

Port Elizabeth;

Vaal;

East London;

Pietermaritzburg; and

Bloemfontein.

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All areas falling outside metropolitan areas will be governed by municipalities with Category B and C Status (RSA, Department of Constitutional Development, 1999).

Section 155(2) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act no 108 of 96) requires that national legislation be adopted to define the types of municipality that may be established within each of the three categories.

In response to this constitutional requirement, Section 7 of the Local Government : Municipal Structures Act, 1998 (Act no 117 of 98) provides for five systems of Local Government as well as a number of combinations of those systems.

The five systems are as follows:

(a) Collective executive system which allows for the exercise of executive authority through an executive committee in which the executive leadership of the municipality is collectively vested.

(b) Mayoral executive system which allows for the exercise of executive authority through an executive mayor in whom the executive leadership of the municipality is vested and who is assisted by a mayoral committee.

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(c) Plenary executive system which limits the exercise of executive authority to the municipal council itself.

(d) Sub-council participatory system which allows for delegated powers to be exercised by sub-councils established for parts of the municipality.

(e) Ward participatory system which allows for matters of local concern to wards to be dealt with by committees established for wards.

In order for local authorities to deliver on their constitutional mandate to provide developmental governance, they need to be organised to allow for:

- the provision of strong political leadership;
- effective decision making; and
- enhanced democracy and accountability through community participation (RSA, Dept of Local Government, 2001 : 2).

The five different systems of local government provided for in the Municipal Structures Act, will indeed allow for these requirements to be met. Each type of municipality provided for in the Municipal Structures Act is a result of a combination of the five systems and takes into account the fact that all municipalities are not the same. It provides for different types of municipalities to meet the wide range of needs of local authorities (RSA, Dept of Local Government, 2001 : 2).

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The type of municipality that the Cape Town Unicity has adopted was a collective executive system combined with a sub-council participatory system (Province of Western Cape, 2000 : Section 6) which will allow the Council to delegate powers and duties to a number of subcouncils that each represent a specific part of the metropolitan area (RSA, Department of Local Government, 2001 :2). The ANC/NNP take-over of the Cape Town Unicity that followed the floor crossing of council members, however, resulted in steps being taken for the adoption of a Mayoral executive system (City of Cape Town, 2002 i : 1).

It is clear from the above that the Municipal Structures Act indeed provided a blueprint for the establishment of new local government structures in South Africa.

2.4.2 THE MEGACITY

A Megacity or Unicity as Category A local authorities are commonly referred to, are metropolitan governments whose area of jurisdiction includes the entire metropolitan area (RSA, White Paper on Local Government, 1998 : 58).

The establishment of a Megacity represents the final phase of local government transformation in metropolitan areas.

i) Criteria for the determination of a Megacity

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The National Minister responsible for local government determines which areas should have Category A municipalities by declaring the nodal points of the metropolitan areas. Such determination is based on the following:

- Population distribution in the urban area;
- Employment distribution and employment structure in the urban area; and
- Location pattern and movement.

(RSA, Department of Constitutional Development, 1999).

ii) **The Megacity Debate**

The establishment of megacities in South Africa was preceded with intense debate, which yielded compelling arguments for and against the model. The main arguments against the establishment of megacities can be summarized as follows:

a) The majority party in the megacity Council will have full control and community interests will thus be subject to the discretion of the party (Laurence, 1998 : 40).

b) Privileged minorities who are excluded and feel threatened will most likely not be willing to contribute financially or otherwise to the development of an equitable society. This will increase the

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risk of tax evasion which will have a negative impact on redistribution (Laurence, 1998 : 40).

c) Efficiency might be compromised as a result of the size and complexity of local government administration in megacities (Laurence, 1998 : 41).

Experience shows that the "worst-run" and financially fragile cities have been those which opted for the megacity. Beijing, Havana, Cairo and Bogota (Colombia) are cases in point (Laurence, 1998 : 40). Even Johannesburg, at the time had some experience of megacity administration as its powers and functions were centralised in the Metropolitan Council during 1995 and 1996. The Auditor-General's report for this period revealed a disastrous financial situation (Christianson, 1997 : 13 - 14).

Fears of those residents with a relatively high living standard that their contributions will be redistributed by politicians who are kept in power by the majority who represent the power segments of society. This situation has been described as the conflict between the "tax contributors" and the "tax consumers" and need to be balanced carefully if the megacity is to succeed (F S T Weekly, 1998 : 45).

The most compelling reasons for the establishment of a Megacity are:

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a) Basis for equitable and just local Government

Cape Times (1998 : 1) argues that Metropolitan Governments need to play an important part in balancing the necessity for equity and poverty alleviation in the one hand and a favourable job creation and investment environment in the other.

Municipalities within a specific metropolitan area which are not unified under a single metropolitan government tend to enhance their per capita tax base by excluding residents who would extract more resources than what they can contribute as well as to ensure that they do not contribute to service delivery in areas outside their areas of jurisdiction. This results in the poor being concentrated in areas of poverty, which is not conducive to service delivery, and are usually situated far from employment and social support (RSA, White Paper on Local Government, 1998 : 59).

According to Motshekga (1997 : 38 - 39) there are large areas that do not have a tax base at all. He argues that a single tax base for an entire metropolitan area would enable local government to manage resources centrally and to redistribute it in accordance to community needs.

The Megacity will indeed ensure that all residents in a specific

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area benefit from a common tax base and in so doing strive to address such iniquity. This will not only benefit the poor as studies have shown that greater equity leads to enhanced economic prosperity of all residents (White Paper on Local Government, 1998 : 59). This will ensure that no one is advantaged over the other (Motshekga : 1997 : 38).

b) Promotion of strategic planning and co-ordination of public investment

Local Authorities in urban areas generally conduct their planning in isolation although they form part of a bigger urban environment. This often leads to poor land-use planning decisions which usually result in public funds not being used appropriately. A metro-wide government would create an environment in which integrated development planning can be implemented effectively (RSA, White Paper on Local Government, 1998 : 60).

c) Establishment of a metro-wide economic and social development framework

Megacities will be able to attract and direct investment in accordance with the integrated development plan, thus for the

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whole metropolitan area and in so doing remove the need for unnecessary competition for investment as well as an unco-ordinated marketing approach (RSA, Ministry of Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development, 1998 : 60).

d) Better and cheaper services

Fihla (1997 : 32) maintains that the megacity model will lead to better and cheaper services as the City's power will be centralised. Better and cheaper services will, however, also require that the Metropole be managed by a decentralisation of functions, administration and political representation and that they should have power to decide on the integration and decentralisation of functions. This will ensure the necessary flexibility within and between metropolitan areas (Moosa, 1998). The Megacity option offers the best way to achieve the required decentralisation of service delivery without the decentralisation of political structures (Motshekga, 1997 : 38).

e) Financial Instability

The President's Co-ordinating Council for the Intergovernmental Review of the local government transformation process rates financial instability as one of the main reasons for restructuring

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the local government system. Despite a measure of progress at the time, the local government finance system was not adequately structured to ensure the viability of all local authorities (The President's Co-ordinating Council, 2001 : 3).

iii) **Establishment of the Cape Town Unicity**

The City of Cape Town was established as a Category A municipality with the publishing of Provincial Notice 479 in the Provincial Gazette Extraordinary No 5588 dated 22 September 2000. (See Figure 2.1)

This establishment, followed the disestablishment of the following municipalities by the same provincial notice:

- Blaauwberg Municipality;
- Cape Metropolitan Council;
- City of Cape Town;
- City of Tygerberg;
- Helderberg Municipality;
- Oostenberg Municipality; and
- South Peninsula Municipality.

Cape Town has now embarked on the final phase in the transition of Local Government. Judging from the above, the adoption of the Megacity/Unicity

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model will facilitate equitable and efficient service delivery to the residents of the Cape metropolitan area. It also brings the opportunity for local government to contribute significantly to the improvement of the quality of life of all residents.

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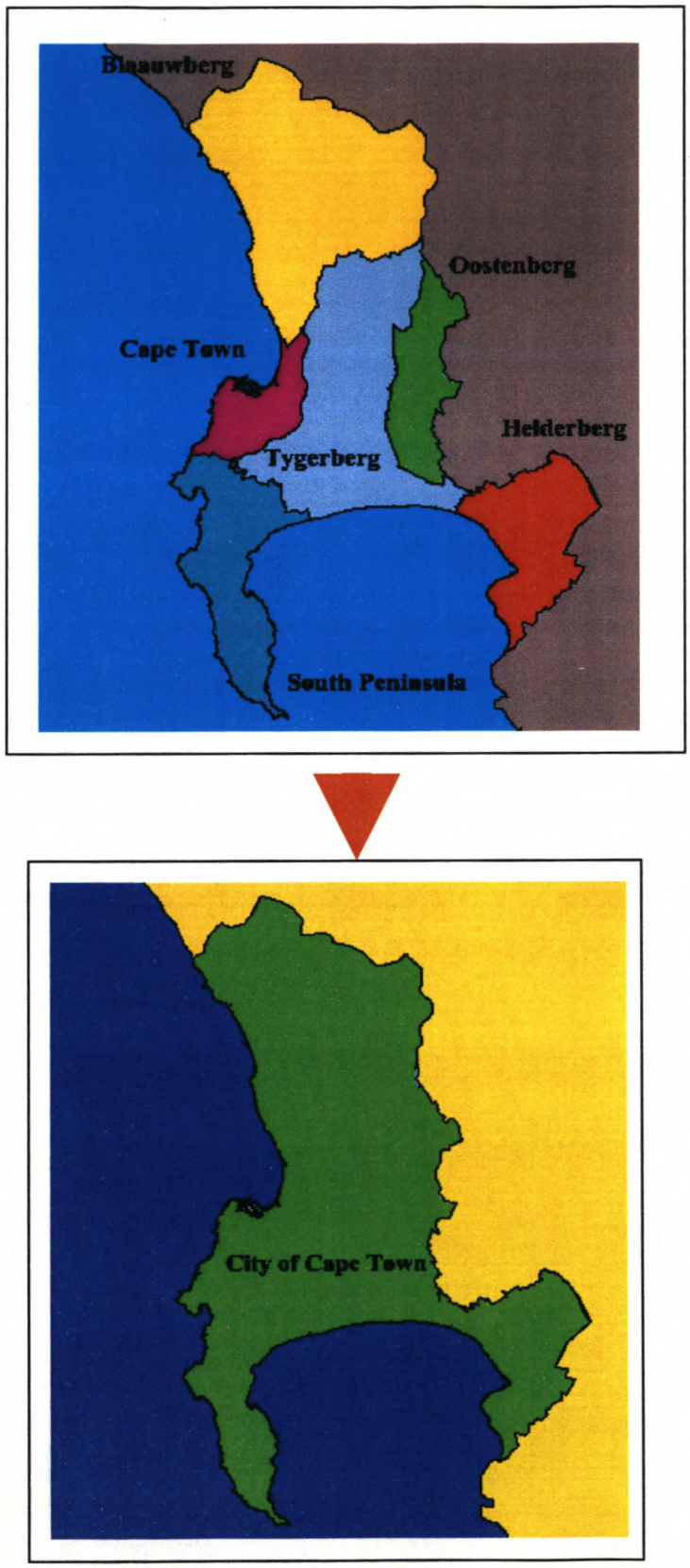
Figure 2.1 : ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CAPE TOWN UNICITY.



Source : City Of Cape Town (2002h)

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2.4.3 DEVELOPMENTAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT : INTRODUCING A NEW ERA IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Developmental Local Government is the central responsibility of local authorities in that it requires sustainable ways to be identified in co-operation with local communities, by which their needs can be met.

It is defined as "local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social economic and material needs and improve the quality of their lives" (RSA White Paper on Local Government, 1998 : 17)".

According to a report of the Ministerial Advisory Committee (2001 : 26) on Local Government Transformation on the challenges facing local government, the Constitution established the current model of local government and requires that local government must be developmental. Section 152 (1) (c) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act no 108 of 1996) accordingly states that one of the objectives of local government is "to promote social and economic development".

The Unicity Commission in its discussion document on "Developing the future City of Cape Town" accordingly stated that "the Unicity Council in particular will need to move boldly beyond the current emphasis on service provision issues which dominate the municipal agenda (Unicom, 2000 c : 9)".

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The new City of Cape Town (Unicity) faces four main challenges that highlight the need for developmental local government (City of Cape Town, 2001 b : 1 - 2). These are:

i) The need to adjust to globalization demands that the city focus, apart from service delivery, on such issues as poverty, social exclusion, economic development, safety and environmental factors.

ii) It inherits a metropolitan area which will decline steadily if the correct social, economic and ecological trends are allowed to continue.

These trends are:

- Increased unemployment;
- Critical skills gap between demands for growth and skills of labour;
- Income inequality;
- HIV/AIDS;
- Crime; and
- Spatial inefficiency.

iii) Despite progress by the different local authorities there is an increased gap in service needs and local government capacity to address same.

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iv) The amalgamation of seven separate municipalities with different work cultures and systems necessitates that dedicated attention be given to maintaining service delivery.

The White Paper on Local Government (1998 : 26) identifies three inter-related approaches which can be utilised by local authorities in their quest to become more developmental:

- Integrated development planning;
- Performance management; and
- Co-operating with residents and partners.

i) **Integrated Development Planning**

Integrated development planning is a planning process which can be used by local authorities to establish development plans (RSA White Paper on Local Government, 1998 : 27). It allows for full participation and aims to integrate different strategies in order to ensure the optimal use of limited resources. The process resulted in the drafting of a five-year integrated development plan (IDP) (City of Cape Town, 2001 b : 2).

In terms of the provisions of Section 25(1) of the Local Government : Municipal Systems Act, 2000 (Act no 32 of 2000), "each municipal council must, within a prescribed period after the start of its elected term,

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adopt a single, inclusive and strategic plan for the development of the municipality".

Section 35(1) of said Act, describes the IDP as follows:

"An integrated development plan adopted by the council of a municipality -

(a) is the principal strategic planning instrument which guides and informs all planning and development, and all decisions with regard to planning, management and development, in the municipality;

(b) binds the municipality in the exercise of its executive authority, except to the extent of any inconsistency between a municipality's integrated development plan and national or provincial legislation, in which case such legislation prevails; and

(c) binds all other persons to the extent that those parts of the integrated development plan that impose duties or affect the rights of those persons have been passed as a by-law."

ii) **Performance Management**

Increased pressures to control excessive spending and for the devolution of powers to lower spheres of government resulted in new demands for Local Government to be held accountable to the electorate and thus for

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results-based budgeting and results-orientated public administration (Poister & Gregory, 1999 : 325).

To this end, performance management ensures that plans are implemented efficiently in accordance to the required developmental impact and with optimal utilization of available resources (RSA, White Paper on Local Government, 1998 : 31).

iii) **Co-operating with residents and partners**

Local Government has to be executed within a framework of democracy and should therefore institute mechanisms that allow for adequate public participation (RSA, White Paper on Local Government, 1998 : 31).

Dube (2001 : 3), regards the local authorities' capability to effectively balance financial sustainability with effectively addressing a city's social economy needs, as a key to successful developmental local government.

Developmental local government can thus be regarded as the vehicle through which quality of life issues can be addressed by local authorities and the opinion is held that it will, because of its direct involvement of local communities, be seen as the most tangible expression of democratic local government.

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2.5 CRIME PREVENTION AS A FUNCTION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Local government's increasing involvement in crime prevention, which is not regarded as a traditional local government function, will now be discussed.

2.5.1 INTRODUCTION AND MANDATES FOR INVOLVEMENT

In accordance with the previous section on developmental local government where the necessity for local authorities to become involved in addressing all obstacles for community development was highlighted, this section discusses one of the most significant of these "new" functions in a time that is described by Unicom (2001 b : 87) as "the dawning of a new era in city governance".

The following legislation/directives mandates Local Government to become involved in the prevention of crime.

i) The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 (Act no 108 of 1996)

In terms of the provisions of Section 152 (1)(d) of the Constitution, the object of Local Government is "to promote a safe and healthy environment".

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ii) The White Paper on Safety and Security (1998)

The White Paper emphasises the important role of Local Government in co-operating with other tiers of Government and law enforcement agencies in the prevention of crime. It assigns a leading role to Local Government in the prevention of crime and calls for Local Government resources and development objectives to be re-aligned in terms of a broader crime prevention strategy (RSA, White Paper on Safety and Security, 1998 : 33 - 34).

iii) The White Paper on Local Government (1998)

The White Paper requires that Local Government implement social crime prevention programmes that can promote healthy, stable and informed communities which will leave little opportunity for criminal activities (RSA, White Paper on Local Government, 1998 : 49).

iv) The National Crime Prevention Strategy

The National Crime Prevention Strategy assigns a central role to local authorities in terms of crime prevention, especially Metropolitan Governments. It underlines the fact that local authorities have to be adequately capacitated to lead crime prevention programmes (RSA, Department of Safety and Security, 1996 : 21).

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v) The South African Police Service Act, 1998 (Act no 68 of 1995).

In terms of the provisions of Section 64E of this Act, one of the core functions of a municipal police service is "the prevention of crime".

Accordingly, Vezina (1998 : 8) maintains that there is a "strong consensus" that crime should be addressed at local level as City Governments are in an advantageous position to co-ordinate such efforts. This view is echoed by the Unicom (2001 b : 87) who in fact argues that the City of Cape Town should take the lead in public safety matters and that its involvement in the prevention of crime is therefore a necessity. Figure 2.2 depicts the relationships at local level in respect of crime prevention.

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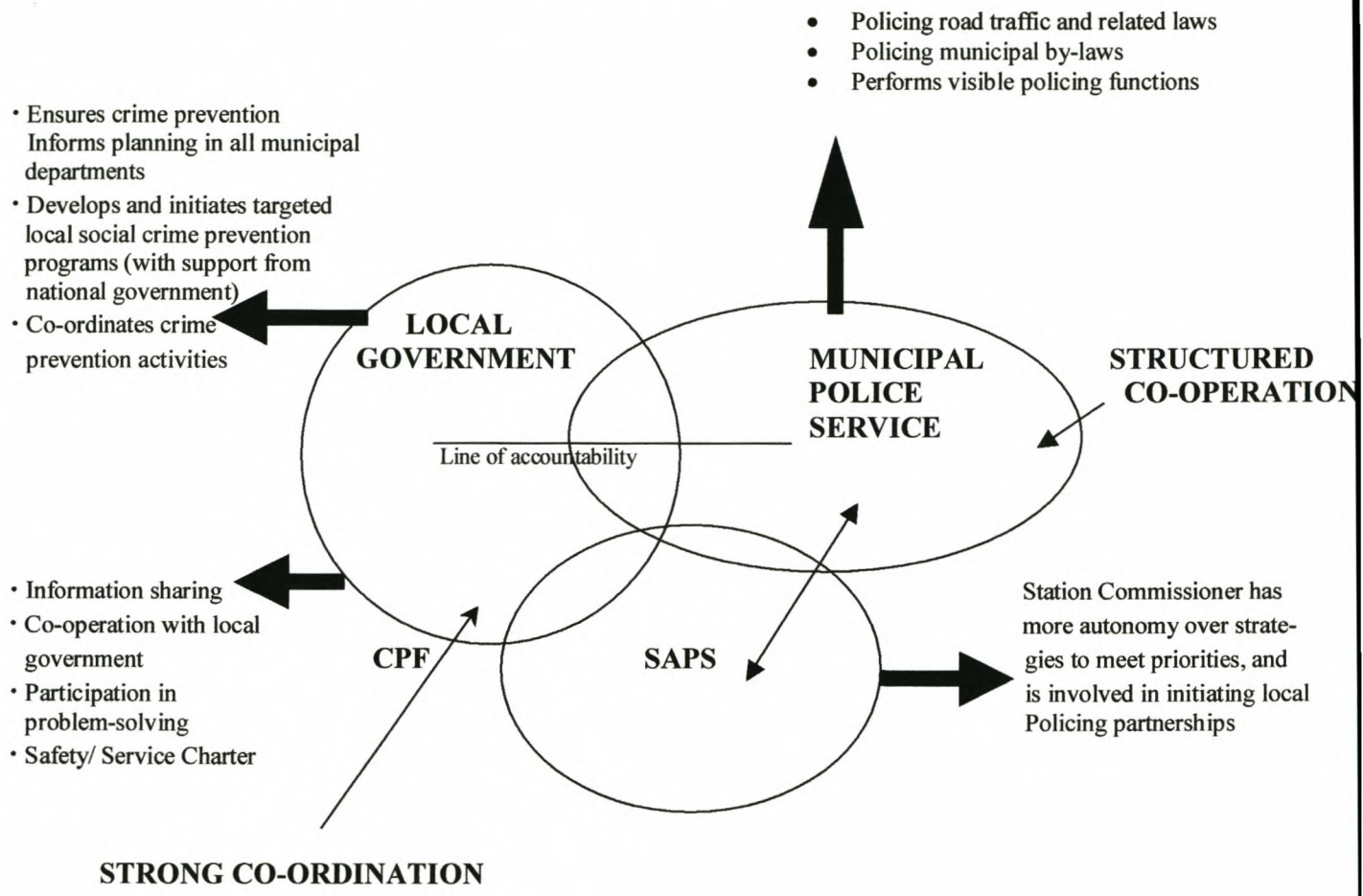
FIGURE 2.2 : RELATIONSHIPS AT LOCAL LEVEL



Source : RSA , Dept. of Safety and Security (1996:36)

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2.5.2 WHY SHOULD LOCAL GOVERNMENT BE INVOLVED IN CRIME PREVENTION?

As crime levels are generally seen as an indicator of the level of stability and social integration of a city, efforts to effectively address community safety will lead to the following benefits:

i) Attraction of skilled people

ii) Investment attraction

iii) Tourism growth

iv) Improvement of the communities' quality of life (Unicom, 2001 b : 86).

Accordingly, the City Development Strategy (Unicom, 2001 a : 22 - 23) argues that the future competitiveness of the Cape Town Unicity in terms of tourism and investment as well as the quality of life of its inhabitants rests with the City's ability to significantly reduce crime levels.

As planning on local government level allows for the specific requirement of local communities to be taken into account, it provides for a link to be established between community representatives, local government departments and the Police. Local government thus plays a key role and social crime prevention programmes seldom succeed without local government co-operation. Local government is furthermore ideally placed for the design and implementation of strategies aimed at specific community problems and certain high risk groups

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within communities (RSA, White Paper on Safety and Security, 1998 : 33; Shaw, 1998 : 1).

The National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) approved by the Cabinet in May 1996, sets a new framework for crime prevention in South Africa. It maintains that traditional policing strategies cannot reduce crime effectively and that an effort should be made to address the factors that cause crime (Unicom, 2001 b : 78).

This view that physical law enforcement on its own will not significantly reduce crime is echoed in the City Development Strategy (Unicom a, 2001 : 4) which calls for the City of Cape Town to pursue the implementation of crime prevention strategies. As the type and locality of crime relates to the causes of and opportunities for crime, contributing factors within a specific locality need to be taken into account when crime prevention strategies are developed. It therefore follows that social and environmental crime prevention efforts should be focussed on local level as solutions will be specific to prevailing conditions in a specific community (Unicom, 2001 b : 79).

The key to crime prevention at local level is thus the acceptance of the fact that crime differs from one locality to another and that different priorities, strategies and approaches are required in different areas (Shaw, 1998 : 3; Robertshaw, 1998 : 29). Shaw (1998 : 1) maintains that crime prevention programmes are likely to be successful if they are developed in the area where the specific problem occurs.

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Although central government will be providing a supporting framework, the actual delivery of a crime prevention function will essentially take place at local level (RSA, White Paper on Safety and Security, 1998 : 33).

To this end, a number of metropolitan governments have adopted the so-called Safer City Programmes. These include Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. The Safer Cities concept basically refers to the prioritisation, co-ordination and implementation of crime prevention strategies at municipal level (Shaw, 1998 : 3). Shaw (1997 : 2) confirms the concentration of crime prevention programmes on local level is in fact a growing international trend.

The City of Cape Town accordingly identified the prevention of crime as the first of its four strategic objectives in terms of its Integrated Development Plan. The four strategic objectives which will guide its service delivery for a five year period are:

- the prevention of crime
- the promotion of economic development & tourism
- the combatting of HIV/Aids
- the provision of free Lifeline Services (City of Cape Town, 2001 a : 31).

Other African cities that have already embarked on the implementation of bold crime prevention strategies include:

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Abidjan (Cote d' Ivoire);

Dakar (Senegal);

Harare (Zimbabwe);

Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso); and

Dar-es-Salaam (Tanzania) (Badiane, 1998 : 4).

In view of the above and given the expertise of local government in dealing with local issues, especially those required for developmental local government, as well as the realization that the root causes of crime need to be addressed if crime levels are to be reduced, the necessity of its involvement in crime prevention is clear and indisputable.

2.5.3 HOW CAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT BECOME INVOLVED IN CRIME PREVENTION?

The CSIR (1999:18) identifies the following levels at which crime prevention can be executed by local authorities:

- Expanding existing functions : policing of municipal by-laws, traffic policing and security services.

- Ensuring that local government functions are executed in line with crime prevention principles.

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- Reaching beyond traditional municipal functions : Starting new crime prevention projects and setting up partnerships with local communities.

i) **Expanding existing functions**

In the event of a local authority establishing a municipal police service, it allows for the functions of by-law enforcement and traffic policing to be supplemented by a third, namely the prevention of crime (RSA, South African Police Service Act, 1995 : Section 64 E).

ii) **Ensuring that local government functions are executed in line with crime prevention principles**

As it is the aim of traditional local government functions to positively impact on the quality of life of communities, it can be argued that the key for successful crime prevention by local authorities is the effective management and delivery of municipal services. Local authorities can, apart from the above, play a further role in crime prevention by ensuring that its day to day functions are aligned to a broader crime prevention strategy (Cachalia, 1998 : 2).

As Local Government represents the government level which is the most directly accountable to residents, all departments within the City should adopt the prevention of crime as one of its main considerations in the day

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to day planning and execution of its normal functions (Unicom b, 2001 : 9; Shaw, 1998 :5). This will ensure that crime prevention is placed firmly on the agendas of the municipalities' planning, transport, park and recreational departments (Shaw, 1998 :5).

The realignment and proper integration of functions which will be required by the above, could include the following:

a) Public transport design and improvement should *inter alia* be focussed on removing the opportunity for crime.

b) Staff could be trained to increase their capacity towards crime prevention.

c) Designing of parks and public open spaces to ensure visibility.

d) Provision of adequate recreational facilities in areas where the absence thereof contributes to generating opportunities for crime.

e) Designing urban areas to be less conducive to crime.

f) Initiating economic development programmes that target at-risk groups (CSIR, 1999 : 19).

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g) The Urban Renewal strategies in the City of Cape Town that are set to play a critical role is a case in point. These strategies *inter alia* target the economic renewal of communities in gang-infested areas, thereby obtaining community support in the fight against crime (City of Cape Town, 2001 c : 2).

Concern is raised in the White Paper on Safety and Security that local government development projects that are currently being executed do not provide for the adoption of adequate crime prevention principles. It therefore stresses the importance of effective co-operation between local government officials, community representatives and police (RSA, White Paper on Safety and Security, 1998 : 33).

iii) **Reaching beyond traditional municipal functions : starting new crime prevention projects and setting up partnerships with local communities.**

Local Governments have only recently become involved in more comprehensive crime prevention initiatives. This involvement was first initiated at the Mayors' International Conference in Montreal in 1989 and later in Paris in 1991. These initiatives resulted largely from central governments' failure to provide a policy framework through which local crime prevention programmes could be implemented. (Badiane, 1998 : 3).

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Unicom (2001 b : 87) states that the implementation of a comprehensive safety and security strategy for Cape Town requires a multi-agency approach that involves all the public safety role players to be led by the City. It will require that all role players agree on a new role for the City as it should be seen as a leading agency in the provision of safety and security. The local authority should thus pursue the establishment of a city-wide partnership in which all role players commit themselves to working towards agreed objectives (Unicom, 2001 b : 97). Bruce (1997 : 32) believes that South African local authorities should utilise the existing Community Police Forums (CPF's) to further such partnerships. Local Government is in the unique position to set up and maintain the required partnerships. Bruce (1997 : 32) lists the following reasons:

a) It is the government level that is in closest contact with residents. Community needs can be determined more accurately by local government which means that specific solutions can be designed for specific projects.

b) Local government is involved in the delivery of services to local residents on a daily basis. As many of these services are designed to improve the quality of life of residents, it can impact positively on crime prevention.

c) Developmental Local Government requires that all obstacles to

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improving a community's quality of life be addressed. If crime is such an obstacle, the local authority will have to take responsibility for addressing it effectively.

d) The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) processes indicate that crime and the provision of safety and security are major concerns for local communities.

Many of the traditional core functions of Local Government can play a significant role in crime prevention. As all the important elements of crime prevention are, however, not core Local Government functions but rather those of provincial and national government, it is critical to the success of an integrated crime prevention plan to involve these levels of government. Local Government should, however, initiate the action as crimes are committed at a local level (CSIR, 1999 : 17 - 18).

2.6. LOCAL GOVERNMENT CRIME PREVENTION INITIATIVES

It is apparent from the aforegoing that various initiatives can be employed by Local Government towards the creation of safer communities. These initiatives will now be discussed in more detail.

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2.6.1 INTERNAL CRIME PREVENTION

Shaw (1998 : 5) regards internal crime prevention as a priority area for local governments. He emphasizes the importance of local authorities setting up internal management systems and procedures to effectively reduce opportunities for potential offenders and thereby curbing internal losses. He further sees the prevention of fraud and theft within local authorities as an important element of proper management as it can contribute significantly to efficient service delivery.

2.6.2 CRIME PREVENTION THROUGH ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN (CPTED)

Badiane (1998 : 3) maintains that the failure of many African central governments to implement local crime prevention initiatives, set the stage for urban environmental design which can be described as an "architecture of fear".

CPTED is one of the most significant strategies that can be adopted by Local Authorities to ensure that its functions are executed in line with crime prevention principles (CSIR, 1999 : 19).

CPTED is a new approach that aims to prevent criminal activities by applying its principles to the building of new structures or the remodelling of existing ones. CPTED strategies include:

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i) Natural surveillance

Designs aimed at increased visibility in order to observe intruders.

ii) Territorial reinforcement

Establishment of a sense of territorial control to discourage potential offenders.

iii) Natural access control

Limiting the access opportunities of potential criminals.

iv) Target hardening

Installation of features that prevents access (City of Cape Town, 2002 a : 1 - 2).

Situational crime analysis shows that offenders will most likely look for opportunities that are the easiest, least dangerous and most viable. It therefore follows that changes in the conditions that directly influence these factors will most probably result in the reduction of crime. Local Authorities are in an ideal position to effect such changes because of their capacity to address situational factors (ICPC, 1995 : 11).

They can thus play a significant role in preventing crime through CPTED as it can adjust building codes to provide for such principles as well as by using its inspection authority to ensure adherence (Fleissner & Heinzelmann, 1996 : 1). As urban planners oversee the approval of site plans, they are in a unique position to ensure that certain criteria are incorporated in the City's landscape and park design guides. They are also able to influence the private sector by way of

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recommendations regarding landscape guides. Computer-aided design products and geographic information systems (GIS) can also be used by planners to evaluate crime prevention projects (Rycus, 1998 : 13).

Kruger (2002 : 12) also identifies local authorities as key role players in these initiatives and advocates the involvement of local government officials tasked with transport and roads, parks and public open spaces, housing, public safety and strategic decision-making.

Potential benefits that the adoption of CPTED principles could have for Local Authorities are (NCPC, 2002 : 1):

i) "Less crime in neighbourhoods and business areas;

ii) Increased collaboration among city agencies to improve public safety;

iii) Improved perception of safety and livability in public areas and neighbourhoods;

iv) More revenue from safer and busier business districts;

v) Efficient application of local laws, ordinances, and procedures;

vi) Enhanced consideration of public safety in planning, development, and redevelopment projects; and

vii) Increased use of public parks and recreation facilities."

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2.6.3 SOCIAL CRIME PREVENTION : REACHING BEYOND TRADITIONAL MUNICIPAL FUNCTIONS

South African Local Authorities' involvement in crime prevention was traditionally limited to the services rendered by its security and traffic law enforcement sections (Robertshaw, 1998 : 29).

Large cities around the world have, however, seen dramatic increases in crime levels, in spite of remarkable achievements in the fields of other public issues in the last thirty years. This increase can be ascribed to two key issues:

i) the limits of traditional policing and criminal justice system; and

ii) limited support of preventative measures aimed at addressing the underlying causes of crime (Vézina, 1998 : 7).

Shaw (1997:3) cautions that more and better policing would not necessarily solve specific crime problems and that the establishment of municipal police services should thus not be regarded as a local government solution to all such problems.

The International Centre for Crime Prevention, according to Schärf (2002 :1), recently stated that the two most effective ways of crime prevention in the first world are in fact "non-policing" matters. These are:

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i) ensuring that all children attend and complete pre-school; and

ii) ensure that all children complete high school.

Although it is accepted that these two methods of intervention do not necessarily apply to developing countries, it is important to note that intervention should be focussed on repairing the social fabric (Schärf, 2002 : 1 - 2).

To this end, the Unicom (2001 b, 10) maintains that it is essential that the socio-economic developmental causes of crime be adequately addressed if crime levels are to be reduced. Shaw (1998 : 9) emphasized the responsibility of Local Government to initiate social crime prevention programmes aimed at removing the social causes of crime. Accordingly, social crime prevention projects should be specifically designed to intervene in the root causes of crime such as poverty, drug and alcohol abuse, domestic violence and dysfunctional communities. To effectively address these factors in the Cape Town Metropolitan area, the City recently established the Social Crime Prevention Centre which will *inter alia* be responsible for administrating the "Safer Cities" programme (City of Cape Town, 2002 b : 69).

The "Safer Cities" programme refers to activities aimed at reducing the levels of crime and the prevention of the occurrence and fear of crime. This is to be achieved by changing the environment in which crime occurs or by intervening in the social conditions that are the underlying causes of crime (Robertshaw, 1998 : 29). The programme was established in 1996 to, in terms of a joint venture

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between the International Centre for the Prevention of Crime and the United Nations Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat), assist two selected African cities, namely Johannesburg and Dar-es-Salaam in the development of community-wide crime prevention programmes. The main objective was to provide local authorities and community organisations with technical assistance in the fight against crime. It focusses on:

"i) the formulation and implementation of long-term crime prevention programmes and policies at the City level;

ii) building capacity at the City level, particularly on partnership approaches to crime prevention between local actors;

iii) the strengthening of national programmes against urban violence, and

iv) the development of regional capacities to promote crime prevention approaches in African cities. (Vanderschueren, 1998 a : 30)."

To meet the above-mentioned objectives, crime prevention initiatives need to be based on the following elements:

i) a partnership that includes all relevant role players such as community organisations, local authorities, police and private sector. Thus a multi agency approach (Vandershueren, 1998 b : 5; ICPC, 1995 : 12).

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ii) appraisal of the prevailing crime situation.

iii) drafting of a local action plan (Vandershueren, 1998 b : 5).

iv) government support to secure adequate financing, training and research (ICPC, 1995 : 12).

Vanderschueren (1998 b : 5) describes this approach as "innovative" as it does not expect only the police and security services to accept responsibility for crime prevention, but also involves a local partnership of key role-players in identifying the causes of crime and formulation of potential solutions. The implementation of such interventionist crime prevention projects should include the following four stages:

i) Defining the problem;

ii) Selecting the appropriate action;

iii) Implementation;

iv) Assessment (Shaw, 1998 : 7).

Sangster (2002 :5) proposes that the City of Cape Town should utilise the already

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established Community Police Forums (CPF's) as vehicles for implementing its social crime prevention programmes.

Typical projects launched under the "Safer Cities" banner in Cape Town includes:

i) Supporting organisations that deal with dysfunctional youth by means of providing training and resources.

ii) Support community organisations in poverty stricken areas by providing training and resources.

iii) Providing training in the applications of the Domestic Violence Act to Health Care Workers.

iv) Capacitating and resourcing community-based organisations that deal with victims of violence.

v) Awareness campaigns on the safety of children.

vi) Supporting Provincial and National campaigns for victim empowerment.

vii) Providing training to Neighbourhood Watch members.

viii) Conducting extensive safety audits.

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ix) Awareness campaigns on drug and alcohol abuse (City of Cape Town, 2002 b : 76 - 82).

x) Facilitating the establishment of City Improvement Districts (CID) in order to promote economic growth and development (Sangster, 2002 : 7).

It is evident from the above that involvement in social crime prevention programmes represents an ideal opportunity for local authorities to have a meaningful impact on removing the root causes of crime that are plaguing its residents.

2.6.4 CLOSED CIRCUIT TELEVISION SURVEILLANCE

The installation of closed circuit television (CCTV) systems in city streets is said to play a significant role in the reduction of crime and the fear of crime (Ditton, 2000 : 693). The system consists of a camera network that is installed at targeted areas across the city and is linked to a control centre. A twenty-four hour, rapid response unit is usually deployed in the area to respond to incidents that are observed through the camera network (City of Cape Town, 2002 b : 11, 57).

CCTV surveillance is regarded as a versatile tool as it can be employed toward a number of safety, crime prevention and traffic-related functions (City of Cape Town, 2002 b : 57). According to Worroll - Clare (1998 : 18) , CCTV operations in the Durban CBD and beach front areas had a significant impact on the

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reduction of crime in these areas.

The City of Cape Town experienced similar successes from the camera network installed in the CBD. As a result of these achievements, the network is being extended to areas with high crime rates and those areas identified by the City as "urban renewal areas" (City of Cape Town 2002b : 57).

Judging from the above, it is clear that the utilisation of CCTV technology is proving to be an indispensible crime prevention tool and that its future expansion across metropolitan areas is certain.

2.6.5 ESTABLISHMENT OF A MUNICIPAL POLICE SERVICE

i) Historical Perspective

The South African Police's effort during the emergency period of the 1980's to deploy large numbers of "kitskonstabels" in the areas of jurisdiction of Black Local Authorities, was regarded as some form of municipal policing. (Shaw, 1996 : 1; Gauteng Provincial Government, 1997 : 2). The direct translation of the term "kitskonstabels" is "instant constables" and the term thus refers to the limited and rushed training these police officers received (Shaw, 1996 : 1). The deployment of these forces was the South African Police's (SAP) response to increasing political resistance and, as urgent deployment was required to cope with

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this resistance, the recruits were rushed through training in the shortest possible time (Rauch, Shaw & Louw, 2001 : 9).

These 'municipal police', however, developed a reputation for using excessive force which resulted in a negative connotation being attached to municipal policing (Rauch *et al*, 2001 : 9 - 10). This poorly-trained and ill-disciplined force was, however, administrated through Pretoria and was later absorbed in the SAP (Shaw, 1996 : 1; Gauteng Provincial Government, 1997 : 2).

The Durban City Police Force which was established in 1854 (Shaw, 1996 : 1) was according to Sishi (2001 :1) until recently the only actual municipal police service in South Africa.

ii) **Legislative Framework**

The legislative mandates for local government to play a key role in crime prevention coupled with the growing need for effective policing that are focussed on the prevention of crime, created the ideal environment for the acceptance of the concept of municipal policing (City of Cape Town, 2001 a : 7). It was furthermore supported by the transformation of local government structures which according to the Ministerial Advisory Committee (2001, 123) "created an impetus for a broader responsibility in local policing".

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Several local authorities have already implemented programmes aimed at capacitating their existing law enforcement and traffic functions to supplement visible policing undertaken by the SAPS. This has, however, now been taken a step further with the empowerment of those local authorities who can afford it, to establish municipal police services (RSA, Department of Safety and Security, 1998 : 32).

The empowering legislation is the South African Police Service Amendment Act, 1998 (Act no 83 of 1998) which, in terms of Section 64, provides for any municipality to apply to the Member of the Executive Council (MEC) to establish a municipal police service. Such applications may be approved by the MEC, provided that the application meets the prescribed requirements; the local authority can afford it; traffic policing will not be negatively affected; adequate provision has been made for civilian oversight and if the new service will improve policing in the area (Section 64A (2) (a) - (d) of the South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act no 68 of 1995)).

iii) **Functions of a Municipal Police Service**

The functions of a municipal police service is defined in Section 64 E of the South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act no 68 of 1995) as:

(a) "traffic policing, subject to any legislation related to road traffic;

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(b) the policing of municipal by-laws and regulations which are the responsibility of the municipality in question; and

(c) the prevention of crime."

The prevention of crime does not only imply the delivery of uniformed policing functions but also the integration of a variety of municipal functions towards the objectives of crime prevention (Gauteng Provincial Government, 1997 :4).

According to Rauch *et al* (2001 : 29 - 30), there is no clear indication that the newly-established municipal police services will engage in social crime prevention efforts and the assumption is made that such services will mainly focus on police patrol as a crime prevention strategy.

The Cape Town City Police have, however, apart from its uniformed crime prevention operations, accepted responsibility for the co-ordination and integration of all existing crime prevention strategies in the City to ensure an integrated approach for the entire metropolitan area. It will accordingly be responsible for:

- Effective implementation of social crime prevention projects in accordance to national and provincial directives.

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- Broad consultation with local communities and other role players.

- Co-ordination of social crime prevention programmes.

- Conducting of safety audits in order to direct City Police deployment as well as the City's urban design strategy.

(City of Cape Town, 2002 b : 28).

iv) **Powers of a Municipal Police Service**

In terms of the provisions of Section 64F (3) of the South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act no 68 of 1995), a member of a Municipal Police Service is a peace officer.

Worrall-Clare (1998 : 18) sees this as significant as it means that Municipal Police Officers have the powers of arrest, search and seizure. Such powers will, however, be limited to the area of jurisdiction of the relevant local authority (Worrall-Clare, 1998 : 18).

The investigation of crimes does not fall within the ambit of powers of a Municipal Police Service (Shaw, 1998 : 2) except in respect of internal matters within the relevant local authority (Rauch, 2000 : 1).

The opinion is widely held amongst municipal officials that this limitation

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in powers will ensure the utilisation of municipal police officers in high visibility crime prevention functions as they will not be expected to engage in time-consuming investigations (Gauteng Provincial Government, 1997 : 4).

The researcher agrees with this view and is, in fact, of the opinion that this scenario creates an ideal opportunity for pro-active policing.

v) **South African Local Authorities : Current Status**

Municipal Police Services will exist independently from the SAPS (Rauch *et al*, 2001 : 39). The respective local authorities will fund its own service and the service will be accountable to the local authority (Rauch *et al*, 2001 : 39 - 40). According to Worrall - Clare (1998 : 17), a number of local authorities in South Africa possess the necessary infrastructural requirements for a Municipal Police Service.

Municipal Police Services that have already been established, include:

a) Durban Metropolitan Police Service

The service was launched in July 2001 and absorbed both the former Durban City Police and the City's Traffic Departments to form a metropolitan wide police service (Sishi, 2001 : 1).

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former Durban City Police and the City's Traffic Departments to form a metropolitan wide police service (Sishi, 2001 : 1).

The service has approximately 839 uniformed members (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 2001 : 125).

b) The Johannesburg Metropolitan Police

This service was launched in March 2001 and has approximately 1095 uniformed members (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 2001 : 125).

c) The Tshwane Metropolitan Police

The Tshwane Metropolitan Council aims to employ 2500 uniformed members in the next five years (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 2001 : 126).

d) The Cape Town City Police.

This service has been established by proclamation of Provincial Gazette 5786 on 2 November 2001. It is envisaged that this service will have 3400 uniformed members by 2005 (Ministerial Advisory Committee, 2001 : 126).

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Rauch *et al* (2001 :3), maintains that two factors were instrumental in motivating several South African local authorities to proceed with the establishment of Municipal Police Services. These are:

a) The finalisation of enabling legislation

b) Growing concern about crime levels and the SAPS's ability to deal with it effectively.

The popularity of the municipal policing concept with local authorities can, according to Rauch *et al* (2001 : 20), largely be attributed to the following:

a) Increased pressure to respond to crime which has been identified as a priority by Local Authorities across the country.

b) The fact that local government is not in a position to influence the resources and activities of the SAPS, thereby limiting its ability to respond adequately to local needs for safety.

c) It is seen as a viable alternative for local government as a response to crime.

It is interesting to note that South Africa is not the first country to provide

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for municipal police services as the result of the national service being inadequate to effectively cope with crime (Shaw, 1996 : 2). France has seen the establishment of a number of Municipal Police Services since 1983. These services now operate in more than 500 cities where they work closely with local communities (Gauteng Provincial Government, 1997 :6 and Shaw, 1996 : 2).

vi) **Funding and the incorporation of existing law enforcement services**

Although the South African Police Services Act, 1995 (Act no 68 of 1995) does not stipulate the source of funding, section 108 (5) of the first draft of the Police Bill published in 1994, provides for the respective local authorities to be responsible for the funding of municipal police services (Gauteng Province, 1997 : 11). The Ministerial Advisory Committee (2001 : 127 - 128) in its report on the challenges facing local government, expresses its concern that local authorities might not be able to continue financing its police services and recommends that the long term viability of such services that are already established, be ascertained.

The funding of municipal police services is, however, not regarded as a major concern as the establishment of such a service would entail the combination of existing law enforcement functions already financed by the local authority (Gauteng Provincial Government, 1997 : 11).

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Section 64 Q (2) of the South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act no 68 of 1995), accordingly provides for registered traffic officers employed by a particular local authority, to be appointed as a member of that local authority's police service on the date of establishment thereof. This with the proviso that the member completes the necessary training not later than 1 October 2003. This approach was adopted by all Metropolitan Governments who resolved to establish a municipal police service, except the City of Cape Town (Sangster, 2002 : 11).

The City of Cape Town decided not to apply Section 64 Q (2) of the said Act but rather to establish a police service as a new law enforcement entity in which existing members of the traffic and law enforcement services would only be absorbed on a voluntary basis. This option is extremely expensive as large numbers of new recruits have to be employed, thereby forcing the City to reprioritise and redirect its spending (Sangster, 2002 : 11 - 13).

The option followed by the City of Cape Town is, in the opinion of the researcher, the option which will be most advantageous to community safety since it requires that members be fully trained as City Police Officials and will thus be able to deal more effectively with their crime prevention role than those services relying heavily on their former traffic and security departments.

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vii) The Municipal Police Service and the Community

Worrall-Clare (1998 : 17) sees community trust in the police as the key to successful policing in South Africa. He furthermore proposes that for this kind of trust to be fostered, policing will have to be made more accessible to the community and presents the concept of municipal policing as one way of ensuring that local input be given the attention it deserves.

To this end, Section 64 c (2) (f) of the South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act no 68 of 1995) requires that a municipal police service be represented on every Community Police Forum or subforum that falls within the area of jurisdiction of the relevant local authority.

Community Police Forums (CPFs) are formal consultative forums which are required by the South African Constitution and this requirement thus represents the actual entrenchment of the community policing approach in the Constitution (Stevens & Yach, 1995 : 52, 64).

In accordance to the above, the Annual Police Plan of the Cape Town City Police for the period 1 July 2002 - 30 June 2003, (Cape Town, 2002 b : 32) confirms that the City Police Officer is to be regarded as part of the community and that the philosophy of community policing is to be embraced. It further emphasises that all actions of the City Police Officer

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should be founded in public service principles and responsibility to the public.

An additional legislative requirement designed to ensure community interaction with municipal police services is the establishment of a civilian oversight committee which is prescribed in Section 64 J of the South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act no 68 of 1995). In terms of the provisions of Section 64 J (2) of said Act, the committee will be responsible for the following:

a) Advise the Local Authority on municipal police service matters;
b) Advise the head of the service on the performance of his/her functions;
c) Any function considered necessary or expedient to civilian oversight;
d) Promote accountability and transparency;
e) Monitor policy implementation;
f) Functions assigned to it by the local authority; and
g) Evaluation of the functioning of the municipal police service.

Worrall-Clare (1998 : 17) holds the opinion that as the civilian oversight committee will most likely comprise of democratically elected members of the relevant local authority, this requirement will significantly contribute to bringing police and community together.

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Municipal policing is, according to Worrall-Clare (1998 : 20), the "most effective form of community policing" as the community's involvement is regarded as a necessity for successful crime prevention efforts. Former New York City Police Commissioner, William Bratton accordingly maintains that, as municipal police services are responsible to local interests, such services are ideal instruments for community policing (USA Consulate General, 2001).

It can therefore be concluded that the establishment of municipal police services creates the ideal opportunity for communities to become involved in local policing matters and thus for true policing by consent.

2.7 CONCLUSION

Judging from the contents of this chapter, it is clear that the comprehensive local government transformation process had a profound impact on service delivery, both on the manner in which traditional local government services are to be rendered and the increasing focus on additional services aimed at improving the quality of life of residents. This is especially relevant in metropolitan areas where the transformation process culminated in the establishment of Megacities/Unicities which created the ideal environment for a more integrated approach to service delivery and thus for effective crime prevention.

The opinion is furthermore held that the establishment of municipal police services in

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metropolitan areas is an inevitable result of local government's increased involvement in quality of life issues and especially the growing need for effective crime prevention.

Given this increased involvement in crime prevention, as well as local government's commitment to community participation, it can be argued that it not only creates an ideal environment for the effective implementation of community policing, but in fact also demands that the actions of municipal police services be governed by the principles of this relatively new policing philosophy.

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CHAPTER 3

COMMUNITY POLICING

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The concept of community policing has enjoyed growing popularity in recent years and as will be discussed in the following pages, an ever increasing number of police agencies around the world are claiming to have implemented at least some form of community policing. The researcher found that much has been written about community policing and that it has been the subject of numerous academic studies.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a theoretical account of what community policing entails as well as a theoretical framework against which the researcher's empirical study with regard to the implementation of community policing by the Cape Town City Police, can be planned, executed and the results thereof be evaluated.

This chapter briefly discusses the relevant historical perspectives, present a workable definition for community policing that will direct the further conduct of the research and provides detailed discussions on each of the elements of community policing. Implementation of this policing method with specific reference to South Africa, the requirements of a community police officer, as well as the relationship between fear, disorder and crime are also dealt with in this chapter.

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3.2 THE CONCEPT

Community policing is based on the normative sponsorship theory that declares that most people are inherently good and will accept working in co-operation with others in order to meet their own needs. Such co-operation will only take place if all the parties involved in the co-operation agreement can justify the reaching of the common objective in terms of its own objective, whether it be for the same reason or for different motivations (Trojanowicz, 1998 : 1).

Community policing originated from the realisation that police will not be able to reduce the levels of crime on their own as they can barely deal with the symptoms of crime and that community involvement is a necessity if the underlying causes of crime are to be removed (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 19; Wilson and Kelling, 1989 : 2). In essence, it requires that police integrate into society and co-operate with the community (Hendrickx & Van Ryckeghem, 1999 : 2).

The concept is based on the assumption that if police and community work together creatively, it can lead to the solving of problems that may be the underlying causes of crime, fear of crime, disfunctionality and general urban decay (Carter, 1995 : 2). Central to this form of policing is thus the need that police should actively promote community safety and that the community should accept shared responsibility in this endeavour. The Police are thus charged with a new responsibility, namely to devise workable strategies for community involvement in the fight against crime (Van Rooyen 1994 : 19).

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3.3 EVOLUTION OF COMMUNITY POLICING

The 1970's saw a shift in the thinking pertaining to policing strategies in the USA. This was sparked by the realisation that the traditional reactive rapid response approach did not result in the proper use of policing resources as it did not adequately allow for in-depth investigations and effective community police communication which meant that valuable information on criminal activities was not made available to police. The need for effective crime prevention through problem-solving was recognised and led to research on a policing strategy that effectively addresses the underlying causes of crime (Fleissner & Heinzelmann, 1996 : 3).

According to Carter (1995 : 1 - 2), the concept of community policing is the product of comprehensive research and the creative thinking of a wide range of policing executives, scholars and research organisations.

The Police Foundation (1999 : 2), reports that recent years have seen a dramatic move towards community policing by policing agencies in the United States as a result of the increasing popularity of this form of policing. Former New York City Police Commissioner, William Bratton, confirms this increasing popularity and regards community policing as "the most significant development in policing in the last 15 years" (USA Consulate General, 2001).

It is clear from the above that community policing has been born from a growing need

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for crime prevention and judging from its popularity, it is at least to some extent, successful in this objective.

3.4 DEFINING COMMUNITY POLICING

As there are no universally accepted clear definitions of community policing, there currently exists widespread uncertainty and confusion as to what it really entails (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 18, Stevens & Yach, 1995 : 6, Ziembo-Vogl & Woods, 1996 : 1). The result is that no police organisation currently applies a "pure concept" of this form of policing (Ziembo-Vogl & Woods, 1996 : 1) and that a variety of programs are regarded as community policing whilst it at best may include certain elements thereof (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 18).

Oliver (1998 : 19 - 25) is of the opinion that the absence of a commonly accepted definition hampers the implementation of community policing, as existing definitions are often contradictive, unclear and intangible. He highlights the importance of a common definition if community policing is to expand and if its successes and failures are to be property evaluated.

Existing definitions of community policing:

i) Ziembo-Vogl & Woods (1996 : 4) advocates what is referred to as the Trojanowicz Paradigm as formulated by the community policing pioneer, the late

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Robert Trojanowicz :

Community Policing is in terms of this paradigm regarded as a "philosophy of full service personalized policing, where the same officer patrols and works in the same area on a permanent basis, from a decentralized place, working in a proactive partnership with citizens to identify and solve problems."

ii) Van Rooyen (1994 : 19 - 20) offers the following definition:

"Community policing is a philosophy and strategy which is based on a partnership between the community and the police to find creative solutions for contemporary community problems, crime and other crime-related matters."

iii) Stevens and Yach (1995 : 6) regard community policing as a policing style that provides for the involvement of local residents in policing matters. It sees mutual trust and respect as a prerequisite for police/community partnerships and therefore requires that communities be policed by and with their consent.

iv) The Upper Midwest Community Policing Institute (2001 :1), defines it as:

"an organizational wide philosophy and management approach that promotes community, government and police partnerships; proactive problem solving; and community engagement to address the causes of crime, fear of crime and other community issues."

v) For purposes of this study, community policing is defined as follows:

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Community Policing is an organisational wide policing philosophy (UMCPI, 2001 : 1) that promotes community-police partnerships (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 19 - 20) based on equal responsibility (Biesheuvel, 1998 : 1) that aims to remove the underlying causes of crime by means of community consultation, both structured and at patrol level (Stevens & Yach, 1995 : 6 - 36), personalised and decentralised patrols (Ziembo-Vogl & Woods, 1996 : 4), accountability to the public (Pelser, 1999 a : 11) and with an overarching focus on pro-active problem solving and public order maintenance (Kelling & Coles, 1996 : 164).

The researcher decided on the above in an attempt to give direction to the study with an all inclusive definition of community policing.

3.5 ELEMENTS OF COMMUNITY POLICING

The elements of community policing that are discussed in this section correspond with the definition of community policing selected by the researcher and represent in his opinion a comprehensive account of the most important principles.

3.5.1 PHILOSOPHY

Community policing is not an accepted set of programmes or simply just another policing strategy that supplements existing actions (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 18 - 20). It is rather a policing philosophy that includes every action and is relevant to

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every part of the police organisation. It is a guiding philosophy for police actions (Ziembo Vogl & Woods, 1996 : 6 - 7) and as such provides a framework within which all policing services can be delivered (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 18 - 20).

Oliver (198 : 26 - 27) maintains that the adoption of the philosophy means total immersion and commitment from the police.

"The philosophical approach to community policing encourages, aids and abets community co-operation. It means motivating citizens to participate in auxiliary police activities, block watching, police support volunteer inputs, community crises-intervention teams, quality-of-life action groups, neighbourhood councils, and town meetings. And all of this cannot be the work of one or two officers dedicated to community affairs! It must be the work of an entire department and each of its subdivisions."

It is evident from the above that community policing is not only the function of a special team within a policing agency or the exclusive focus on structured consultative forums, but should in fact impact on every function of the organisation.

3.5.2 **PARTNERSHIP**

It has long since been realised that the police are not able to effectively deal with the symptoms of crime and the eradication of the causes of crime on their own,

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without the active assistance of local communities. It has also been realised that crime can only be effectively addressed if the community accepts shared responsibility for its own safety and security (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 19, NCPC, 1994 : 1, Ziembo-Vogl & Woods, 1996 : 8). The measure in which police will be empowered to effectively deal with crime is determined by the measure of community involvement in the criminal justice system (Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1970 : 1).

Stevens and Yach (1995 : 35) maintains that it is imperative for any police service to have the support of the community if they are to succeed in effectively addressing crime. For the police to obtain this critical support, their service delivery will have to be rooted in the community and they have to be accountable to the community.

Community policing accordingly refers to an interactive partnership between police and community in which problems are identified and solved. It requires that the community too becomes an active partner in determining specific policing requirements. The ultimate objective of community policing is thus to secure a co-operation contract on policing through the establishment of a partnership between police and community (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 21-25) through which crime, service delivery and relations between the police and community can be assessed and solutions be identified and implemented (RSA, Department of Safety and Security, 1997 : 2).

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According to Trojanowitch (1998 : 1), the community policing partnership is in essence a partnership of trust whereby the average resident is afforded the opportunity to deliver input in policing matters, in exchange for the residents' participation in bringing down crime levels. Police and community will in terms of this philosophy have to co-operate closely in the search for new solutions for crime and other community problems that may be conducive to crime (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 21). The community and police thus have a shared responsibility and are interdependent (Zwane, P. 1994 : 2). Oppler (1997 : 2) emphasizes the importance of all parties within the partnership recognising that they have something to gain by co-operating with one another.

Partnerships can promote a sense of community strength and enhanced cohesion which can enable it to react to immediate crime prevention requirements, to lay a foundation for future actions, to harness community resources and to maintain the social and economic well being of a community (NCPC, 1994 : 1).

Partnerships are likely to include diverse groups. It is thus important that common ground be identified and that a shared vision in terms of their expectations for community safety, be developed and accepted. Each partner's specific strengths in terms of what they can contribute need to be recognised and effectively utilised (NCPC, 1994 : 2).

It should furthermore be ensured that the partnership provides for participation by average residents and not only community leaders. The very nature of

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community policing requires that input from grass-roots level also be taken into consideration in community safety matters (Trojanowitch, 1998 : 6-7).

Apart from the obvious police and community elements, partnerships should include local authorities, non-governmental organisations and businesses. This multi-agency approach is necessitated by the increased complexity of modern society. As community awareness of their needs will result in an increased demand for a variety of professional support services to be rendered, it is imperative that the partnership be meaningful in that the support system will be able to effectively assist the community (Stevens & Yach, 1995 : 36-42). Oppler (1997 : 3) emphasises the need for local government to be involved in partnerships as it provides services that can impact directly on the causes of crime.

Partners should be equal, one partner should not be more dominant, influential, committed or accountable than the others. An equal partnership model needs to be adopted in terms of which all parties are regarded as being equally responsible for community safety (Biesheuvel, 1998 : 1; Oppler, 1997 : 3).

Judging from the above, it is clear that a healthy police - community partnership forms the basis of community policing and will provide efficient communication channels that will contribute to effective consultation.

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3.5.3 CONSULTATION

According to Stevens & Yach (1995 : 51-52) the purpose of consultation is to obtain the best possible information on which policing dimensions can be based. They are also of the opinion that consultation aims to improve community - police relationships and to reach agreements on solutions for local problems. Active participation in a police - community partnership requires that adequate provision be made for community consultation (Stevens & Yach, 1995 : 39).

To this end, the need for community consultation has been entrenched in the Interim South African Constitution of 1993 with the requirement that Community Police Forums (CPFs) should be established (Pelser, 1999 a : 10).

The CPFs represent the formal structure for community consultation and provide a much needed vehicle for such consultation which should impact positively on the quality of policing (Stevens & Yach, 1995 : 36-53). Such consultative forums furthermore provide a framework in which community - police partnerships can be facilitated in problem identification and solving, that can be jointly embarked upon (RSA, Department of Safety and Security, 1997 : 5).

The following goals should, according to Stevens & Yach (1995 : 52 - 53) be achieved through the establishment of such formal consultative structures:

i) Improving the articulation of community input

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ii) The solving of problems. Agreeing on the underlying causes of crime and identifying adequate solutions

iii) Educating the community on policing and safety matters

iv) Conflict resolution within the partnership

v) Encouraging communities to actively pursue local crime prevention initiatives on their own

vi) Police orientation in terms of community priorities and needs.

Van Rooyen (1994 : 40), adds the following goals:

vii) Enhancing police - community communication.

viii) Developing a policing in accordance to community priorities and needs.

Two more goals are identified in the Department of Safety and Security (1997 : 57):

ix) Strengthening the community - police partnership

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x) Ensure adequate provision for accountability and transparency.

In view of the importance of maintaining a healthy relationship between police and community, the Community Policing Policy Framework and Guidelines of SAPS suggests that consultative forums develop Police Service Contracts which should provide for the following:

- To ensure quality in the delivery of services
- Local needs and priorities
- Evaluation of services rendered by police

(RSA, Department of Safety and Security, 1997 : 78).

As the focus of consultative forums should be to secure the confident participation of the local community, its members should be representative of the relevant community. The forum should not be comprised on a party political basis and should rather include wide representation from the entire community. This will ensure that input from grass-roots level is reflected in policing programmes. There should furthermore be attempt to include those community representatives with an active interest in community safety. Consultation in the context of community policing should not be seen merely as informing the public or establishing a community - police dialogue. It should be seen as a term that is "aimed at pro-active programmes and integrates police - community relations

with practical police work" (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 38).

Van Rooyen (1994 : 38 - 39) identifies the following elements of consultation:

i) Representative

Consultation will not be possible if the entire community is not represented on the forum.

ii) Openness

Open communication should be practised as this will promote mutual trust and respect.

iii) Accountability

The community - police partnership implies shared responsibility for community safety. Accountability to this partnership can be demanded within the structures of a formal consultative forum.

iv) Honesty

Honesty is an absolute requirement for successful consultation.

v) Mutual Participation

Consultation is an inter-active process that requires input from both parties.

vi) Exchange of Information

Consultation requires that the best information be gathered to allow for sound decision making.

The community participation process allows for community members to share

and discuss their specific problems, to identify and prioritise their needs and potential solutions as well as to evaluate the implementation thereof. Community participation should thus be total participation. The community's involvement throughout the process serves to enhance their "sense of responsibility, ownership, commitment, awareness, accountability and high level of self-esteem" (Steven & Yach, 1995 : 40-42).

Trojanowicz (1998 : 4) identifies the following major considerations in the consultative process:

i) Community input in identifying what the underlying problems are that need to be solved.

ii) Involving the community in the planning and implementation of problem solving strategies.

iii) Community input in whether their specific needs have been met.

Murphy and Muir (1984 : 160) caution that problems identified through community consultation may not be the most serious policing problems facing the community. They argue that the community usually lacks the information that is required to make informed decisions and that the decision taken will most probably reflect their personal experiences which result in problems being identified that may not be relevant to the broader community (see Goldstein, 1990

: 70).

Goldstein (1990 : 70) questions the significance of the concerns raised by community members at consultative forums. He acknowledges the fact that such concerns may be regarded as accurate reflections of community interests but argues that it may also reflect a lack of awareness of the actual problems facing the community. Police should thus be aware of their responsibility to inform the community on the need to take action in regard to serious problems. Police need to be able to make an independent judgement on the identification of problems and the actions that need to be taken as they are responsible for protecting the constitutional rights of the community (Goldstein, 1990 : 70-71).

Consultation is in the opinion of the researcher the essence of community policing since it determines the measure of success that will be obtained with other elements i.e. personalised patrols, problem-solving and pro-active conduct.

3.5.4 PERSONALISED PATROLS

Community policing is people-driven and thus requires enhanced interpersonal contact and that residents be regarded as customers and not complainants. To achieve such personalised policing and to improve service delivery, it is important that the police officer be freed from the isolation of a patrol vehicle (Ziembo-Vogl & Woods, 1996 : 6 - 8).

(i) **Foot Patrols**

In the mid 1970's Professor Kelling conducted the Newark Foot Patrol Experiment.

Officers involved themselves in the lives of local communities to the extent that they were well known to the people who lived and worked there. This close contact with the community enabled them to identify local problems and to be supplied with relevant information on a regular basis. Co-operating with the residents in this manner even enabled them to, on behalf of the residents, institute informal "rules of the street" that were widely accepted. These rules related to general acts of disorder such as drinking in public areas, aggressive begging andsoliciting for prostitution (Kelling & Coles, 1996 : 16-19).

Although the findings of the experiment showed that crime rates were not reduced by foot patrol, it did conclude that residents felt more secure as the foot patrol areas were regarded to be safer that other areas. The residents' opinions of the police were also more favourable than in other areas and police morale in these areas was higher than in other areas (Wilson & Kelling, 1982 : 1-2).

The foot patrols were extremely popular with the residents and resulted in the dramatic reduction of fear (Kelling & Coles, 1996 : 19). Wilson & Kelling (1982 : 2) conclude that, as a result of this reduction of fear, foot

patrols did indeed make the relevant areas safer.

This is supported by Ziembo-Vogl & Woods (1996 : 9) who maintain that foot patrols enhance the community's perception of safety. They argue that, when an area is perceived to be safer, it will most likely have a healthy impact on the social fibre of the relevant community as residents now feel free to engage in social activities within their communities.

The shift from motorised patrol to foot patrol is, however, not always implemented with enthusiasm, as it is often regarded as reducing police mobility that limits responsiveness to calls for service (Wilson & Kelling, 1982 : 1).

Personalised patrols can, however, not be effected properly from a patrol car, as the door and window provides a "barrier" that tends to exclude community members. Furthermore, it is much easier to approach a member of the community when patrolling on foot than it is from a vehicle and it is likewise easier for a resident to approach a police officer on foot patrol, as it allows more anonymity than to approach a marked police vehicle (Wilson & Kelling, 1982 : 8-9).

The former Commissioner of the New York Police Department, William Bratton placed much emphasis on personalised patrols but argues in Bratton (1998 : 202) that police who patrol on foot tend to "disappear" as

a result of fatigue and boredom and suggests that foot patrol be replaced by bicycle patrol that could not only make patrol more interesting for officers, but also result in faster responses to resident calls.

It is evident from the above that personalised patrols are an important part of community consultation and that it should in fact be valued just as importantly as structured consultation.

(ii) **Permanent Assignment**

Another important consideration in personalising policing efforts is to assign a patrol officer to a specific area on a permanent basis. This will enable the officer to communicate on a daily basis with residents and other people who frequent the area. The Community Police Officer's face-to-face interaction with local residents on a daily basis will enable him to identify priorities at local level (Trojanowicz,1998 : 2 - 3).

To this end, Van Rooyen (1994 : 25) states that the objectives of community policing can be achieved by the consistent involvement of the same police officers in the same area to allow for a trusting relationship to be established between the officer and the community. This will create on environment in which community support can be harnessed towards the identification of the underlying causes of crime (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 25).

Policing areas should be determined in accordance to community boundaries and police officers should be assigned to such geographically determined beat areas on a permanent basis (Kelling & Coles, 1996 : 160). To achieve effective personalised patrolling, beats should furthermore be planned in such a way that it enables police officers to work closely with residents and community groupings in order to identify and address community problems that may be causes of crime (Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, 1995 : 1).

3.5.5 DECENTRALISATION

As problems occur at a local level, authority to decide on which policing action to be taken, needs to be delegated to local policing levels to ensure that the police are responsive to community needs (Kelling & Coles, 1996 : 160).

Decentralisation implies that at least some patrol officers be freed from rigid time schedules and that they be assigned a wide range of responsibilities which include the identification of causes of crime and disorder and working with other agencies in dealing with those problems (Wilson & Kelling, 1989 : 7). This requires the moving away from the practice where decisions are being taken by senior management who are not in day to day contact with community concerns at grass roots level and the empowering of local police to make decisions locally (Stevens & Yach, 1995 : 39).

3.5.6 **PROBLEM-SOLVING**

Problem-solving through partnerships is the key to the success of community policing. In this partnership the community accepts shared responsibility for the prevention of crime as it is realised that the police do not have the means to effectively reduce crime on its own (Ziembo-Vogl & Woods, 1998 : 8).

Stevens & Yach (1995 : 10) feel that it is imperative that police obtain the trust and support of local residents if they wish to be successful in the fight against crime. This, together with the proper capacitation of the community to play an active part in maintaining law and order, will effectively lay the foundation for police to adopt a "problem-solving approach" to crime (Stevens and Yach, 1995 : 10). This approach requires that the underlying causes of crime be considered as the occurrence of specific crimes can usually be linked to other problems within the community. It therefore follows that the solving of such problems within the community will most likely have a positive result in terms of the reduction of crime (Steven and Yach, 1995 : 10 - 11).

Traditional policing methods focussed on effectively addressing the symptoms of problems that cause crime. A problem-orientated approach to policing, however, require that police involve themselves in dealing with the underlying problems, the causes of crime. It requires recognition that incidents should be regarded as symptoms of underlying problems and that those problems need to

be solved if crime is to be effectively addressed.

(Goldstein, 1990 : 33)

Although problem-orientated policing can function separately from community policing, it is important that cognisance be taken of the fact that problem-orientated policing is a necessary component of community policing without which full implementation of community policing will not be possible (Olivier, 1998 : 133).

3.5.6.1 **Problem-solving Techniques**

In searching for problem-solving techniques, the US National Institute of Justice created a task force in 1985 to conduct extensive research on the subject. Research conducted in Newport News, Virginia lead to the development of what became known as the SARA model (Oliver, 1998 : 128).

Scanning	-	identify the problem that causes crime
Analysis	-	study the problem and identify potential solutions
Response	-	implement an appropriate response specifically designed for the problem
Assessment	-	assess the action and results (Fleissner & Heinzelmann, 1996 : 4. Oliver, 1988 : 128).

i) **Scanning**

Scanning requires that all calls and complaints in the community be considered in an attempt to identify the problem. The responsibility of every police officer in the organization to assist in the identification of problems is emphasized. This requires that not only incidents be listed but rather that the root causes that lead to incidents be identified (Oliver, 1998 : 128).

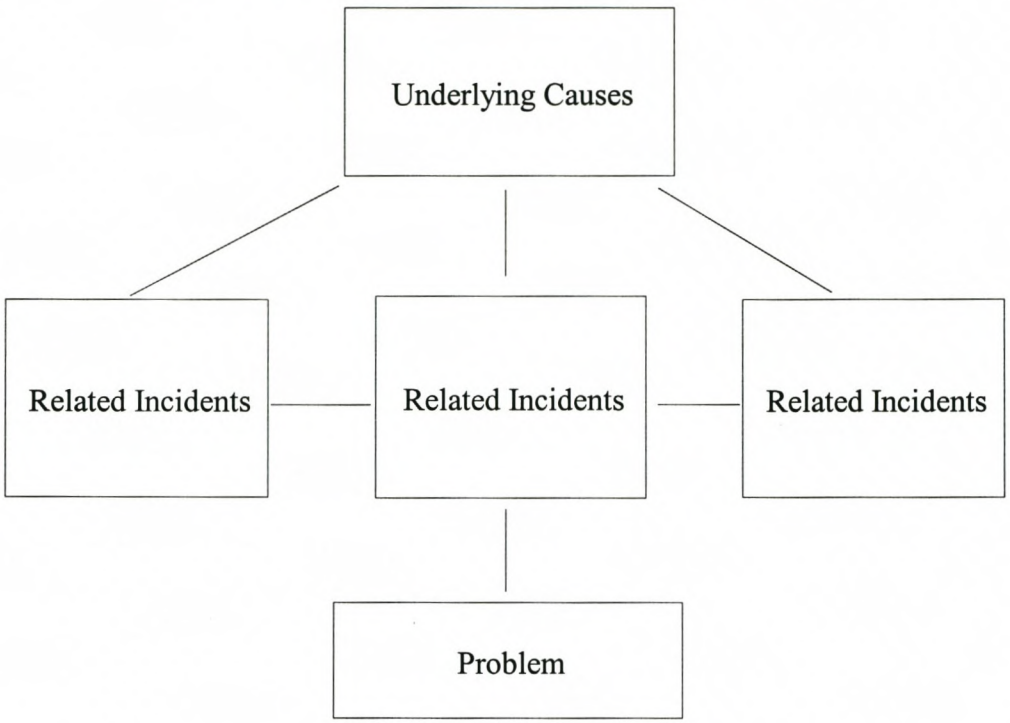
Defining the Problem

For an incident to be classified as a problem, it should meet at least one of the following criteria:

- repeated incidents;
- incidents that are related in some way (Le Grange, 1996 : 7).

To this end, incidents should not be viewed in isolation but should be grouped together to identify the underlying problems. Understanding all the dimensions of a specific community problem is thus the objective (Goldstein, 1990 : 34).

FIGURE 3.1 : PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION



Source : Le Grange (1996 : 8)

Characteristics that indicate according to Le Grange (1996 : 7 - 8) and Van Rooyen (1994 : 64), repeat occurrence of incidents or a relationship between incidents, are:

a) Behaviour

Common *modus operandi* in a number of incidents will indicate a problem.

b) Area

A number of incidents in a specific area may point to a problem.

c) People

A specific group of people, whether they be offenders or victims, may point to a specific problem.

d) Time

Incidents occurring at a specific time or day, may also point to a specific problem.

Le Grange (1996 : 8 - 9) lists the following information resources that can be utilized by police in the identification of problems include:

a) The community;

b) Crime investigation officers;

c) Members of pro-active units that operate within the community;

d) Crime information and analysis centres;

v) Victim support units; and

f) Patrol officers.

Van Rooyen (1994 : 66) adds two additional resources:

g) Media; and

h) Computerised Crime Administrative System.

Prioritization

Once the problems have been identified as root causes and thus legitimate problems, they are to be listed and prioritised (Oliver, 1998 : 128).

Le Grange (1996 : 9) lists the following criteria that can be used to prioritise problems:

a) The impact of the problem;

b) The importance of the problem; and

c) The solvability of the problem..

Van Rooyen (1994 : 67) identifies additional criteria:

d) Life-threatening circumstance;

e) Consequences; and

f) Community involvement in addressing the problem.

ii) **Analysis**

Two objectives need to be reached in the analysis stage.

The first objective is to gather enough information on the problem in order to be able to fully understand same (Oliver, 1998 : 129).

According to Le Grange (1996 : 9 - 10), the information gathering process is determined by the following:

a) Information that is already available;

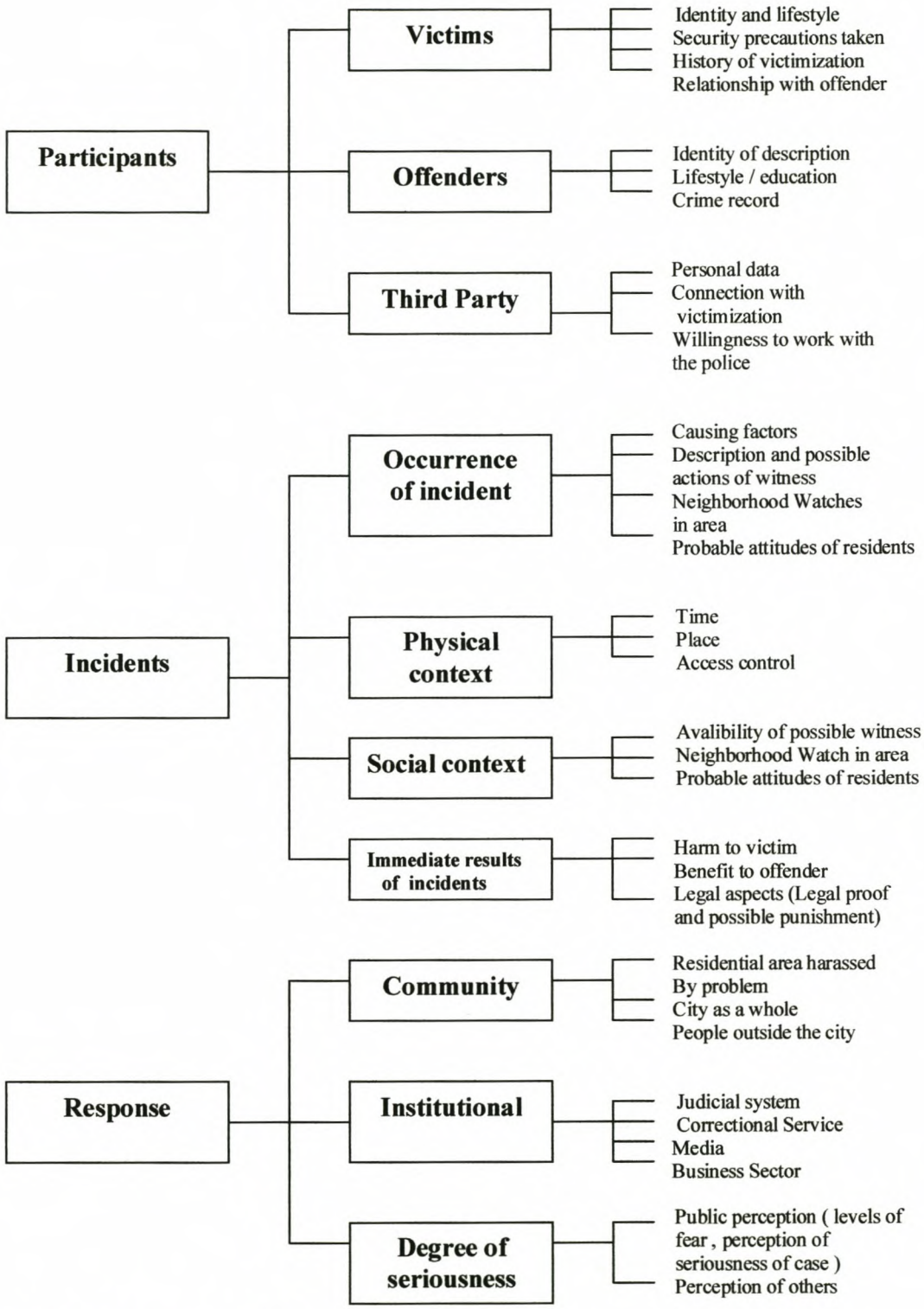
b) Complexity of the problem; and

c) Time and resources that are available to conduct the analysis.

Goldstein (1990 : 36) argues that for police to deal with problems, requires the systematic gathering and analysis of all relevant information and that an in-depth investigation of the problem, including information on all related issues, is thus necessary.

To this end, the SARA program provides for a specifically devised checklist that categorises the characteristics of problems in terms of participants, incidents and responses (Oliver, 1998 : 129). See figure 3.2 for Van Rooyen's (1994 : 73) version of the checklist.

FIGURE 3.2: S.A.R.A CHECKLIST



Source : Van Rooyen (1994 : 73)

Crime analysis has been successful in providing information in regard to crime frequencies in certain geographical areas and in establishing crime patterns by which future criminal activities could be predicted. The problem-orientated approach, however, presents police with an opportunity to utilise crime data more effectively than the majority of crime analysis models (Goldstein, 1990 : 37).

The second objective of the Crime Analysis Stage is the development of adequate responses (Oliver, 1998 : 129). The objective is to design a response that will eliminate or reduce a specific problem. This requires the adoption of a new mind set that will allow police officers to explore innovative ideas on problem-solving (Goldstein, 1990 : 44).

The NCPC (1994 : 4) maintains that in formulating strategies to address community problems, information should be gathered from as many sources as possible in order to identify ways and means on how problems can be dealt with. This includes how other communities dealt with similar problems, availability of resources and how such strategies can be amended for local requirements.

It is also essential that the community be allowed to play an integral part in devising new responses to problems as it represents a major resource that is available to the police when it comes to problem-solving. The community holds the potential for invoking informal controls that are more permanent and more effective than any measures that the police themselves are in a position to implement (Goldstein, 1990 : 45).

Goldstein (1990 : 10 - 71) encourages police organisations, when searching for adequate responses, not to confine themselves to the traditional limits of law enforcement agencies but to expand their search beyond such boundaries in an attempt to identify alternative measures.

Possible alternatives are listed by Goldstein (1990 : 70 - 71):

a) Focussing on individuals who are responsible for the majority of criminal acts, e.g. repeat offenders.

b) Building a network that includes other government and private role players.

c) Referring the public to other agencies which might be better equipped to deal with a specific problem.

d) Co-ordination of police activities within a relationship with other agencies.

e) The development of a prioritisation system by which the delivery of municipal services could be co-ordinated to ensure that it is rendered in support of crime prevention initiatives (Chicago Community Policing Evaluation Consortium, 1995 : 1).

Van Rooyen (1994 : 76) identifies additional alternatives:

f) Acting as mediator in tense situations.

g) Taking physical security precautions that will limit opportunities for criminal activities.

iii) **Response**

One of the alternatives developed should now be selected for implementation. The following criteria are, according to Le Grange (1996 : 12 - 13), considered in determining the best possible response:

a) The responses potential to effectively address the

problem;

b) The impact that the response will have on the problem;

c) What effect the choice could have on the community;

d) What will the community's attitude be once affected by the response;

e) The financial implications;

f) Availability of resources to implement the response;

g) The legality and impact on police-community relations; and

h) Is the response viable?

Once a decision has been taken, the selected response has to be implemented (Oliver, 1998 : 129).

iv) **Assessment**

As the problem-orientated approach aims to effectively address specific problems, it is necessary that evaluation techniques be developed that will enable police to effectively measure the impact of a specific response on a specific problem (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 78). Different problems and communities will, however, dictate that different evaluation methods will have to be employed. The main objective at this stage is to provide the police with the necessary insight to determine whether the

selected response created favourable results or if alternatives will have to be considered (Oliver, 1998 : 132).

3.5.6.2 **Solving Problems with Crime Analysis**

The utilization of crime analysts in community policing for purposes of problem solving is acknowledged by Hill (1999 : 2) who states that most crime analysts in the USA have been involved with community policing efforts at some stage or another.

Hill (1999 : 3) specifically refers to the possibility that crime analysis reports can play a significant role in the "assessment" stage of the S.A.R.A. model as it will provide valuable information on the success of problem-solving efforts. He is further of the opinion that S.A.R.A. model evaluations should be performed by the crime analysis units of police agencies and that the actions of such units should in fact reflect the agencies' community policing goals and objectives.

To this end, Hill (1999 : 4) argues that the philosophy of crime analysis with its five stages, namely collect, collate, analyse, disseminate and evaluate, "closely mirrors the S.A.R.A. model".

According to the Police Foundation (2002 : 1) problem-solving efforts sometimes require a geographic focus and it is thus necessary to integrate

computerized crime mapping technologies with community policing.

> This form of crime analysis has, for instance, been successfully utilised for community policing purposes by the City of Redlands, California. By integrating "Risk Focussed Policing" with Geographic Information Systems (GIS) technology, the City of Redlands succeeded in mapping risks related to specific groups including community, family and school, as well as existing protective measures at local level. This made it possible for police agencies and community organisations to focus their resources on the most serious problems. (Harries, 1999 : 83)

As can be seen from the above, effective problem-solving results in effective crime prevention, which equates to effective pro-active policing.

3.5.7 PRO-ACTIVE CONDUCT

Traditional policing methods are "incident-orientated". A member of the public calls to report an incident and the police then respond appropriately, depending on the nature of the crime. If police only respond to incidents, the root causes of crime will not be addressed and the incidents will continue (Wilson & Kelling, 1989 : 2).

A pro-active approach requires that police action is initiated before a crime is committed. It is aimed at reducing the risk for residents to become victims of

crime (Ziembo-Vogl & Woods, 1998 : 8). Community policing aims to achieve this by gaining a better understanding of the underlying problems that cause crime, through strengthened community - police relations (Hendickx & van Ryckeghem, 1999 : 2).

The pro-active conduct of community policing thus means that the underlying causes of problems that lead to crime are addressed and not only the symptoms (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 56).

The following quotations support the pro-active element of community policing:

"At its heart, community policing ..... is about preventing crime (NCPC, : 1). "Community-based crime prevention is the ultimate goal and centerpiece of community-orientated policing (Skohick & Bayley in NCPC : 2).

It is evident from the above that the principle of pro-active conduct is closely related to the principle of problem-solving and is in fact the result of solving problems that could be the underlying causes of crime.

3.5.8 ACCOUNTABILITY

Community policing can only be successful in a democratic society that upholds the principles of accountability and transparency (Lue, 1999 : 1).

Despite South Africa being a democracy, allegations of police involvement in inappropriate and illegal behaviour are a common occurrence and a recent public opinion survey in fact revealed that the majority of the respondents see the police as corrupt and without integrity (Sayed and Bruce, 1998 : 3). It is thus important that a "culture of accountability" to the community be created in South Africa (Pelser, 1999 a : 11).

To obtain the required level of accountability, mechanisms will have to be created that will ensure that police are answerable for effectively addressing community needs and concerns (Department of Safety and Security, 1997 : 3).

3.5.9 PUBLIC ORDER MAINTENANCE

Kelling & Coles (1996 : 14) defines disorder as "incivility, boorish and threatening behaviour that disrupts life, especially urban life."

Public order maintenance refers to police action against all forms of disorderly behaviour which includes panhandling, public drunkenness, prostitution and loitering (Wilson & Kelling, 1982 : 2).

Since local needs and values differ from one area to another, community policing will necessarily be implemented in a variety of ways. Regardless of implementation strategy, however, public order restoration and maintenance should always be an element of the community policing plan (Kelling & Coles, 1996 : 158).

The importance of this is highlighted in Wilson and Kelling's famous "Broken Windows" analogy which, according to Hendickx & Van Ryckeghem (1999 : 3) represents a "pioneering work" in re-defining policing. The analogy goes as follows:

"If a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken... one unrepaired broken window is a signal that no one cares, and so breaking more windows costs nothing" (Wilson & Kelling, 1982 : 4). Thus, acts of public disorder that are not adequately addressed, invite more disorder and send a message to the residents that the area is unsafe. This results in social withdrawal by residents and diminished community protection that makes the area more attractive to criminals which ultimately leads to the total degeneration of the area (Wilson & Kelling, 1982 : 4 - 5; NCPC, 1994 : 3).

Wilson & Kelling (1982 : 8) argue that serious crime tends to flourish where public disorder is not addressed as potential criminals reason that their chances of being apprehended are less if they perform criminal acts in areas already victimised by disorderly behaviour. A logical deduction is thus that a reduction

in disorder will result in a reduction in crime (Kelling & Coles, 1996 : 20 - 39). Former New York City Police Commissioner, William Bratton accordingly maintains that it is just as important to act against minor crimes as it is to act against more serious crimes and regards the Broken Windows philosophy as the foundation of community policing (USA Consulate General, 2001).

Kelling & Coles (1996 : 168) identifies three requirements for the implementation of effective public order maintenance:

i) A community-police partnership should form the basis of public order maintenance as community participation in planning as well as consensus on what specific action should be taken, is essential.

ii) It is essential that order maintenance policing be executed within the framework of constitutional rights of all residents and that order be allowed to progress within this context.

iii) Legal authority that will allow police the necessary discretion without negatively impacting on citizen rights, needs to be established.

Regarding the view that community policing is a "soft" approach, Kelling & Coles (1996 : 162) argue that it is in fact more aggressive than re-active policing as it requires a continuous commitment to public order maintenance and problem-solving with the necessary intervention in community life. "Community policing,

with its focus on order maintenance and problem-solving, is by its very nature more aggressive and interventionist than traditional 911 policing" (Kelling & Coles, 1996 : 164). It is thus not surprising that the maintenance of public order has recently become known as the Zero Tolerance Approach (Groenewald, 2002 : 7).

This inevitably raises the question whether police are indeed infringing on the rights of offenders if they act against disorderly behaviour and thereby "criminalizing" offences like public drunkenness and vagrancy (Wilson & Kelling, 1982 : 10). Dixon (2000 : 77) accordingly argues that zero tolerance, if seen by the public as aggressive policing, may in the long term have a negative effect on the public's confidence in the police, something that a country like South Africa cannot afford.

In response to such reasoning, Wilson & Kelling (1982 : 10 - 11) maintain that the "decriminalisation" of disorderly behaviour would be a "mistake" as the collective result of all offenders being allowed their behaviour, could have a devastating effect on community life. They are further of the opinion that public order maintenance is a function that every community wants the police to perform. Groenewald (2002 : 7) cautions that the term "zero tolerance" might in fact be construed as the police not being compassionate enough or repressing civil liberties. He argues that the approach does not indicate intolerance, but confidence, confidence of the police officer that he/she can adequately deal with public disorder, and confidence of the public that the police are protecting them

from criminal activities while upholding the laws of civil liberties (Groenewald, 2002 : 7).

The researcher found that only a limited number of scholars regard the maintenance of public order as an element of community policing. The opinion is, however, offered that public order maintenance is in fact closely related to problem-solving when executed in consultation with the community.

It is clear from the above discussion on the principles of community policing that these elements are inter related and that successful results from one depends on the successful implementation of the others.

3.6 IMPLEMENTATION

Oliver (1998 : 288) regards implementation as "the most critical aspect of community-orientated policing." There, however, does not exist a pre-determined plan that can be followed by any police organisation to implement community policing as each policing organisation is unique and therefore requires a different approach (Oliver, 1990 : 296).

Ziembo-Vogl & Woods (1998 : 1) emphasize the need for community policing to be regarded as an organisational philosophy if successful implementation is to be achieved and maintain that problems with implementation can usually be traced back to police organisations' failure to adapt in accordance to this philosophy.

For community policing to be implemented successfully, it must be "tailor made" for the specific community as it should be responsive to community needs (RSA, Department of Safety and Security, 1997 : 24).

Comparative studies of the implementation of community policing by a number of policing departments in the United States of America, however, indicate five generally accepted stages:

TABLE 1 Implementation Stages of Community-Oriented Policing

Stage		Estimated Timetable
I	Planning	6 months to 2 years
II	Micro-community-oriented policing	1 ½ to 4 years
III	Transitional	2 ½ to 7 years
IV	Macro-community-oriented policing	4 ½ to 10 years
V	Community-oriented policing	6 ½ to 14 years

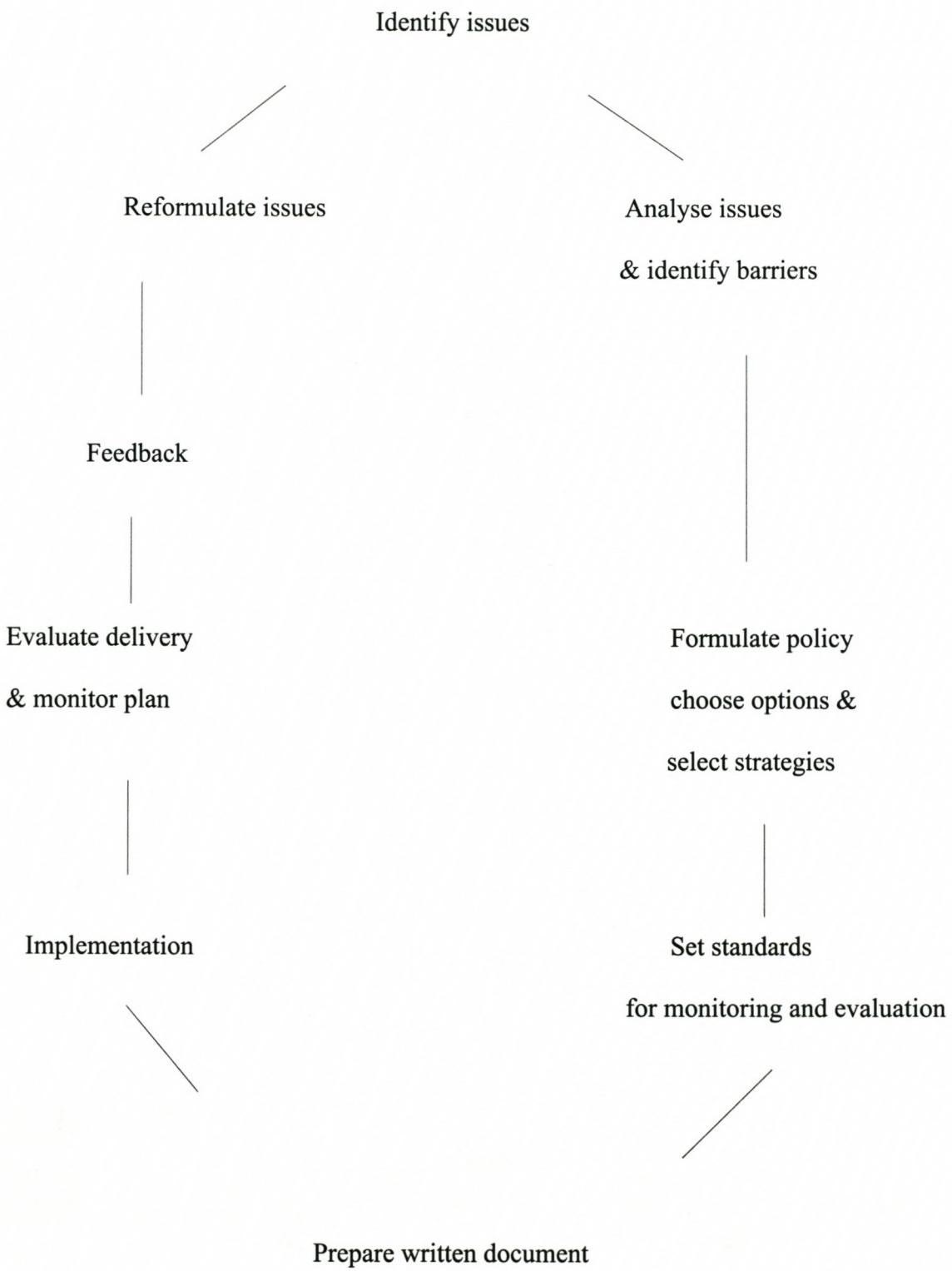
Source : Oliver (1998 : 297)

i) Stage 1 : Planning

This stage entails the development of a plan for long-term and short-term goals of implementation. Policing is formulated here and strong emphasis is placed on community participation (Oliver, 1998 : 297 - 298).

The Community Policing Consortium (2002 b : 1) emphasises the need for a strategic planning process which it regards as a policy-making process.

FIGURE 3.3 : A POLICY MAKING PROCESS



Source : Community Policing Consortium (2002 b : 1)

ii) Stage 2 : Micro-community-orientated Policing

This includes the testing of the components of community policing. A special team that will be on a full time basis responsible for implementation, is appointed here (Oliver, 1998 : 303).

iii) Stage 3 : Transitional Stage

The police department begins to apply the systematic approach and requires that all police officers be informed, at least to some degree, on the principles of community policing. Some involvement towards full implementation needs to be made (Oliver, 1998 : 307).

iv) Stage 4 : Macro-community-orientated Policing

This stage should give effect to full implementation of community orientated policing and requires organisational-wide execution (Oliver, 1998 : 311).

v) Stage 5 : Community-orientated Policing

The final stage is marked by the "institutionalisation" of community policing and requires the actual achievement of decentralisation, implementation of the components of community policing and significant community empowerment in terms of decision-making (Oliver, 1998 : 313 - 314).

For community policing to be implemented successfully, it must, according to Trojanowicz (1996 : 1), be fully supported by the following key role players:

i) Police;

ii) Community;

iii) Political representatives;

iv) Social support agencies; and

v) The media.

According to Hendickx & Van Ryckeghem (1999 : 3), the implementation of community policing, especially in the United States, is usually limited to the establishment of a specific service within a police department. They attribute these limitations *inter alia* to the lack of a sound theoretical foundation for community policing which resulted in it "being implemented from traditional police thinking and assumptions" (Hendickx & Van Ryckeghem, 1999 : 4).

It is evident from the above that the implementation of community policing by any policing agency, demands the total institutionalization of this philosophy.

3.7 COMMUNITY PATROL OFFICER

The community patrol officer (CPO) plays an important role in the establishment of sound community-police relations. He acts as a community problem solver and an innovator who searches for new solutions. He is also regarded as a catalyst who involves

community members in identifying and addressing the underlying causes of crime (Van Rooyen, 1994 :128) and encouraging the community to seek for and explore potential solutions to their problems (Trojanowicz, 1998 : 3).

CPOs are generalists rather than specialists as they also need to deal with other agencies that are taking part in the problem solving process (Wilson & Kelling, 1989 : 7). As it is expected of CPOs to realise that solving the problems that lead to crime is more important than to react to the occurrence of crime, it is important that such officers be granted the liberty to explore potential solutions as well as to implement same (Trojanowicz, 1996 : 1 - 4).

The CPO assists the community by meeting with community members on an individual basis and in groups in order to discuss specific problems that may be underlying causes of crime as well as ways and means of how the community can effectively deal with such cases (Trojanowicz, 1998 : 4).

Their close co-operation with the community places them at a unique position to act as sources for information to the community and to obtain information on criminals and criminal activities from the community (Van Rooyen, 1994 : 133).

Van Rooyen (1994 : 128) assigns the following functions to the CPO:

"Problem solver;

- innovator;
- public relations officer and information source;

- ombudsman and peacemaker;
- positive role model;
- law-enforcer and visible deterrent;
- specialist in crime prevention;
- friend, comforter and helper;
- community activator; and
- police ambassador"

According to the Community Policing Consortium (2002 a : 1 - 2) community policing requires officer profiles that are distinctly different from that of traditional policing. It identifies the following requirements on patrol level:

"• cultural diversity;
- creativity;
- mediation;
- approachability;
- initiative;
- independence;
- critical reasoning;
- analytical ability;
- community organization;
- decision-making;
- problem-solving; and
- team building."

For supervisory/management level, requirements are listed as:

"• leadership;

- communication;
- listening;
- innovation;
- consultation;
- mentoring;
- motivating;
- facilitating;
- team-building; and
- problem-solving."

In view of the above, it can be argued that the average patrol officer would not necessarily be an efficient community patrol officer and that police training curricula should make adequate provision for community policing subjects.

3.8 FEAR, PUBLIC ORDER MAINTENANCE AND FOOT PATROL

The positive aspects of fear is that it cautions the community to be alert, which results in the reduction of opportunities for criminals. It further motivates residents to take preventative steps and encourages public support for crime control programmes. High levels of fear that generate negative behaviour can, however, result in fear becoming a social problem (Oliver, 1998 : 33).

Killias, in Pantazis (2000 : 415) identifies the following three (3) factors that can be responsible for the creation of fear:

- non-negligible risk;
- loss of control; and
- anticipation of serious consequences.

The central goal of community policing is to reduce fear (Oliver, 1998 : 22).

Kelling & Coles (1996 : 3 - 4) ask the question why manifestations of disorder, for instance prostitution and panhandling, are regarded as priorities by residents, despite the presence of violent crimes. They argue that this can be attributed to the fact that residents' experience of crime includes disorder and fear of crime as much as it includes serious crime. As residents have to deal on a daily basis with the manifestations of disorder and fear, they demand that appropriate action be taken.

The fear experienced by the community should thus be addressed with the same intensity as actual crime, since it is the community's perception that a specific area is unsafe that could create social isolation which invites further public disorder and degeneration (NCPC, 1994 : 3).

Albert Biderman's 1967 finding that fear of crime is strongly related to public disorder should have been central to devising policing strategies as fear has a significant influence on community behaviour. This relationship was, however, largely ignored until the

1980s (Kelling & Coles, 1996 : 11). Biderman's findings were supported by Wilson & Kelling's 1982 article "Broken Windows" which was based on results from the Newark Foot Patrol Experiment (Kelling & Coles, 1996 : 20) mentioned earlier in the study (Paragraph 5.8).

The Foot Patrol Experiment formed part of a larger study that was aimed at gathering empirical data on strategies to reduce fear of crime, improve the quality of life and to enhance resident satisfaction with police (Police Foundation 2002 : 1).

Strategies included:

i) door-to-door visits;

ii) distribution of a newsletter to the residents;

iii) establishment of a community service centre; and

iv) foot patrol.

The results indicated that the strategies that involved police-community interaction had a significant impact on fear reduction (Police Foundation 2002 : 1 - 3).

The foot patrols were found to be extremely popular with the residents and resulted in the dramatic reduction of fear. The reason for the foot patrols' dramatic effect on community fear was contributed firstly to the enhanced awareness of police presence and secondly to the management and control of public disorder by the police officers on patrol who received the mandate for such action directly from the community (Kelling & Coles, 1996 : 19).

Having established the relationship between fear and disorder as empirical fact, Wilson & Kelling formulated their famous "Broken Windows" theory in an attempt to describe the relationship between disorder and crime (Kelling & Coles, 1996 : 19 - 20).

By using the analogy of a broken window, Wilson & Kelling (1982 : 4 - 5) describes how untended property/disorderly behaviour results in further degeneration as it indicates vulnerability to criminal activities which in turn invites such behaviour (see 3.5.8 Public Order Maintenance). The "Broken Windows" theory which suggests a relationship between disorder and crime could, however, only be empirically verified in 1990 with the publishing of Professor Wesley Skogan's "Disorder and Decline : Crime and the Spiral of Decay in American Neighbourhoods" (Kelling and Coles, 1996 : 24). In his study, Skogan made three important findings which are listed by Kelling and Coles (1996 : 25) as follows:

i) Community members' individual views on what behaviour constituted disorder as well as the extent of the disorder that was present in a specific area, generally concurred with each other.

ii) A direct link between disorder and crime was identified.

iii) Public disorder had a significant impact on the general decline of the area.

Disorder, "both directly and through crime ..... plays an important role in neighbourhood decline. 'Broken windows' do need to be repaired quickly" (Skogan as quoted in Kelling & Coles (1996 : 25).

Policing success should thus no longer be determined on the grounds of arrest and crime statistics only, issues like fear and quality of life should also be considered (Oliver, 1998 : 53).

In the opinion of the researcher, the establishment of a relationship between disorder, fear and crime, clearly shows the relevance that public order maintenance holds for problem-solving and thus for community policing.

3.9 IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY POLICING IN SOUTH AFRICA

As mentioned earlier in this chapter (paragraph 3.5.3), the need for police - community consultation has been entrenched in the Interim Constitution of South Africa of 1993 with the requirement that Community Police Forums (CPF) be established. This is seen as an attempt to create formal structures that would ensure adequate community consultation (Stevens & Yach, 1995 : 65).

Chapter 7 of the South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act no 68 of 1995) also provides for and regulates the establishment of Community Police Forums and Boards.

The SAPS community policing policy was according to Pelser (1999 a : 10) articulated in a document of the Department of Safety and Security entitled "Community Policing Policy Framework and Guidelines", published in 1997. In addition, the SAPS has committed itself officially to the implementation of community policing as a national strategy (Shearing, 1998 : 4) and adopted it as its "operational philosophy (Bruce, 1997

: 29)."

Despite these efforts, the successful implementation of community policing is still being hampered by a number of obstacles. These challenges include the following:

i) **Community Policing is viewed as limited to the functions of CPFs**

CPFs exist today at most police stations in South Africa, although some may exist in name only. It is also most likely that the establishment of CPFs represents the only expression of community policing in South Africa (Pelser, 1999 a : 10) and that community policing is thus seen by the SAPS "as being synonymous with CPFs" (Pelser, 1999 b : 11).

Rather than implementing community policing as an organisational philosophy that impacts on all functions of the organisation, the SAPS choose according to Pelser (1999 a : 13) to focus only on those elements that can be executed through formal consultative forums. In practice, this is limited to those functions associated with the establishment and maintenance of CPF's (Pelser, 1999 a : 13). Pelser *et al* (2002 : 38) agrees that the establishment of CPF's is almost the only focus of community policing implementation efforts by the SAPS.

According to Pelser (1999 b : 11), a Departmental Technical Team on Community Policing expressed its concern regarding this practise already in 1995 and warned that this almost exclusive focus on CPF's would have a

detrimental effect to alternative implementation possibilities and to "the empowerment of individual police officers to practice community policing as part of their day-to-day responsibilities".

ii) **Dysfunctional CPFs**

Mbhele (1998 : 9) questions the viability of CPFs as vehicles of fostering trust and co-operation between police and community, especially in black communities.

Based on the findings of his 1998 research on the performance of CPFs in Kwazulu-Natal, Mbhele (1998 : 9 - 12), identifies the following factors that contribute to the perception that CPFs are not successful in executing the functions they were intended for:

i) Insufficient support and protection from the police.

ii) Collapse of CPFs as a result of a lack of police co-operation.

iii) Police involvement in criminal activities result in a loss of community faith in the police.

iv) CPF concept has not received enough publicity. Community members are not aware of the existence of CPFs and generally do not know what it stands for.

v) CPF members are being targeted by criminals for working with the police.

vi) Policemen see CPFs as a watchdog and thus feel threatened.

vii) Political power struggles with a CPF on who should control these structures.

viii) Policemen are not sure what role community members are expected to play in these structures. They might thus regard it as an intrusion in their work.

ix) Some CPFs are only serving the interests of a particular political group and are not representative of the community.

x) Police attempt to use CPF members as informants and do not regard them as partners.

Mistry (1996 : 2) supports Mbhele's observation that CPF members in the historically black areas tend to align themselves according to political parties. Political parties view CPFs as instruments to further their political agendas (Mistry, 1996 : 3).

iii) **Absence of an Identifiable Community**

The fragmented nature of South African society makes it very difficult to clearly define "community" (Pelser, 1999 a : 10).

Pelser (1999 b : 6) regards community as a "form of association that may exist in varying and across different localities". He, however, cautions that such a relationship may not have developed in a specific locality to such an extent that

a "community" may be identifiable.

Accordingly, the Unicity Commission's 2001 report on Safety and Crime Prevention regards community cohesion as a requirement for communities to agree to norms and values that will enable them to take responsibility for informal social control. The existence of such community cohesion is, however, not in all instances present and this means that there does not in all instances exist a "community". Developing community cohesion should thus be a point of departure (Unicom, 2001 b : 95).

Wrongly assuming the existence of a "community" can result in the exclusion of certain residents and the politisation of community policing efforts (Pelser, 1999 b : 7).

iv) **Communal Complicity in Crime**

Another major concern is that many communities may in fact display a "communal complicity in crime" as a result of extreme poverty (Pelser, 1999 b : 7). "Communities are often portrayed as the antithesis of violence and crime. On the contrary, however, the collective values of a community may serve to stimulate and sustain criminality" (Crawford in Pelser, 1999 b : 8).

v) **Institutional Capacity**

The institutional capacity of SAPS is another factor which may be detrimental to implementation of the policy. The police's ability to empower communities by means of innovative programmes, in the face of severe resource limitations, is questionable (Pelser, 1999 b : 8).

It is evident from the above that South Africa has its own unique problems with the implementation of community policing. It is also clear that much of these problems are the result of the fact that community policing has not been properly institutionalized in the SAPS and it can only be hoped that the newly-established municipal police services realize this critical requirement.

3.10 CONCLUSION

Judging from this chapter, it is clear that community policing represents a very important development in policing in democratic societies. This is underscored by its growing popularity in law enforcement agencies in recent years.

Its strong emphasis on removing the causes of crime by means of problem-solving resonates with Sir Robert Peel's 1825 view that police effectiveness should be measured by the absence of crime and not visible action, as well as the recent global shift towards crime prevention and pro-active policing.

The proven relationship between disorder, fear and serious crime, represents in the opinion of the researcher a vital argument for community policing as it highlights the importance of policing be directed by community needs and priorities.

However, despite its popularity and proven potential benefits in terms of crime prevention and community empowerment, this policing philosophy is rarely implemented to the full. As discussed in this chapter, South Africa is no exception as the community policing efforts of the national police service are usually limited to the functions related to formal consultative forums and rarely includes the redirection of patrol functions.

The researcher is, however, of the opinion that the recent establishment of municipal police services provides an ideal opportunity for the focussed implementation of community policing as these services are founded in, and more directly accountable to, the local population. This view will be further explored in Chapter 4 where empirical data in respect of the implementation of community policing by the Cape Town City Police, will be analysed and discussed.

CHAPTER 4

DATA GATHERING AND ANALYSIS

Apart from the extensive literature study presented in Chapters 2 and 3, the research methodology followed in the study also includes a variety of empirical research methods. The empirical research was conducted between 14 March and 30 August 2002 and resulted in sufficient data gathered to address the research questions. The methods included self-administrated questionnaires, unstructured interviews, personal observations and unobstructive research. The specific unobstructive research methods used were a study of official documentation and content analysis. The data gathered by means of empirical research will be presented.

4.1 DATA GATHERED BY MEANS OF SURVEYS, UNSTRUCTURED INTERVIEWS, PERSONAL OBSERVATIONS AND THE STUDY OF OFFICIAL DOCUMENTATION.

Two (2) surveys were conducted for purposes of this study. Both Questionnaires A and B (See Annexures A & B) were divided into different sections that each represents a key principle of community policing as contained in the definition adopted for purposes of this study (See Chapter 3).

These sections are as follows and will be used as basis for the data presentation, as well

as the data analysis.

A. Philosophy;

B. Partnership;

C. Personalised Patrol and Consultation;

D. Structured Consultation;

E. Pro-active Conduct;

F. Problem-Solving;

G. Dealing with Public Disorder;

H. Decentralization of Powers; and

I. Accountability.

Questionnaire A is aimed at obtaining patrol officer input and was directed at Constables and Sergeants of the Cape Town City Police. 200 copies of Questionnaire A were distributed and 79 (38%) were returned.

Questionnaire B was directed at Operational Middle Management Staff of the Cape Town City Police. Eleven copies of Questionnaire B were distributed and 8 (73%) were returned. The data gathered during these surveys as well as the unstructured interviews, personal observations and the studying of official documentation, will be presented and analysed.

A. **Philosophy**

1) Table 2 : Survey results : Percentage of City Police Functions that can be classified under community policing.

	Patrol Officer	**Middle Management**
0% to 30%	17%	-
31% to 50%	16.5%	62.5%
51% to 70%	13.9%	-
71% to 80%	19%	37.5%
81% to 90%	11.9%	-
91% to 100%	15.29%	-

The results show a wide spread of opinions on this matter, which represents in the opinion of the researcher a clear lack of understanding of the importance of institutionalizing community policing in the City Police.

2) Table 3 : Survey Results : Requirement to connect with the community.

	Patrol Officer	**Middle Management**
Yes	92.4%	100%
No	3.8%	-
Unsure	3.8%	-

It is clear from the above that City Police Officers are well aware of the fact that they are expected to initiate contact with members of the community.

3) Table 4 : Survey Results : Adequate support from supervisory level for community policing.

	Patrol Officer
Yes	43%
No	40.5%
Unsure	12.7%

The respondents are clearly divided on this issue and the results reflect in the opinion of the researcher the level of commitment of supervisory staff to the principles of community policing.

The results are, however, fairly subjective as it is based on the opinions of patrol officers and also assumes that the patrol officer would possess adequate knowledge to make such a judgement.

4) Table 5 : Survey Results : Description of community policing.

	Patrol Officer
A specialised strategy that can be used to police the community.	1.3%

Partnership between police and community that aims to promote trust and communication.	97.5%
An attempt by the community to tell the police what to do and how to do it.	1.3%

The overwhelming response shows that patrol officers have at least a clear basic understanding of what community policing entails.

5) Table 6 : Survey Results : Perception of City Police Officers of themselves.

	Patrol Officer	**Middle Management**
Law Enforcer	19%	12.5%
Peace Officer	81%	87.5%

The fact that the overwhelming majority of respondents see themselves as peace officers instead of law enforcers, represents in the opinion of the researcher a significant step towards the implementation of community policing as the acceptance of these officers of their role can have a major impact on other implementation efforts.

6) Table 7 : Survey Results : Main purpose of City Police's involvement in its areas of deployment.

	Patrol Officer
Getting rid of criminals	11.4%
Improving the quality of life of residents	15.2%
Bring down the levels of crime	46.8%
Upholding law and order	29.1%

The low response in terms of quality of life improvement can be interpreted as reason for concern as it is one of the main objectives of community policing. However, the majority response for "bringing down the levels of crime", indicates adequate progress towards community policing.

7) a) Table 8 : Survey Results : Have any steps been taken towards the institutionalization of community policing in the City Police?

	Middle Management
Yes	75%
No	-
Unsure	25%

The positive response is supported by the comments of the Deputy Chief : Operations that were made during an unstructured

interview. The Deputy Chief was of the opinion that the establishment of a new police service presented an ideal opportunity for the institutionalization of community policing and confirmed that adequate steps have been taken to take full advantage of this opportunity.

b) Table 9 : Survey Results : If no to (a), is it management's intention to take such steps over the following 12 month period?

	Middle Management
Yes	50%
No	-
Unsure	50%

Observations at a Municipal Police Seminar held at Philippi from 20 - 23 May 2002 revealed that attendees who included representatives from a number of municipal police services, had a limited understanding of what community policing entails.

This conclusion was reached after observing participants in work groups that were formed to discuss practical applications of the contents of the presentation on community policing. Two of the four work groups could be observed and it was clear that the participants tended to present their contributions from a more traditional policing perspective.

It is interesting to note that these work groups included a number of Cape Town City Police Officers who received training in community policing.

This finding raises the question of whether the course content on community policing that is being presented at the Municipal Police College is in fact adequate in terms of ensuring the institutionalization of community policing. This issue will be further investigated later on in this chapter when content analysis will be performed on the relevant course material.

B Partnership

1) Table 10 : Survey Results : Rating of precincts' relationship with local community : Scale of 1 - 10 where 10 is excellent and 1 is very poor.

	Patrol Officer
1 - 2	6.3%
3 - 5	32.9%
6 - 8	39.2%
9 - 10	63%

As can be seen from the above, the majority of patrol officers feel that they have a healthy relationship with the local communities. It is likely

that this can be attributed, at least in part, to the Service's community policing efforts.

2) Table 11 : Survey Results : Active pursuance of the establishment of working relationships with community groups and other service providers.

	Patrol Officer	**Middle Management**
Yes	53.2%	100%
No	26.6%	-
Unsure	15.2%	-

Although the majority patrol officer respondents indicated active pursuance of working relationships with community, the percentage who do not agree or who are unsure, is significant and it is clear that management expectancy in this regard needs to be filtered down more effectively.

3) Table 12 : Survey Results : Rating of community acceptance of City Police presence.

	Patrol Officer
The majority are pleased with City Police presence	75.9%

Only a minority are pleased with City Police presence	16.5%
City Police are not welcome	5.1%

It is likely that this positive attitude of the community towards the City Police can be attributed, at least in part, to the Service's community policing efforts. The results are, however, highly subjective as it only reflects the opinions of patrol officers.

4) a) Table 13 : Survey Results : Has the City Police entered into a partnership with the local communities in the areas of deployment?

	Middle Management
Yes	75%
No	25%
Unsure	-

b) Table 14 : Survey Results : If no to (a), are any attempts being made to allow for community participation in policing matters?

	Middle Management
Yes	-
No	50%
Unsure	50%

The results indicate the existence of an adequate foundation for the implementation of other elements of community policing. However, it is the researcher's opinion that the 25% negative response needs to be addressed as soon as possible, as significant progress in terms of community policing will be severely hampered in those communities where partnerships have not been established.

5) Table 15 : Survey Results : Provision in strategic plans for the next 12 months for the community to accept a measure of responsibility for the prevention of crime.

	Middle Management
Yes	100%
No	-
Unsure	-

The results can be interpreted as a positive indication that City Police Management is aware of the fact that the police will not be able to deal with the high levels of crime on their own and that community buy-in is a necessity.

6) Table 16 : Survey Results : Conducting of regular surveys to determine the level of community satisfaction with the City Police.

	Middle Management
Yes	12.5%
No	50%
Unsure	37.5%

It is clear from the above that this important requirement, if policing is to be conducted in accordance to the community's needs and concerns, is not being met by the City Police.

7) Table 17 : Survey Results : Existence of Police Service Contracts between the City Police and communities in areas of deployment.

	Middle Management
Yes	12.5%
No	62.5%
Unsure	25%

The fact that no service contracts have been entered into, does not necessarily indicate a lack of community consultation from the City Police. It is, however, the researcher's opinion that formal agreements between the City Police and the respective communities should be pursued as it will serve both as a directive that would ensure effective

community policing, as well and as a means of giving an assurance to the community of what they can expect from the City Police.

C Personalised Patrol

1) Table 18 : Survey Results : Percentage of duty time spent on patrol.

	Patrol Officer
0% to 30%	1.3%
31% to 50%	2.5%
52% to 70%	16.5%
71% to 80%	17.7%
81% to 90%	22.9%
91% to 100%	38%

It is significant to note that only 3.8 % of the respondents spend less than 50% of their duty time on patrol functions. The high percentage of City police officers on patrol is conducive to the service's core function, namely that of crime prevention.

2) a) Table 19 : Survey results : Contact with community members while on patrol. See comments under 2 (b).

	Patrol Officer
Yes	100%
No	-

b) Table 20 : Survey Results : Frequency of personal contact.

	Patrol Officer
On a daily basis	89.9%
Once a week	8.9%
Once every two weeks	1.3%
Once a month	-

The results clearly show that the City Police are in constant daily contact with local communities. This fact can, in the opinion of the researcher, have a major impact on the future successful implementation of community policing since efficient communication will be the basis of any community policing efforts.

3) Table 21 : Survey Results : Main form of patrol.

	Patrol Officer	Middle Management
Vehicle patrol	39.2%	62.5%
Foot patrol	73.4%	25%
Bicycle patrol	1.3%	-
Patrol on horseback	1.3%	-

It is clear that foot patrol plays a significant role and will in the opinion of the researcher, provide sufficient opportunities for personalised patrols. Unstructured interviews with members of the City Police further revealed that foot patrols cannot be accommodated at all in certain areas due to the prevailing high level of violent attacks on police officers in those areas.

4) Table 22 : Survey Results : Percentage of patrol time committed to foot patrol.

	Patrol Officer	Middle Management
1% to 25%	16.5%	25%
26% to 50%	15.2%	50%
51% to 75%	7.6%	25%
76% to 100%	58.2%	-

The results confirm the researcher's comments in (3) above.

5) Table 23 : Survey Results : Experience of foot patrol in terms of crime prevention.

	Patrol Officer	**Middle Management**
It is a waste of time	1.3%	-
Slightly successful	39.2%	12.5%
It is effective as a deterrent to crime	60.8%	87.5%

The majority opinion that foot patrol is an effective deterrent to crime corresponds with the community policing requirement of personalised patrols. The opinions will most probably be based on personal experiences and should be regarded as subjective.

6) a) Table 24 : Survey Results : Assignment of patrol officers

	Patrol Officer	**Middle Management**
Officers are rotated	72.2%	50%
Officers are assigned on a permanent basis	25.3%	50%

See comments under 6(b).

b) Table 25 : Survey Results : If (a) is rotated, how often do the

same officers patrol the same area?

	Patrol Officer	Middle Management
Twice a week	22.8%	-
Once a week	22.8%	50%
Once every 2 weeks	11.4%	25%
Once a month	17.7%	25%

The majority of the respondents indicated that patrol officers are assigned on a rotational basis to a specific area and that the same officers patrol the same area once or twice a week. This arrangement, although not ideal in terms of community policing requirements, would in the opinion of the researcher provide at least some opportunities for patrol officers to build personal relationships with members of the community.

7) Table 26 : Survey results : Patrol Officers consult with community members on what may be the causes of crime.

	Patrol Officer	Middle Management
Yes	84.9%	100%
No	15.2%	-

As can be seen from the above, the overwhelming majority of the respondents indicated that City Police Officers are indeed adhering to this

critical requirement of community policing.

D. Structured Consultation

1) Table 27 : Survey Results : City Police Attendance of CPF meetings or other consultative forums.

	Patrol Officer	Middle Management
Yes	19%	100%
No	81%	-

Although it is acceptable in terms of community policing requirements that even a small percentage of patrol officers attend CPF meetings, the survey results do not indicate sufficient support for structured consultation and the City Police will have to ensure adequate attendance if it wishes to practise effective community policing.

2) Table 28 : Survey Results : Main function of a CPF.

	Patrol Officer	Middle Management
To enable joint problem solving	40.5%	75%

Improve police-community communication	39.2%	25%
To foster mutual trust	-	12.5%
Establish an equal working relationship	7.6%	-

Middle Management's realization that CPFs should focus on the solving of community problems, is in the opinion of the researcher a necessary requirement if the City Police is to contribute significantly to CPFs. The results display adequate understanding of the ultimate goal of structural consultation, namely joint problem solving. As discussed in Chapter 3, the capacity of CPFs, in terms of problem-solving is, however, questionable and it is therefore disputable whether City Police perceptions of what the main focus of CPFs should be, will have any significant impact on the practical performance of CPFs.

3) Table 29 : Survey Results : Ranks involved in meetings of CPFs or other community forums.

	Patrol Officer	**Middle Management**
Constable	6.3%	12.5%
Sergeant	30.4%	25%

Precinct Commander	40.5%	62.5%
Asst Divisional Commander	-	50%
Divisional Commander	-	25%
Unsure	13.9%	-

It is clear from the above that Constables are not involved in meetings of CPFs. The rank of Sergeant is, however, also regarded as a patrol officer and the results thus indicate, as mentioned under (1), sufficient support for structured consultation.

4) Table 30 : Survey Results : Determining of policing priorities in accordance to community needs.

	Middle Management
Yes	75%
No	25%
Don't know	-

As the results indicate, an overwhelming response that indicates that policing priorities are determined in accordance to community needs, it is the researcher's opinion that a very important requirement of community policing has been met by the City Police.

5) Table 31 : Survey Results : Community involvement with compilation of City Police operational plan.

	Middle Management
The community was involved in every aspect	-
The community was afforded the opportunity to give input	100%
The community was not consulted at all	-
Unsure	-

This table indicates limited community involvement in the compilation of the City Police's operational plan.

Further examination of the Cape Town City Police's Annual Police Plan for the period 1 July 2002 to 30 June 2003, reveals that the Chairpersons of the CPFs that are active in the areas of deployment of the City Police, were invited to a two-hour workshop for this purpose (City of Cape Town, 2002 b : 22 - 26).

It is the researcher's opinion that the City Police need to embark on a wider public participation process if the requirements of community policing are to be met.

6) Table 32 : Survey Results : Interaction with community organisations/groups.

	Middle Management
Yes	75%
No	25%

The response indicates sufficient interaction with community organisations/groups.

7) Table 33 : Survey Results : Conducting of Safety Audits to establish the extent of crime threats against specific communities.

	Middle Management
Yes	37.5%
No	12.5%
Unsure	50%

A schedule of Safety Audits was obtained from the Acting Head of Social Crime Prevention of the City Police. This schedule (City of Cape Town, 2002 f) indicates that Safety Audits have been completed for Emm Street, Lentegeur, Tafelsig and Woodlands. It also indicates that a further seven (7) Safety Audits are currently being conducted for other crime infested areas.

In studying the results of these Safety Audits, it is interesting to note that

a significant portion of the root causes of fear of crime and crime, as identified by the respondents, are factors that should be effectively addressed by merely delivering adequate local government services. These factors include, *inter alia,* the maintenance of public facilities, council buildings and fencing, the removal of visual obstacles, providing adequate lighting and providing adequate signage.

It is the opinion of the researcher that the above highlights the importance of policing at community level and thus the importance of municipal police services adopting a community-orientated approach. These results also highlight a critical need within the community for a policing approach that adequately addresses the solving of community problems, and thus once again, the need for community policing.

A Senior Official at the Western Cape Department of Community Safety, who is tasked with issues relating to Municipal Policing, emphasized during an unstructured interview, the importance of the fact that both structured consultation and consultation as a patrol function, are required for community policing to be effective.

He was furthermore of the opinion that policing by consent was the only viable option for a municipal police service as such services are expected to be accountable to the local population.

As a result, he strongly recommended that the Cape Town City Police firmly adopt the principles of community policing and reiterated that if this policing method could be properly institutionalized, it will enable the City Police to effectively prevent crime.

E. Pro-Active Conduct

1) Table 34 : Survey Results : Percentage of City Police functions committed to crime prevention.

	Patrol Officer	Middle Management
0% to 30%	11.4%	-
31% to 50%	12.2%	12.5%
51% to 70%	25.3%	37.5%
71% to 80%	12.7%	50%
81% to 90%	22.8%	-
91% to 100%	12.7%	-

This table indicates diverse application of crime prevention functions. It is, however, significant to note that the overwhelming majority of respondents indicated that more than 50% of their functions are committed to crime prevention.

2) Table 35 : Survey Results : Primary focus of crime prevention patrols.

	Patrol Officer	**Middle Management**
Being visible	81%	75%
As many arrests as possible	1.3%	12.5%
Consulting with public	8.9%	-
Establishing the causes of crime	16.5%	25%

While it is accepted that the majority response, namely "being visible", represents an important element of pro-active policing, the researcher is of the opinion that the low response in respect of "establishing the causes of crime", will have to be addressed if optimal pro-active policing is to be achieved.

3) Table 36 : Survey Results : Pro-active or reactive policing.

	Patrol Officer
Pro-active	32.9%
Reactive	1.3%
Both	63.3%

The results indicate sufficient pro-active conduct.

4) Table 37 : Survey Results : Opinion on effective addressing of crime.

	Patrol Officer
Faster and better reaction when a criminal act has been committed	45.6%
Attempting to remove the root causes of crime.	59.5%

The results indicate a clear division among City Police Officers and highlight in the opinion of the researcher, a limited understanding of the value of pro-active policing. This limited understanding is bound to influence the focus of patrol and needs to be addressed if optimal pro-active policing is to be achieved.

F **Problem Solving**

1) Table 38 : Survey Results : Main purpose of patrols.

	Patrol Officer
To be available to react when something happens	45.6%
To identify specific problems in the area of patrol	59.5%

This survey question is closely related to E(2) and (4) and in fact reflects

similar results.

2) Table 39 : Survey Results : Is City Police responsible to educate members of the community about crime-related issues?

	Patrol Officer
Yes	91.1%
No	3.8%
Unsure	5.1%

It is clear that the majority of the respondents are aware of the fact that they are expected to perform this important function.

3) Table 40 : Survey Results : Have you ever been expected to assist a member of the community in solving a problem?

	Patrol Officer
Yes	96.2%
No	3.8%

The response is indicative of the need for problem-orientated policing that exists in the community.

4) Table 41 : Survey Results : Is it a Police Officer's function to assist the community in solving a problem?

	Patrol Officer
Yes	91.1%
No	7.6%
Unsure	1.3%

Once again, the overwhelming positive response indicated sufficient awareness among City Police Officers of what is expected of them in terms of this particular aspect of problem-solving.

5) a) Table 42 : Survey Results : Have you ever been in a situation where you were required to refer a member of the community to another agency for assistance?

	Patrol Officer
Yes	65.9%
No	29.1%

b) Table 43 : Survey Results : If Yes to (a), how often does it happen?

	Patrol Officer
Once a week	34.6%
Twice a week	23%
Once every two weeks	19.2%
Once a month	16.5%

The response is indicative of the need for problem-orientated policing that exists in the community.

The frequency of such requests require that a network of supporting agencies be identified and their co-operation be secured.

6) Table 44 : Survey Results : Availability of contacting details of other agencies that can assist in solving community problems.

	Patrol Officer
Yes	39.2%
No	60.8%

The results indicate inadequate response to requests by the public to be referred to other agencies which can assist with particular problems. It thus highlights the need for a supporting network to be identified as mentioned in F(5).

7) Table 45 : Survey Results : Agreement on the notion that police should serve as an early warning system that can alert social and welfare groups of new problems which they should take note of.

	Patrol Officer
Yes	64.6%

No	11.4%
Unsure	21.5%

The overwhelming positive response indicates in the opinion of the researcher, sufficient awareness amongst the respondents that they are expected to assist in the identification of community problems.

8) Table 46 : Survey Results : Are problem solving techniques being applied in the CPF's active in the City Police's area of deployment.

	Patrol Officer	**Middle Management**
Yes	30.4%	37.5%
No	22.8%	25%
Unsure	39.2%	37.5%

The results indicate widespread uncertainty and thus a definite lack of focused problem-solving.

9) Table 47 : Survey Results : Featuring of the following issues in the agendas of CPF's or other consultative forums.

	Patrol Officer	**Middle Management**
Identify causes of crime	15.2%	37.5%

Analysing the problems identified	12.7%	25%
Devising and implementing solutions	8.9%	25%
Identifying causes and implementing solutions without analysing causes and devising proper solutions	19%	37.5%
Unsure	30.4%	-

Given the fact that Constables, who represent the vast majority of patrol officers and therefore the vast majority of respondents, are not involved in CPF meetings (See D3), the results presented in Tables 46 and 47 may be a highly subjective reflection of the opinions of patrol officers in terms of what should be discussed at CPF meetings.

During the course of the research period, the researcher attended various meetings of the CPFs functioning within the areas of deployment of the City Police. Here it became abundantly clear that focused problem-solving is not engaged in and that the forums' meetings are mainly used by community representatives as opportunities to attempt to influence and comment on police planning, and by the police as sessions where

feedback and statistics are presented.

Observations of the City Police's social crime prevention activities revealed that such programmes are exclusively executed by Community Facilitators who usually do not present themselves as members of the City Police, but employees of the City of Cape Town. It is the researcher's opinion that these programmes form an important part of community problem-solving and should thus preferably be regarded as community policing efforts of the City Police. The involvement of selected members of the uniformed branch would not only enrich such projects with local policing experience and support, but will also contribute thereto that the City Police be perceived as a community orientated service.

G Dealing with Disorder

1) a) Table 48 : Survey Results : Is action taken against disorderly behaviour, e.g. public drunkenness, vagrancy, prostitution, urinating in public, aggressive begging, etc.?

	Patrol Officer
Yes	98.7%
No	1.3%

b) Table 49 : Survey Results : If Yes to (a), what action?

	Patrol Officer
Warning	34.8%
Fine	5.1%
Arrest	13.9%
All of the above	48.1%

It is clear from the above that the City Police are indeed performing a public order maintenance function.

Weekly statistical reports of the City Police for the month of August (City of Cape Town, 2000 g) were studied. These reports clearly showed that action is regularly taken against offences such as loitering, urinating in public and drinking in public, thereby confirming the above.

2) Table 50 : Survey Results : Have you ever been requested by a member of the community to take action against such disorderly behaviour?

	Patrol Officer
Yes	89.9%
No	10.1%

The overwhelming positive response may be an indication of the level of public support for this approach.

3) Table 51 : Survey Results : Is it appropriate to take action against minor offences/public disorder?

	Patrol Officer
Yes	97.5%
No	1.3%
Unsure	1.3%

The overwhelming positive response is in the opinion of the researcher an indication that City Police Officers understand the importance of public order maintenance, which will have a positive influence on their handling of this function.

4) a) Table 52 : Survey Results : Application of the Zero Tolerance approach in dealing with disorderly behaviour.

	Middle Management
Yes	12.5%
No	87.5%
Unsure	-

The response is in stark contrast with that of the patrol officers presented in Table 48 as well as the supporting statistics.

This contrast is in the opinion of the researcher an indication that the term Zero Tolerance is completely misunderstood by City

Police middle management. It is evident that these offices do not view "Zero Tolerance" as the policing style intended by the Broken Window Theory, but rather as aggressive policing action that is in conflict with community needs and concerns.

b) Table 53 : Survey Results : If No in (a), what is the main reason?

	Middle Management
It is not an effective strategy	-
City Police does not have the necessary manpower to execute this strategy	37.5%
It is not sensitive to community needs	50%

The results only support the conclusion revealed under Table 52.

The Co-ordinator for Law Enforcement for the City of Cape Town indicated in an unstructured interview that none of the options in Table 53 could be presented as a legitimate reason for not applying the Zero Tolerance approach. He is of the opinion that the approach is effective in removing fear from communities and that it can be effectively applied by a policing agency regardless of staff shortages.

He confirmed that the utilization of the term Zero Tolerance to describe the maintenance of public order, might be construed as something that is insensitive towards the community and thus lead to misinterpretations as to what the approach entails.

5) Table 54 : Survey Results : The most fitting description for the Zero Tolerance approach.

	Middle Management
Targeting known criminals when they commit petty crimes	25%
Taking action against the general public when they engage in disorderly behaviour	25%
Ensuring that members of the public do not step out of line	50%
A show of force	-

The results provide further confirmation that City Police middle management does not have a clear understanding of what the Zero Tolerance approach entails.

6) Table 55 : Survey Results : Is there community support for the Zero Tolerance/Broken Windows approach?

	Middle Management
Yes	25%
No	25%
Unsure	50%

The varied response is expected in view of the results shown in the preceding tables.

The researcher observed the proceedings at a workshop on the Annual City Police Plan held on 17 April 2002. The workshop was attended by representatives of all CPFs functioning in the areas of deployment of the City Police and it was expected of these representatives to indicate their major concerns in their respective areas. A total of 60% of those concerns identified relate to disorderly behaviour. Their findings support the results obtained from patrol officers under Table 50.

It is furthermore significant to note that the Co-ordinator for Law Enforcement for the City of Cape Town, who also falls under the City Police Directorate, indicated in an unstructured interview that communities are generally in support of policing action aimed at disorderly behaviour. He emphasised the importance of the community taking ownership of assisting in the maintenance of public order and thus giving their consent to such action being taken in their area.

7) Table 56 : Survey Results : Has the community been approached by the City Police in an attempt to gain their support for this approach?

	Middle Management
Yes	37.5%
No	62.5%
Unsure	-

It is evident that community consultation on this issue needs to be stepped up if community buy-in is to be obtained for the application of the Zero Tolerance approach.

The fact that the questionnaire results on dealing with disorder revealed a limited understanding amongst City Police middle management on what the Zero Tolerance Approach entails, is in the opinion of the researcher a matter of great concern.

As indicated in Chapter 3, the very utilization of the term "Zero Tolerance" to describe the maintenance of public order, is probably the reason for this misinterpretation as it is very often construed as an insensitive and aggressive policing approach that requires heavy handed tactics and a continuous presence. This misinterpretation was confirmed at a Municipal Police Seminar held in May 2002 at the Philippi College where, during discussion of the Zero Tolerance Approach, it was described by the Chief of the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police as the

"Skop en Donner" approach.

Although Tables 48 and 49 as well as the supporting statistical reports indicate that action is indeed being taken against disorderly behaviour, the above-mentioned misinterpretation may have a definite negative effect on operational performance as it most probably indicates a limited understanding of the relationship between disorder, fear and serious crime.

Observations of SAPS conduct during a number of crime prevention operations revealed a similar limited understanding of Wilson & Kellings' Broken Windows Theory which is the theory behind the Zero Tolerance Approach and thus also a limited understanding of the relationship between disorder, fear and serious crime.

Patrol Officers were on such occasions instructed to take action against general disorderly behaviour but were not informed of the logic behind such actions other than to state that it is "crime prevention". It was thus not surprising that patrol officers regarded such actions as a "waste of time" and argued that their services could be utilized more effectively by concentrating on the top five priority crimes.

Unstructured interviews with City Police officers regarding public order maintenance further revealed that the above-mentioned ignorance of

certain SAPS officers on the importance of public order maintenance, have a negative impact on City Police actions. Persons arrested by the City Police for disorderly behaviour are taken to SAPS stations where they are to be dealt with further. It, however, often happens that the relevant SAPS officer clearly indicates his/her dissatisfaction with having to deal with such a 'minor issue' and in so doing discourages the City Police officer to take further action against disorderly behaviour.

It is clear from the above that this limited understanding of an important principle of community policing will have to be properly addressed, not only in the Cape Town City Police, but also in the SAPS.

It is further interesting to note that the City of Cape Town's IDP specifically list "Zero Tolerance Policing" as one of its safety and security priorities and also provide for the further investigation of alternative sentencing (social service) as a means to deal with offenders (City of Cape Town, 2002 d : 12).

The Social Crime Prevention Section of the Cape Town City Police accordingly embarked on an investigation of alternative sentencing options during August 2002 (City of Cape Town, 2002 c : 1 - 3).

As the fining of offenders does not serve as an effective deterrent to those offenders who do not have an income, it is the opinion of the researcher

that the alternative sentencing initiative of the City Police could have a significant impact on the extent to which public order can be maintained.

The opinion is further held that the resulting increased successful prosecution of offenders will contribute to maintaining a necessary positive attitude among law enforcers towards the Zero Tolerance approach.

H. Decentralisation of Powers

1) Table 57 : Survey Results : Patrol officers being allowed the discretion to decide when to take action against disorderly behaviour.

	Patrol Officer	**Middle Management**
Yes	83.5%	100%
No	12.7%	-
Unsure	3.8%	-

The results indicate at least some measure of decentralization of decision making powers. Public order maintenance would in the opinion of the researcher not be executed effectively without the patrol officer being allowed adequate decision making powers.

2) a) Table 58 : Survey Results : Are all members of the City Police given the opportunity to participate in the decision making and

planning process?

	Middle Management
Yes	37.5%
No	62.5%
Don't know	-

b) Table 59 : Survey Results : If No in (a), from what rank upwards is involved?

	Middle Management
Sergeant	100%
Precinct Commander	-
Asst Divisional Commander	-
Divisional Commander	-

The results indicate in the opinion of the researcher adequate involvement of City Police Officers in the decision making process.

I Accountability

1) Table 60 : Survey Results : City Police expected to conduct themselves in accordance with community needs and concerns.

	Patrol Officer	Middle Management
Yes	96.2%	100%
No	-	-
Unsure	3.8%	-

The overwhelming positive response indicates sufficient awareness amongst respondents of them being expected to conduct themselves in accordance with community needs and concerns.

2) Table 61 : Survey Results : To whom City Police is accountable:

	Patrol Officers
Management	3.8%
The City Council	6.3%
The Community	19%
All of the above	68.4%

Although a community police officer is primarily accountable towards the community, the majority response of "all of the above" should be a sufficient indication of City Police accountability in terms of community policing requirements.

3) Table 62 : Survey Results : Have steps been taken for the establishment of a Civilian Oversight Committee for the City Police?

	Middle Management
Yes	100%
No	-

A Civilian Oversight Committee for the Cape Town City Police was established on 7 March 2002 by resolution of the Safety Portfolio Committee of the City of Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2002 e : 5 - 6).

4.2 DATA GATHERED BY MEANS OF CONTENT ANALYSIS : EVALUATION OF CITY POLICE TRAINING ON COMMUNITY POLICING.

As training in the principles of community policing represents an important requirement for the institutionalization of community policing by the City Police, the course material on this subject that is presented at the Municipal Police Training College at Philippi was content-analysed within the framework of the definition for community policing accepted for this study (see Chapter 3).

The College's course material was analysed with respect to the following coding categories which were identified inductively from said definition;

i) Philosophy - Does it promote the acceptance of an organizational wide philosophy?

ii) Partnership - Does it emphasize the importance of an

			equal partnership?
iii)	Personalised Patrol	-	Does it promote consultation with the community while on patrol?
iv)	Structured Consultation	-	Does it introduce the student to CPF's and other consultative forums?
v)	Pro-active Conduct	-	Is crime prevention emphasized?
vi)	Problem Solving	-	Does the course material promote the solving of problems that could be the root causes of crime?
vii)	Dealing with Disorder	-	Does it emphasize the need for public order maintenance in order to reduce fear of crime?
viii)	Accountability	-	Does it aim to install a sense of accountability to the community, in the students?

The course material was evaluated in terms of its adequate discussion of the above-mentioned variables. The discussion of these variables, as presented in Chapter 3 was used as a frame of reference and coding is expressed numerically as follows:

1	-	Course material fully meets the requirements of the variable
2	-	Course material meets the requirements of the variable to a large extent
3	-	Course material is limited in its discussion of the variable
4	-	Course material does not provide for study of the variable.

Table 63 : Course Material on Community Policing : Content Analysis.

Variable	Evaluation Result
Philosophy	2
Partnership	1
Personalised Patrol	3
Structured Consultation	2
Pro-active Conduct	1
Problem Solving	1
Dealing with Public Disorder	3
Accountability	2

It is evident from the above that the course material should preferably be expanded to include lessons that deal with the importance of institutionalization of community policing, how such institutionalization could be achieved successfully, the City Police's role at CPFs, the importance of effectively utilizing consultative forums and promoting a sense of accountability towards the community.

The course material further needs to provide for more detailed tuition on community consultation at patrol level and public order maintenance with specific reference to the relationship between disorder, fear and serious crime.

4.3 CONCLUSION

It is the opinion of the researcher that the findings presented in this chapter adequately address the two research questions of this study. These questions as well as the researcher's conclusions, drawn from the findings, are as follows:

Research Question A

To what extent are the principles of community policing being implemented by the Cape Town City Police?

The findings indicate definite attempts to institutionalise the principles of community policing in the City Police. It indicates in what areas adequate steps have been taken as well as in what areas immediate action is required to ensure that proper community policing is practised by the City Police.

Research Question B

Can the implementation of community policing by the Cape Town City Police have a significant impact on the prevention of crime in the City?

The findings clearly indicate that the current crime situation in the metropole requires that police secure community buy-in and co-operation if crime is to be effectively prevented. It also indicates a definite need that exists within the community, for a

policing style that is community-orientated and thus responsive to community needs and concerns.

The researcher therefore concludes that the full implementation of community policing by the City Police can be expected to have a significant impact on the prevention of crime in the City.

Recommendations on possible steps that can be taken towards the full implementation of community policing, will be presented in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 RECOMMENDATIONS TOWARDS THE FULL IMPLEMENTATION OF COMMUNITY POLICING IN THE CITY POLICE

The following recommendations are based on the findings recorded in Chapter 4 and are aimed at providing the Cape Town City Police with guidelines that will see the proper implementation of community policing in the new service.

RECOMMENDATION 1

That the Department of Community Safety of the Western Cape be requested to expand the curriculum presented at the Municipal Police College at Philippi to provide for more comprehensive tuition on community policing. Additional tuition should focus on community consultation (both structured and at patrol level), dealing with public disorder, accountability and the importance of effective institutionalization of community policing in a municipal police service.

RECOMMENDATION 2

That problem-solving techniques be introduced to all CPFs operating within the area of deployment of the City Police. The performance of CPFs in terms of problem solving will have to be monitored and appropriate suggestions made to the members of CPFs.

It is suggested that one particular CPF be identified for a pilot project on focused problem solving. Such a pilot project will yield valuable information on how the application of problem-solving techniques can be rolled out to other CPFs. This will enable the City Police to give direction to CPFs that have lost focus or have been highjacked for political gain.

RECOMMENDATION 3

That those members of the Cape Town City Police that are required to attend CPF meetings, receive specialised training on the application of problem-solving techniques, e.g. the S.A.R.A. model. This will be a prerequisite if Recommendation 2 is to be implemented successfully.

RECOMMENDATION 4

That the City Police's Social Crime Prevention Facilitators actively involve selected members of the uniformed branch of the City Police in social crime prevention programmes. This will contribute in reinforcing the desired perception that the City

Police is a community-orientated service.

The Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE) programmes that are being successfully implemented by police agencies in 57 countries serve as an excellent example and it is suggested that the City Police launch a pilot project, which will in fact be a pilot project for South Africa, in a selected school which is situated in an area of deployment of the City Police.

RECOMMENDATION 5

That the City Police enter into a service agreement with the CPF identified for the problem-solving pilot project. The service agreement should be extended to other CPF's in accordance to the roll-out of the problem-solving project.

Service agreements will confirm the City Police's commitment to a particular community and will thus contribute to laying a foundation for proper community involvement and co-operation.

RECOMMENDATION 6

That the City Police refrain from using the term "Zero Tolerance" in describing the maintenance of public order. The term in question should accordingly be deleted from all official documentation including the IDP of the City of Cape Town.

The above is recommended in an effort to remove and prevent any misinterpretations, both within the City Police and the communities they serve.

RECOMMENDATION 7

That a series of workshops be arranged for City Police Middle Management where all aspects of public order maintenance can be dealt with. Aspects that need to be highlighted at such a workshop are the relationship between disorder, fear and serious crime and the fact that limited staff resources is not an adequate reason for not engaging in public order maintenance.

Such a workshop would result in full understanding of this important principle of community policing and could thus be expected to have a significant impact on the actual application of the principle.

RECOMMENDATION 8

That a series of workshops be arranged for patrol officers on the practical application of the principles of community policing in terms of police patrols. This is required in an effort to address the shortcomings of the Philippi College curriculum as identified in Chapter 4 as well as to reinforce the proper application of the most important elements. Issues that need to be addressed are *inter alia*:

a) Patrol objectives in terms of community contact, should be clarified. Patrol

officers should be encouraged to actively pursue working relationships with members of the community. They should be made aware of the importance of the fact that a strong relationship with the community will contribute significantly to the prevention of crime.

b) The importance of assisting members of the community in solving community problems should be highlighted and patrol officers should be encouraged to actively engage in assisting community members when such opportunities arise, as well as to record such initiatives in the daily patrol reports.

c) The significance of effective public order maintenance in view of the relationship between disorder, fear and serious crime, should be emphasised. It is important that patrol officers recognise the enforcement of municipal by-laws as effective means to maintain public order and that it is not merely an additional source of income for the City.

RECOMMENDATION 9

That a step-by-step community policing institutionalization plan that *inter alia* includes the recommendations contained in this chapter, be compiled, submitted for approval and implemented.

5.2 CONCLUSION

In the preceding chapters local government's increasing involvement in crime prevention and the resulting establishment of municipal police services was discussed. It argues that the crime prevention strategies of municipal police services should be built on existing local government efforts and should therefor focus on removing the root causes of crime. Accordingly, a detailed discussion of community policing is embarked upon with strong arguments for the adoption of this form of policing by municipal police services in general and the Cape Town City Police in particular.

The study further endeavoured to establish whether community policing is indeed being implemented by the Cape Town City Police and if so, to what extent. It also undertook to establish whether the full implementation of community policing could be expected to have a positive effect on the reduction of crime in Cape Town.

These questions are adequately addressed in Chapter 4 where the researcher discusses the progress made by the Cape Town City Police with the implementation of community policing as well as concluding that the full implementation of this policing strategy could be expected to have a significant impact on the prevention of crime in Cape Town.

The recommendations contained in this chapter are based on the findings presented in the preceding chapters and represent, in the opinion of the researcher, the most logical steps that can be taken towards the institutionalization of community policing in the Cape

Town City Police. As indicated throughout this study, community policing is regarded as an effective crime prevention strategy which resonates with Sir Robert Peel's view that policing should be judged by the absence of crime and not the visible suppression thereof. As the South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act no 68 of 1995) identifies "the prevention of crime" as one of the main functions of a municipal police service, it is the researcher's view that the full institutionalization of community policing by the Cape Town City Police is imperative if this service is to effectively meet its legislative mandate of crime prevention.

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ANNEXURES

ANNEXURE A

QUESTIONNAIRE A

This is an independent survey. Please answer the questions as objectively as possible. There are no wrong or right answers, this is only an exercise to determine current applications. Please choose only one (1) option for each question and mark your chosen answer with an X. You do NOT have to supply your name.

A

1. What percentage of your functions can be placed under the umbrella term, "community policing"?

0% to 30%	51% to 70%	81% to 90%
31% to 50%	71% to 80%	91% to 100%

2. Are you required to 'connect' with the community?

   Yes No Unsure

3. Does the supervisory level above you provide enough support for community policing?

   Yes No Unsure

4. Which of the following best describes community policing?

   - A specialised strategy that can be used to police the community.
   - Partnership between police and community that aims to promote trust and communication.
   - An attempt by the community to tell the police what to do and how to do it.

5. Which of the following is the most fitting description of a City Police Officer?

   Law Enforcer Peace Officer

6. What is the main purpose of the City Police's involvement in your area of deployment?

   - Getting rid of criminals
   - Improving the quality of life of residents

- Bringing down the levels of crime
- Upholding law and order

B

1. On a scale of 1 - 10, where 10 is excellent and 1 is very poor, how would you rate your Precinct's relationship with the local community?

   .....

2. Do members of the City Police actively seek to establish working relationships with community groups and other service providers?

   Yes No Unsure

3. How do you rate the Community's acceptance of City Police presence in your area of deployment during the past six months?

   - The majority are pleased with City Police presence
   - Only a minority are pleased with City Police presence
   - The City Police are not welcome in the areas of deployment

C

1. What percentage of your duty time is spent on patrol?

0% to 30%	51% to 70%	81% to 90%
31% to 50%	71% to 80%	91% to 100%

2. a) While on patrol, do you make contact with members of the community?

      Yes No

   b) If yes:

      At what frequency does personal contact take place?

      - On a daily basis
      - Once a week
      - Once every two weeks
      - Once a month

3. What form of patrol do you mainly engage in?

- Vehicle patrol
- Foot patrol
- Bicycle patrol
- Patrol on horseback

4. a) Do you ever engage in foot patrol?

Yes No

b) What percentage of total patrol time is committed to foot patrol?

1% to 25% 51% to 75%

26% to 50% 76% to 100%

5. What is your experience of foot patrol in terms of crime prevention?

- It is a waste of time
- It is only slightly successful in preventing crime
- It is effective as a deterrent to crime

6. a) Are patrol officers assigned on a rotational basis to a specific area or are officers assigned to patrol a specific area on a permanent basis?

- Officers are rotated
- Officers are assigned on a permanent basis

b) If rotated:

How often do the same officers patrol the same area?

Twice a week Once every 2 weeks

Once a week Once a month

7. While on patrol, do you consult with community members on what may be the cause of crime in a specific area?

Yes No

D

1. Do you attend meetings of CPF's or any other formal consultative forum?

   Yes No

2. What is the main function of a CPF?

   Establish an equal working relationship

   To foster mutual trust

   Improve police-community communications

   To enable joint problem solving

3. Which members (rank) of your precinct are involved in meetings of CPF's or other community forums?

   Constable Sergeant

   Precinct Commander None

E

1. According to legislation a Municipal Police Officer's functions are Crime Prevention, Traffic Policing and Policing of Municipal By-Laws. What percentage of your workload is committed to crime prevention activities?

0% to 30%	51% to 70%	81% to 90%
31% to 50%	71% to 80%	91% to 100%

2. What is the primary focus of your crime prevention patrols?

   - Being visible
   - As many arrests as possible
   - Consulting with public
   - Establishing the causes of crime

3. What policing style are you required to execute:

   - Proactive (preventative)
   - Reactive (reacting on an incident)
   - Proactive and reactive

4. Which of the following options do you think will address crime most effectively?

- Faster and better reaction when a criminal act has been committed
- By attempting to remove the root causes of crime

F

1. What is the main purpose of patrols?
   - To be available to react when something happens
   - To identify specific problems in the area of patrol
2. Is it part of your responsibility to educate members of the community about crime related issues?

   Yes No Unsure
3. Have you ever been expected to assist a member of the community in solving a problem?

   Yes No
4. Do you think it is a Police Officer's function to assist the community in solving their problems?

   Yes No Unsure
5. a) Have you ever been in a situation where you were required to refer a member of the community to another agency for assistance (eg. Housing, Water, Electricity, Clinics, etc.)

      Yes

      No

   b) If yes:

      How often does this happen?

      Once a week Once every two weeks

      Twice a week Once a month
6. Do you have the contact details of other agencies that can assist in solving community problems, readily available?

   Yes No
7. It is often said that police should serve as an early warning system that can alert social and welfare groups of new problems which they should take note of. Do

you agree?

Yes No Unsure

8. To your knowledge, are problem solving techniques being applied in the CPF's active in your area of deployment?

Yes No Unsure

9. Do the following issues feature on the agendas of CPF's or other consultative forums that the City Police are involved in? You may choose more than one option.

Identify causes of crime	Yes	No
Analysing the problems identified	Yes	No
Devising and implementing solutions	Yes	No
Identifying causes and implementing solutions without analysing causes and devising proper solutions	Yes	No
	Not sure	

G

1. a) While on patrol, do you take action against disorderly behaviour e.g. public drunkenness, vagrancy, prostitution, urinating in public, aggressive begging, etc.

Yes No

b) If yes:

What actions do you take?

Warning Arrest

Fine All the above

2. Have you ever been requested by a member of the community to take action against such disorderly behaviour?

Yes No

3. Do you think it is appropriate that police officers take action against such minor offences as public drunkenness, prostitution, loitering, aggressive begging, etc?

Yes No Unsure

H

1. Are you allowed to decide when to take action against disorderly behaviour?

   Yes No Unsure

I

1. Are you expected to conduct yourself in accordance with community needs and concerns?

   Yes No Unsure

2. Are City Police Officers accountable to:

   - Management
   - The City Council
   - The Community
   - All of the above

ANNEXURE B

QUESTIONNAIRE B

This is an independent survey. Please answer the questions as objectively as possible. There are no wrong or right answers, this is only an exercise to determine current applications. Please choose only one (1) option for each question and mark your chosen answer with an X. You do NOT have to supply your name.

A

1. What percentage of the City Police's functions can be placed under the umbrella term, "community policing"?

   0% to 30% | 51% to 70% | 81% to 90%

   31% to 50% | 71% to 80% | 91% to 100%

2. Are City Police Officers required to 'connect' with the community while on patrol?

   Yes | No | Unsure

3. Which of the following is the most fitting description of a City Police Officer?

   Law Enforcer | Peace Officer

4. a) Have any steps been taken towards the deliberate institutionalization of community policing in the City Police?

   Yes | No | Unsure

   b) If not:

   Does City Police management intend to take such steps over the following 12 month period?

   Yes | No | Unsure

B

1. a) Has the City Police entered into a partnership with the local communities in the areas of deployment?

   Yes | No | Unsure

   b) If not, are there any attempts being made to allow for community

participation in policing matters?

Yes No Unsure

2. Do your strategic plans for the next 12 months require that the community accept a measure of responsibility for the prevention of crime?

Yes No Unsure

3. Are surveys to determine the level of community satisfaction with the City Police being done regularly?

Yes No Unsure

4. Are Police Service Contracts between the City Police and Communities in place in any of the areas of deployment?

Yes No Unsure

5. Do members of the City Police actively seek to establish working relationships with community groups and other service providers?

Yes No Unsure

C

1. What form of patrol does the City Police mainly engage in?

- Vehicle patrol
- Foot patrol
- Bicycle patrol
- Patrol on horseback

2. a) Do they ever engage in foot patrol?

Yes No

b) What percentage of total patrol time is committed to foot patrol:

1% to 25% 51% to 75%

26% to 50% 76% to 100%

3. What is your experience of foot patrol in terms of crime prevention?

- It is a waste of time
- It is only slightly successful in preventing crime
- It is effective as a deterrent to crime

4. a) Are patrol officers assigned on a rotational basis to a specific area or are officers assigned to patrol a specific area on a permanent basis?

   - Officers are rotated
   - Officers are assigned on a permanent basis

   b) If rotated:

   How often do the same officers patrol the same area?

   Twice a week Once every 2 weeks

   Once a week Once a month

5. While on patrol, are patrol officers expected to consult with community members on what may be the cause of crime in a specific area?

   Yes No

D

1. Are policing priorities being determined in accordance to community needs?

   Yes No Unsure

2. Does the City Police have an operational plan? To what extent was this plan compiled in co-operation with the community?

   - The community was involved in every aspect
   - The community was afforded the opportunity to give input
   - The community was not consulted at all
   - Don't know

3. Is there frequent interaction with community organisations/groups in the metropolitan area?

   Yes No Unsure

4. Are Safety Audits being conducted to establish the extent of crime threats

against specific communities?

Yes No Unsure

5. How many safety audits have been conducted (finalised or still in process) during the past 12 months for the metropolitan area?

.....

6. Does the City Police attend meetings of CPF's or any other formal consultative forum?

Yes No

7. What is the main function of a CPF?

- To enable joint problem solving
- Improve police-community communication
- To foster mutual trust
- Establish an equal working relationship

8. Which City Police members (rank) are involved in meetings of CPF's or other community forums?

Constable Sergeant Precinct Commander

Assistant Divisional Commander Divisional Commander

None

E

1. According to legislation a Municipal Police Officer's functions are Crime Prevention, Traffic Policing and Policing of Municipal By-Laws. What percentage of a City Police Officer's workload is committed to crime prevention activities?

0%	51% to 70%	81% to 90%
31% to 50%	71% to 80%	91% to 100%

2. What is the primary focus of City Police crime prevention patrols?

- Being visible
- As many arrests as possible
- Consulting with public

- Establishing the causes of crime

F

1. To your knowledge, are problem solving techniques being applied in the CPF's you have been involved in?

   Yes No Unsure

2. Do the following issues feature on the agendas of CPF's or other consultative forums that the City Police are involved in? You may choose more than one option.

Identify causes of crime	Yes	No
Analysing the causes identified	Yes	No
Devising solutions	Yes	No
Implementing solutions	Yes	No
Identifying causes and implementing solutions without analysing causes and devising proper solutions	Yes	No
	Not sure	

G

1. a) Is the Zero Tolerance approach being followed in dealing with disorderly behaviour?

   Yes No Unsure

   b) If not:

   What is the main reason?

   - It is not an effective strategy
   - City Police does not have the necessary manpower to execute this strategy
   - It is not sensitive to community needs

2. Which one of the following is the most fitting description of the Zero Tolerance approach?

- Targeting known criminals when they commit petty crimes
- Taking action against the general public when they engage in disorderly behaviour
- Ensuring that members of the public do not step out of line
- A show of force

3. Does the community support the application of the Zero Tolerance/Broken Windows approach by the City Police?

   Yes No Unsure

4. Has the community been approached by the City Police in an attempt to gain their support for this approach?

   Yes No Unsure

H

1. Are patrol officers allowed the discretion to decide when to take action against disorderly behaviour?

   Yes No

2. a) Are all members of the City Police given the opportunity to participate in the decision-making and planning process?

      Yes No Unsure

   b) If not:

      From what rank upwards is involved?

      Sergeant Precinct Commander

      Assistant Divisional Commander Divisional Commander

I

1. Have the necessary steps been taken for the establishment of a Civilian Oversight Committee for the City Police?

   Yes No

2. Is it expected from City Police members that their conduct be in accordance with

community needs and concerns?

Yes No Unsure