

THE REVIEW OF SECTOR POLICING & THE SAPS' ROLE IN COMMUNITY CRIME PREVENTION INITIATIVES



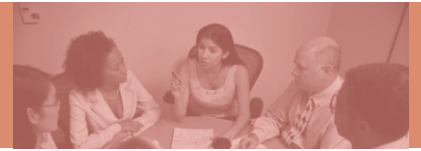
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PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION





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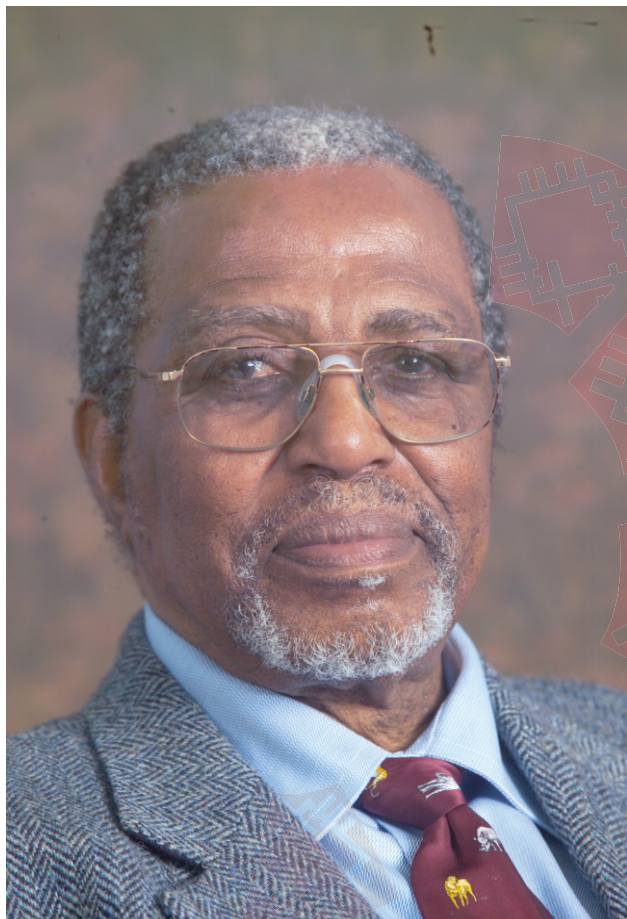
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FOREWORD BY:

THE CHAIRPERSON OF THE PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION



This report identifies strengths and weaknesses in the implementation and management of sector policing and makes recommendations for interventions and processes to improve and enhance the impact of sector policing as an element of community policing and a crime prevention methodology.

A few examples of the successes achieved in the implementation of sector policing are featured in this report. These examples were chosen to give an idea of the variety of initiatives that are making a difference in crime prevention. They also serve to demonstrate the vision and accountability shown by some leaders, both within the SAPS and within the community, in preventing crime in specific areas with limited resources. Some of the examples cited in the report show that certain leaders have risen to the challenge of the changed approach of the SAPS in carrying out its work.

The study also draws attention to some gaps in the implementation of the sector policing programme, but I trust that this report will be useful in bridging the identified gaps. There is always room for improvement and, given dedicated leaders from the community and within the SAPS, the best results will be achieved.

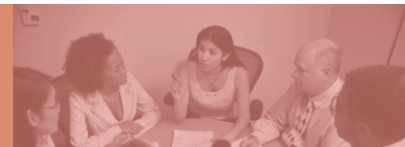
Finally, I would like to take this opportunity to thank the SAPS for the cooperation shown by them throughout this project and for their commitment in implementing some of the recommendations emanating from this study. Our special thanks go to GTZ for providing funding for this project and also for the knowledge and skills imparted to the PSC staff during the course of this study.

It gives me great pleasure to present this report on the *Review of Sector Policing and the SAPS' Role in Community Crime Prevention Initiatives*.

PROF. STAN S SANGWENI
CHAIRPERSON: PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION

The SAPS cannot deal with crime on its own and it is necessary that all levels of government and civil society should work in partnership in the prevention of crime. Crime is a problem that affects every single member of our society and thus the responsibility for dealing with and preventing crime is everyone's duty equally. During the past ten years the SAPS has changed its approach in dealing with crime from one of being reactive to one of being proactive in combating crime. Law enforcement and punishment are not enough to deal with crime on their own. It is better to know the cause of crime in order to be able to prevent it before it occurs. To ensure the success of the above-mentioned approach in dealing with crime, the SAPS has introduced a number of programmes, including community crime prevention and sector policing.

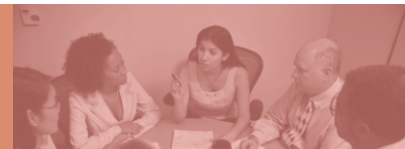
WE BELONG, WE CARE, WE SERVE!



ARP	Alexandra Renewal Project
BAC	Business Against Crime
BID	Business Improvement District
CBD	Central Business District
CBO	Community-Based Organisation
CCF	Crime Combating Forum
CCTV	Closed Circuit Television
CID	City Improvement District
CPF	Community Police Forum
CPTED	Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design
CSF	Community Safety Forum
CSIR	Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research
GBH	Grievous Bodily Harm
JCPS	Justice, Crime Prevention and Security
MPD	Municipal/Metropolitan Police Department
NCPS	National Crime Prevention Strategy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NI	National Instruction
NICRO	National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders
OPSC	Office of the Public Service Commission
POWA	People Opposing Women Abuse
SAPS	South African Police Service
SCF	Sector Crime Forum

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. BACKGROUND

From May to November 2004 the Office of the Public Service Commission undertook a national study to review sector policing and the role of the SAPS in community crime prevention initiatives. The research was funded with the assistance of German Technical Co-operation (GTZ). The study was conducted in 40 police station areas in South Africa and was qualitative in nature. The findings of the study were not quantitative, as the methodology relied on gathering the views and perceptions of police officers and community members involved in community crime prevention initiatives and/or sector policing in their areas.

2. KEY FINDINGS

The findings of the study are located within an overview of relevant crime prevention and community and sector policing literature. A brief overview is provided of the policy and legislative framework. The key findings are the following:

The implementation of sector policing

- The study found that, in areas where sector policing has been successfully introduced and implemented by the SAPS, there is a great deal of community support for and cooperation with the strategy. Many innovative and effective crime prevention initiatives are taking place through and in cooperation with sector policing structures. Although there is some degree of provincial government support and involvement in sector policing initiatives, local government involvement has not been sufficient.
- The study found that sector policing was successful in areas where there is a strong understanding of and commitment to the concepts of community crime prevention and sector policing by SAPS management and community members. In those areas that do not show evidence of a clear understanding of the concept, or support for it, the impact of sector policing is visibly smaller. Resources and personnel also have an impact in the success of sector policing initiatives.

The role of communities in crime prevention at the local level

- The role of communities in crime prevention initiatives is equally as important as that of the

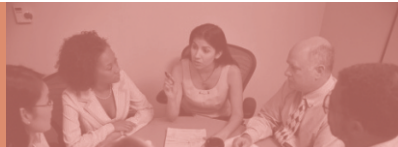
SAPS. The concepts 'community' and 'crime prevention' are broad and hard to define. For the purposes of this study programmes that have arisen as a result of crime problems in certain police station areas, and that involve community participation in the execution of these programmes, were selected for the sample.

- There is a wide range of different crime problems in the sample areas, although many of the problems are general to all areas. The most serious crimes are social fabric crimes, property crimes and interpersonal crimes. The sample areas may be sorted into four broad categories:
 - A: Relatively stable, highly resourced areas with well resourced and empowered residents.
 - B: Relatively stable, poorly resourced and largely residential areas with residents that have substantially lower income levels.
 - C: Areas that are made up of a combination of the abovementioned characteristics, as well as additional factors such as high numbers of transient residents, hostels and industrial areas.
 - D: Areas that attract large volumes of human traffic at particular times due to their geographic location.
- The crime prevention initiatives differ according to the area they are located in. The better-resourced areas tend to focus on interventions that are reliant on funding and equipment, such as closed circuit television (CCTV), private security and road closures, while the less advantaged areas have interventions that rely on the skills and resources present in the community to engage in processes that include a social development element. Interestingly, the degree of SAPS involvement and support varies in accordance with resource levels in the community, with more involvement experienced in the poorer areas, probably because there is a greater need for the support and resources of the SAPS in these areas.

The impact of the surveyed initiatives

- In the first place, many of these initiatives have only recently been implemented, making it difficult to gauge their impact. Secondly, in the absence of access to SAPS crime statistics, changes in reporting are impossible to measure. In addition, none of the initiatives have identified indicators to assist them in their monitoring of the projects. However, a significant improvement in police-community relations and improved trust in the SAPS have been reported in a number of areas as a result of the cooperation between police and community on initiatives.

There are a variety of structures that facilitate the initiatives described:



- Community Police Forums (CPFs), Sector Crime Forums (SCFs), Community Safety Forums (CSFs) and Crime Combating Forums (CCFs) are all structures created to initiate or assist with crime prevention initiatives.
- Common to all of the successful and sustainable initiatives was the presence of a strong central organising person or institution, coupled with access to resources.
- Support and input from the SAPS is a key success factor in many of the initiatives, particularly those in poorly resourced areas.

A number of structural issues affect the impact of sector policing and community crime prevention initiatives:

- Low levels of knowledge and understanding of the strategies on the part of communities, and sometimes the SAPS, are slowing down the implementation of initiatives.
- This is exacerbated by the confusion around concepts and policies that has resulted from the great number of changes and innovations that have been introduced in the policing environment over the last decade.

The success of many of the initiatives results from having a strong leader, who often initiates the project. This reliance on a specific person to drive an initiative has a negative impact on the sustainability of the projects, and may also affect their continuity.

While many of the initiatives necessitate an investment of time and resources by the SAPS, the improvement in police/community relations that generally results makes the input worthwhile.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS

A strategic rethinking of community policing and its structures and leadership

Ten years after the formation of the SAPS, a strategic realignment process for community policing with the assistance of the communities themselves is yet to be implemented. A process to examine and make recommendations on the role of communities in crime prevention and CPFs could be undertaken.

Facilitation of access to resources for poorer communities

There is a marked difference in the levels of resource availability in the different police station areas in the country. Those areas that are most in need of long-term crime prevention programmes that address the underlying causes of crime are the least resourced and therefore unable to make a significant impact on social crime

prevention. In contrast, those areas that are least at risk of generating offenders are the most highly resourced and put considerable energy and money into protecting themselves, but they do not focus on addressing the root causes of crime in any way. The national government could play an important role in levelling resource provision by facilitating the sharing of resources between the affluent and poorer areas.

Development of success and impact indicators

Certain models work well but may be area-specific. In launching projects that have a degree of success, there is a need to identify what works well in particular areas in order to maximise the chances of success and sustainability.

Capacity building

While many of the initiatives identified have evolved organically in response to community crime problems, there is a need for a better understanding of crime prevention theories, principles and practices at both the community and the SAPS sector levels.

Facilitation of multi-stakeholder participation

All relevant departments and role players from within and outside government should be brought together at local multi-agency forums to develop local crime prevention strategies that clearly identify and describe the role of each agency in contributing to crime prevention.

The report concludes with suggestions of areas for further research, which include possible projects to further enhance this study and the impact of community-based crime prevention and/or sector policing initiatives in South Africa.



CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

The Public Service Commission is an independent and impartial body created by the Constitution, 1996, to enhance excellence in governance within the Public Service by promoting a professional and ethical environment and adding value to a public administration that is accountable, equitable, efficient, effective, corruption-free and responsive to the needs of the people of South Africa.

The Public Service Commission aims to promote the constitutionally enshrined democratic principles and values in the Public Service by investigating, monitoring, evaluating, communicating and reporting on public administration. Through research processes, it will ensure the promotion of excellence in governance and the delivery of affordable and sustainable quality services.

In 2004 the Public Service Commission undertook a large-scale study, funded by the German Technical Co-operation (GTZ) office, into the role and functioning of community policing as a strategy of the South African Police Service (SAPS). The aim of the study was to evaluate the implementation and management of sector policing, identify strengths and weaknesses in the implementation, and make recommendations for interventions and processes to improve and enhance the impact of sector policing as an element of community policing and a crime prevention methodology.

1.2 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

1.2.1 Objectives of the research

Numerous studies have been undertaken to establish the level of functioning of CPFs, as well as to improve police station functioning. This study went further in that it adopted an approach to the study of police stations that looked at the broader systems of their functioning within a broader community context. It aims to contribute to a more holistic understanding of the role of police stations in crime prevention and community involvement.

This study examined two levels of community policing: the internal processes and systems that need to take place within the station itself, and the relationships and activities involving the community that are required in order to jointly identify and solve problems, as envisaged in the community policing strategy of the SAPS.

The SAPS identified 40 suggested sites from the list of priority stations, focusing on those stations that have introduced, or are in the process of introducing, sector policing. The study aimed to assess the impact of sector policing as a key strategic priority of the SAPS.

The following questions were examined:

- The perceived quality of service delivery by the SAPS to the communities in the sector areas.
- The extent to which community-based crime prevention initiatives are present in the sector areas, and their challenges and successes in relation to community and partnership policing.
- The impact of the focus on improving service delivery and the introduction of sector policing on relations between the police and the community.

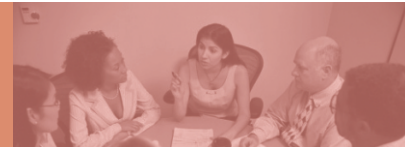
1.2.2 Methodology

The police stations that were reviewed for this report were selected by the SAPS on the basis that they were servicing high-priority areas in the country and had all been undertaking sector policing for varying lengths of time. Due to the nature of the priority areas identified by the SAPS, the vast majority of these stations are located in urban areas, resulting in a bias away from the rural stations.

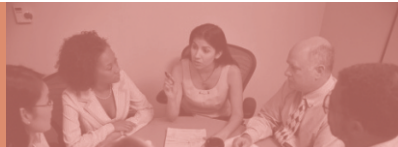
The sampling for this study was therefore not random and hence it cannot and does not represent the diversity of contexts within which the SAPS operates countrywide. The findings therefore should not be generalised nationally, although the study has certainly assisted in the identification of trends in sector policing and community crime prevention initiatives, as well as generating an understanding of the different kinds of station areas and the nature and effectiveness of the interventions undertaken. It is fair to say that any police station area fitting the description of one of the four areas described in this study would experience the same range of crime problems and utilise the same approaches to address them through the community and the SAPS in that area. The study may therefore be described as an exploratory descriptive study, which has generated useful qualitative data for the SAPS and the OPSC.

As this was a qualitative study, it focused primarily on eliciting the views and feelings of respondents. This was achieved through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with members of the SAPS and community members participating in the identified crime prevention initiatives.

The SAPS identified 40 police station areas in seven provinces as the sites for the study. The police stations are listed in the table below, followed by a brief description of



Province	Police Station	Category of Area
Eastern Cape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Mdantsane Tsolo Umtata East London 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> B B B A/D
Gauteng	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Alexandra Sandton Johannesburg Central Meadowlands Moroka Jeppe Booysens Hillbrow Katlehong Tembisa Vereeniging Roodepoort Ivory Park Sunnyside Pretoria Central Mamelodi 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> B A A/C B B C/D C C B B B A B A A/C B
Kwa-Zulu Natal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Kwa-Mashu Inanda Chatsworth Umlazi Durban Central Point Plessislaer Empangeni 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> B B B B A/D A/D B A
Mpumalanga	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Witbank 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A
Northern Cape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Galeshewe Kimberley 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> B A
North West	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Loate Rustenberg 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> B A
Western Cape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Khayelitsha Mitchells Plain Gugulethu Nyanga Kuilsrivier Stellenbosch Cape Town Central 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> B B B B B A/C A/C



- **A:** Relatively stable, highly resourced areas with residents that have medium to high income levels and are empowered to both assert their needs in respect of safety and security and put resources into meeting these needs. Such areas include Sandton, East London, Sunnyside, and Stellenbosch.
- **B:** Relatively stable, poorly resourced and largely residential areas with residents that have severely low income levels which impact on their ability to mobilise resources to meet safety and security needs. Included in this category would be Umtata, Mdantsane, Alexandra, Moroka and Meadowlands.
- **C:** Areas that are made up of a combination of the abovementioned characteristics, as well as additional factors such as high numbers of transient residents, hostels and industrial areas, e.g. Jeppe, Hillbrow, Booysens, Witbank and Cape Town Central.
- **D:** Areas that attract large volumes of human traffic at particular times owing to their physical or geographic location, e.g. Durban Central, Jeppe and East London.

At the start of the project, a focus group discussion attended by individuals representing organisations¹ that work with both the SAPS and community organisations in the Johannesburg area was held in order to generate a shared understanding of and approach to the term 'community-based crime prevention initiative' and to identify existing initiatives, as well as give input into the research tool.

The research tool, as well as a generic reporting format, guided the questions asked by the fieldworkers at each interview/focus group discussion. In addition, supporting documentation was collected where it was available. The reports from each site visit were written by each researcher and forwarded to the lead researcher for compilation and further analysis.

As this project included a substantial capacity building component, the methodology used in the fieldwork was innovative. The research tool was piloted in eight police station areas in Johannesburg in order to ensure that the tool was appropriate and effective. Thereafter a workshop was held with the OPSC staff members who were participating in the research in order to provide a background and context to the study, as well as to introduce the research sites and the research tool. A facilitator's guide was developed and provided for each OPSC researcher in order to ensure a uniformity of approach amongst all researchers and at all sites. In order to ensure the integrity of the report a validation workshop was held

with all of the researchers who had participated in the fieldwork and the writing-up of the findings in order to present the draft report and confirm the interpretations and recommendations.

1.3 LIMITATIONS

This study had few, but important, limitations.

In the first place, as discussed above, the SAPS selected the 40 police stations that made up the sample and therefore it was not a random sample. A related limitation emanates from this circumstance in that the resulting sample had only one station that was located within a rural area. The sample is therefore skewed towards urban stations and no analysis of rural station areas was undertaken.

Secondly, as the project had a capacity building element to it, the methodology made use of a relatively large number of researchers from the OPSC. This may have resulted in some information deficit due to the fact that the people who wrote the reports had not actually undertaken all of the fieldwork. In order to address this problem, a verification workshop was held so that the fieldworkers could give input to the working draft of the report and thus ensure that the information and analysis were in line with their own experiences and findings.

Thirdly, because of the nature of the community-based crime prevention initiatives (which will be discussed in more detail later in this report), the researchers were reliant on SAPS and CPF members to identify initiatives, and some initiatives that were not already known to either the CPFs and/or the SAPS members at the selected stations may have been overlooked. This study is therefore unfortunately not exhaustive, but it has identified important trends and areas for support and intervention.

A related limitation was the difficulty experienced in gaining access to the community members involved in the identified initiatives. The majority of these people are employed and are very active in their communities, making the time they have available for interviews very limited and restricted to evenings or weekends. Many of the fieldworkers had to travel to the sites to undertake the interviews, with the result that the amount of time available for interviews was limited and in some cases the community perspective was not exhaustively discussed.

¹ These organizations included the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, the Institute for Security Studies, Business Against Crime Gauteng and the CSIR Crime Prevention Centre.

CHAPTER 2

CRIME PREVENTION STRATEGIES

2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

There has historically been a tendency for people to lay the responsibility for crime prevention at the door of police agencies. This is largely because we tend to view crime prevention in terms of arresting and prosecuting offenders. However, there is an ever-increasing move towards viewing crime prevention as just that the prevention of crime, rather than reacting to crimes that have already happened. Crime prevention may usefully be seen as a strategy of governance rather than law enforcement.

According to Gilling, crime prevention is a phenomenon of the latter half of the twentieth century (Gilling, 1997). He asserts that, because it is a relatively new concept, which needs to be better defined, crime prevention still has to prove itself. There are a range of crime prevention theories and practices that have developed and evolved internationally over the last few decades and there is little to indicate which is more effective (Gilling, 1997). The crime prevention environment in South Africa has been informed by many of these theories, as well as the specific political and socio-economic context of the country, as will be discussed below.

In South Africa, the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) lays a clear foundation for our understanding of crime, its causes and how to prevent it. In addition to identifying 'target hardening' as a method of preventing crime, the NCPS also states that we need to understand the root causes of crime in order to be able to prevent it. Target hardening tends not to solve the root causes of crime but rather relies on solutions that are aimed at making potential targets physically safer and more difficult to penetrate, and improved police visibility. The kinds of responses involved can then range from improved environmental design (by improving street lighting and fencing of dangerous areas) to early-childhood development programmes, from employment schemes to sports facilities.

The White Paper for Safety and Security also outlines a policy commitment to a more pro-active approach to crime prevention. However, as Pelser and Louw (2002) state, there is a wide gap between policy and practice, probably due to the fact that policy does not take the requirements for implementation sufficiently into account. The policy/practice gap has been further compounded by the fact that many of the crime prevention policies have been imported from or influenced by developed countries that have completely different contexts.

In South Africa, local-level crime prevention has generally been left to the community police forums (CPFs), which are supposed to undertake certain processes of joint problem solving that are necessary for effective crime prevention.

The guidelines² state that CPFs are "a means to facilitate partnership between the police and the community and to engage in joint problem identification and consultative problem solving." (Department of Safety and Security, 1997) CPFs will be described in more depth in the following section, but suffice it to say that they have had a mixed impact, largely because of the policy/practice disjuncture discussed above.

Current thinking³ about crime prevention recognises that there are three different elements at play in crime and violence problems. First of all, there is an offender who is committing the crime. Secondly, there is a victim against whom the crime is committed. The third element is the environment within which the crime is committed. Each element may be tackled in a specific manner in order to reduce the levels of crime and victimisation.

Social development programmes are useful in reducing the number of offenders by targeting 'at-risk' groupings and providing alternatives to crime as a way of life. Situational prevention and education can assist in reducing the number of victims through making vulnerable groupings less susceptible to crime, both in terms of the physical environment and of personal habits and actions. Lastly, the general environment can be made less conducive to crime by applying the principles of Crime Prevention through Environmental Design (CPTED). These principles make locations safer by ensuring improved visibility, access control, and the layout of public spaces and services, to name but a few examples.⁴

There is a growing acceptance on the part of local communities that the police alone cannot, and should not, be responsible for the reduction and prevention of crime at the local level. Partnerships are required to bring together the variety of knowledge, skills and resources necessary for effective and successful crime prevention interventions. At the local level, these partnerships are best led by mayors, city managers, city planners and elected local officials (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2001).

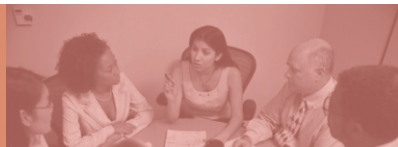
Internationally, populations are expanding and urbanisation and the growth of cities are rapidly increasing.⁵ The growing urban population, and accompanying problems with crime and violence in South Africa, is having a significant impact on safety and security issues in the country. There are growing numbers of unemployed young people and access to drugs is increasingly easy. These are internationally recognised risk factors for involvement in crime and violence. According to the UN HABITAT Safer Cities Programme, urban violence generates a fear of crime. "Crime and the fear of crime are serious threats to the stability and social climate of cities, to sustainable and economic development, the quality of life and human rights." (UN Habitat) Crime and its prevention is therefore a governance issue and is not merely the responsibility of the South African Police Service; local government has a key role to play in creating and sustaining safer cities.

² Department of Safety and Security (1997). Community Policing Policy Framework and Guidelines: A Manual for the South African Police Service, South Africa.

³ See for example, *Making South Africa Safe: A Community Based Crime Prevention Manual*

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Ibid



However, crime prevention, even at the local level, is not a simple task. Defining communities is difficult, as is identifying the appropriate groupings and partners to work with. So, too, is developing and sustaining useful and suitable partnerships. Lessons learned from other countries point to the need to address the underlying causes of crime rather than just responding to the symptoms; to build on the strengths and resources in communities; to develop long-term projects based on careful analysis of the problems; to target risk factors in order to ensure the success of projects; and to ensure sustainability through funding and through monitoring and evaluation.

Studies have shown that those communities that are the least resourced and skilled need the most support from government, as the highly resourced communities are both less likely to produce at-risk individuals and have more resources to address crime-related problems themselves.

In order for crime prevention programmes, particularly those concerned with addressing the underlying causes of crime through social development, to be effective, skills are required to identify, analyse and develop responses to the crime and disorder problems in communities.

The sustainability of local interventions is fragile – the more so in the less resourced areas – due to the impermanent nature of funding and resource provision as well as the danger of losing ongoing support from members of the community more broadly. It is necessary, then, to have a champion who will ensure that initiatives maintain their momentum without, however, becoming dependent on one person for their continued existence and success.

In America, the funding of community-based crime prevention initiatives has been adapted to support those initiatives that “target key situational, social and economic factors associated with crime using multidisciplinary approaches,” and “combine grassroots and local initiatives with funding and support” (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2001). The focus, then, is on long-term social development interventions by a range of institutions at the community, local and governmental levels. There is increasing evidence that interventions that target the risk factors of crime are helpful in reducing crime and other social problems.

2.2 ISSUES OF LEGALITY AND CONSTITUTIONALITY

Crime prevention initiatives and structures take many forms. For the most part they are either benign in terms of the law, or, in the case of CPFs, provided for in the legislation and constitution of the country. There is a possibility that some of the initiatives that rely more on target hardening and increased visibility approaches to crime prevention may lean towards illegality. Private patrol groups, particularly, are at risk of overstepping their mandate and taking on a street justice or vigilante flavour. Another risk is that of turning the initiative into a profit-

generating business for the person who initiates and runs it, which contributes to a blurring of the lines of accountability and benefit from the service provided. While there have been some cases of the SAPS challenging the legality of certain patrol ventures (mostly in the particularly advantaged communities) a policy guideline that could give direction to the establishment and implementation of security patrol groups run by private citizens would be of great benefit.

2.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE RANGE OF ACTIVITIES

The kinds of initiatives that exist at community level in response to the problem of crime can be divided in to two categories:

- Those that receive support from the SAPS in some way, and
- Those that operate independently of the SAPS.

The vast majority of the initiatives identified during the course of this study fall into the first category and receive different types and levels of support from the SAPS. While this may be due to the fact that the researchers were heavily reliant on the SAPS in identifying the crime prevention initiatives that are active in their operational areas, it is more likely to be a result of the fact that the police play a very important role in identifying and communicating crime trends that need to be responded to, and often act as the catalysts for the creation of local initiatives that respond to these problems. In addition, and particularly in the socio-economically depressed communities, it would appear that the SAPS plays a critical role in the provision of resources and capacity to support crime prevention initiatives. A range of the crime prevention initiatives currently in existence is presented below.

2.3.1 Initiatives supported by the SAPS

Community police forums (CPFs)

By law, every police station must have a CPF, and in the course of undertaking this study it was evident that there are CPFs attached to each of the stations, although the CPF structures appeared to be functioning at very different levels from one precinct to another and their relationship with the SAPS also varied from extremely close cooperation to very antagonistic relationships. Those communities with high levels of transient inhabitants, either due to the high numbers of industries and businesses or to an impermanent resident population, appeared to have less successful CPF programmes and poorer SAPS-CPF relations. It was suggested by the SAPS, and by others in these communities, that a highly mobile population did not engender in people a sense of ownership or encourage social cohesion, important factors if people are going to invest time and resources in building their own communities.

The more stable an area (stability being measured in terms of a settled resident community irrespective of the socio-economic status of that community), the greater the possibility of strong cooperation and of involvement of community members in CPF structures and in community crime prevention initiatives. In fact, in several of the communities included in this study, it was evident that the relationship between the CPF and the SAPS was extremely strong and that it formed the basis for the SAPS being central to all major community crime prevention initiatives.

Several examples were cited of CPFs providing financial and other types of support to the SAPS and enhancing crime prevention initiatives.

Funding support from CPFs

The CPF in Rustenburg has assisted the Rustenburg SAPS to establish a fully fledged Mounted Horse Unit which has been operating for several years. The funding, mainly from the mining concerns operating in that province, is channelled via a section 21 company. When it was initially established it was on the understanding that the operating costs of this unit would be absorbed into the SAPS budget within a three-year period. However five years after its implementation this has still not materialised.

Keeping the Community Informed

In Quigney, East London, the *Quigney Voice*, a newsletter that is produced by the Sector Chairperson has been credited with ensuring that residents are kept well informed on crime trends and initiatives. The newspaper has also been successfully used to as a tool for “naming and shaming” property owners who are irresponsible about their property or who condone illegal activities by virtue of complacency.

Schools policing forums/principals forums

Schools policing forums have been launched in many areas. In many of these forums the participants include principals, learners and SAPS officials, and meetings are held weekly to identify problems and to find solutions to these problems. Solutions have included parent patrols to ensure that children return home safely and identifying “problem areas “ on the route home for children and addressing this through requesting the municipality to install lighting and clear bushes along the way. Awareness-raising activities have been introduced in schools and with parents on crime trends and crime tactics that they should be aware of. In addition, learners have been advised to walk home in groups, not to carry or wear valuables to and from school and generally to be vigilant.

Two specific initiatives require elaboration as they represent innovative responses to schools as sites for crime prevention

Alexandra Crime-Free Zones Initiative

Crime-Free Zones have been established in 22 schools in this township with the aim of reducing the presence of guns and other weapons on school premises. Working with the SAPS, especially Adopt-a-Cop and the CPF, schools have declared themselves crime-free zones. This has involved awareness-raising activities with learners, the establishment of the school as a gun-free zone and the implementation of sanctions if this rule was not adhered to by either learners, educators or the public. Drug and alcohol abuse awareness programmes have also been introduced and some schools have supported the development of TADA clubs (Teens Against Drug and Alcohol Abuse.).

Negligent Parents

In Sandton the Principals Forum representing 23 state schools in the area took up the issue of children who were not collected from school on time and were often standing outside schools for hours. Out of concern for the safety of these young children, the educators often had to take the child to their own home. This created difficulties, as often the parents were not able to find out where the child was and in one instance the child had to sleep overnight at a teacher's home. Through the forum a solution to this problem was identified and is currently being implemented. The solution involves the educator taking the uncollected children (a cut-off time after school has closed has been agreed on) to the SAPS Victim Support Centre and cared for there until the parents are located. Parents have been informed about this procedure and it was reported that it had made a big impact because many parents were reluctant to have to go to a police station and to have to explain to the SAPS why they were late.

Adopt-a-Cop

Adopt-a-Cop is a national programme driven by the SAPS in partnership with the Department of Education. A selected officer is appointed within that Precinct as the person to liaise with schools and visits are made at regular intervals to the schools in the area. Visits to schools have included discussions with the educators, awareness-raising activities with the learners on topics including teenage pregnancy and child abuse, rape and general crime prevention, hosting essay competitions on crime prevention themes, soccer coaching clinics for the youth and a learner attendance award scheme aimed at reducing truancy, preventing drug abuse and school drop outs. Drug and alcohol abuse prevention programmes have also been the focus of Adopt-a-Cop programmes.

Youth initiatives

The SAPS initiates and supports many programmes with the youth in their areas, recognising the fact that young people are both the victims and perpetrators of crime. The youth initiatives are being driven by the requirement of the national SAPS office that all SAPS stations establish Youth Desks. Youth Desk activities have included an annual youth camp organised by the SAPS Youth Manager, sporting activities - including soccer tournaments hosted by the SAPS, school holiday programmes for children living on the streets and promotion of cultural events involving young people. In one precinct the SAPS has organised school holiday programmes to ensure that the children are occupied in healthy activities.

Not all youth initiatives have been driven by the SAPS. In many areas youth activities have been initiated by concerned community members and are aimed at addressing unemployment and boredom amongst young people, which is believed to be a catalyst for criminal behaviour, as well as addressing the high rate of teenage pregnancies and drug addiction amongst the youth. The focus is on providing young people with healthy and safe recreational activities, skills development opportunities and life skills training.

An important focus of youth work is discouraging young people from drug peddling or consumption and encouraging them to be aware of crime and to be involved in crime prevention initiatives. The formation of foot patrols to protect commuters is one example of how the youth have been mobilised.

Community patrol groups/neighbourhood watch initiatives

Several of the areas have initiated community patrol or neighbourhood watch initiatives. Neighbourhood watches and patrols have been developed involving the residents, and patrols have been involved in stop-and-search activities under the supervision of the SAPS. They have also undertaken patrols in crime "hot spots" in order to prevent crime from taking place, including frequent visits to shebeens. An additional function they have served is alerting members of the community to potential crime, using various means such as cell phones, whistle blowing and neighbours sharing information with each other.

The Whistle Blowing initiative is quite popular and involves residents blowing a whistle to alert community members to the fact that a crime is taking or has just taken place. Through monthly meetings held with communities and often hosted by the CPF, all households are encouraged to have a whistle. In the event of any incident of crime taking place, the whistle must be blown immediately. Members of the community must then assist one another in capturing the perpetrator and taking him/her to the police station. As it is critical that each household has at least one whistle, some SAPS stations or CPF structures have assumed the

responsibility of purchasing whistles for households that may not be able to afford them.

The cell phone alert has been used in communities where residents are living on farms some distance from each other, or in high-rise block of flats where a member who has received the alert is responsible for calling another person to notify them and in this way the costs are shared equally and the information is disseminated fairly rapidly.

Not all neighbourhood watch systems have involved the residents in undertaking patrols directly, as the case study below indicates.

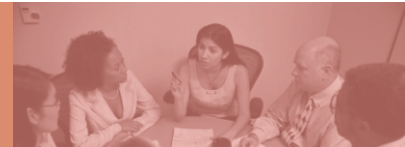
Stellenbosch Watch

In Stellenbosch the Ratepayers Association has initiated the Stellenbosch Watch project by recruiting police reservists to patrol the streets. In return they are paid an allowance collected from residents. Their task is to patrol designated areas and to apprehend suspected criminals for police investigation.

The neighbourhood watch/patrol system is not without its problems. These may include the coercion of households where no member is participating in the patrol to make a contribution in kind or cash to the patrol. This has resulted in a "tax" being levied on the residents in general and failure to contribute has brought retribution on non-contributing households irrespective of their ability to pay. One station commissioner actively discouraged this type of activity as he believed that *vigilante groups* could use it to demand payment from residents for services rendered.

Various groupings of stakeholders against crime (for example sports, youth, liquor traders, tavern/shebeen owners, churches, building caretakers, taxi owners, etc.) are brought together by the SAPS with the aim of discussing related crimes and establishing workable solutions to these crimes. Two good examples are:

- **Schools Against Crime:** Due to an increase in the number of reported housebreaking incidents in many schools in the areas, the SAPS has organised meetings with local schools in a number of the station areas to establish a common ground and approach to combating the problem jointly with the schools' management structures.
- **Tavern/Shebeen Owners Against Crime:** Alcohol-related crime, especially assaults, is rife in many of the areas. The victims and/or perpetrators of such crimes would usually have spent a considerable amount of time in a place where alcohol is being served or sold prior to a particular incident. The station management has therefore approached tavern and shebeen owners and other liquor traders to establish a code of conduct that will minimise the occurrence of such incidents.



Street committees and sector patrol groups

The less affluent areas often have more basic forms of neighbourhood watch schemes than those found in the highly resourced suburbs. Many of the patrol groups have been established with support from the SAPS, including training regarding searches, apprehending perpetrators and dealing with suspicious circumstances. Patrol members operate on a volunteer basis and work for a designated number of hours at designated places as determined by patrol group leaders and sector managers. Criteria for the selection of a resident as a patrol group member include not having a past criminal record, being between the ages of 18 and 65 years old and being a resident of the sector patrolled.

In some areas street committees have been formed and in one area the street committee members are registered as informants with the SAPS and receive financial rewards for information provided to the SAPS that leads to successful arrests.

Street children

Many police station areas have specifically identified street children as a target for their crime prevention initiatives. Some of the interventions aimed at street children have been noted earlier in this report, e.g. hosting sporting events. Other initiatives include documenting the names and particulars of all of the children on the streets or in shelters in order to keep track of them and to be able to identify new children coming onto the streets and to endeavour to provide them with some level of protection and support from the SAPS. There is a consensus among those working with street children that those who are identified soon after they arrive on the streets are more easily returned home than the more seasoned street dwellers who have become, in their words, "streetwise".

Keeping children off the streets

One interview with a sector forum chairperson was interrupted by an urgent call to the chairperson from a community member. She had observed that morning a child aged between 8 and 10 years old who appeared to be lost and it was clear that this was not one of the regular street children in that area. The chairperson then contacted the SAPS to investigate and a short while later she was informed by the sector manager that the child had been located and interviewed by the SAPS and that it appeared that while in Durban on a shopping trip with his mother he had got separated from her and didn't know how to find her or how to go back home to Inanda.

Arrangements were made between the SAPS official and the chairperson for a taxi to collect the child from the SAPS satellite station and for the taxi fare to be paid. Instructions were given to the taxi driver to deliver the child to the SAPS station in Inanda and finally contact was made with the SAPS office in Inanda, who were advised of this situation and requested to receive the child and to assist in returning the child to his home.

Domestic worker forums

In some of the more affluent communities where residents are not home during the day, the SAPS has involved domestic workers and complex caretakers in a neighbourhood watch system, whereby if a crime has been committed or any suspicious vehicle or persons are noticed then other domestic workers or building caretakers are alerted.

Violence against women and children awareness campaigns

Such campaigns were reported at almost all stations and involve providing both education and support in respect of violence against women and children. Awareness campaigns and activities have included calling on residents to provide escorts to workers coming home in the evenings and going to work early in the mornings.

The Mpumelelo community group in Inanda, which was formed to provide cultural and social opportunities for young people in Inanda, has encouraged many of the unemployed youth to set up an escort system for workers leaving home very early or arriving home in the dark. In addition, escorts are provided for commuters arriving home at the end of the month after pay day to ensure safe passage home.

2.3.2 Initiatives that have the approval and buy-in of the SAPS but are not supported by the SAPS

Car watch schemes are prevalent all over the country

The BIDs and CIDs

These are 'Business Improvement Districts' and 'City Improvement Districts' which are designated by local government and businesses. They operate on the basis that there is 51% support from businesses affected and once they have been legislated, funds received are invested in improvement initiatives, including street lighting, keeping the streets clean and green, etc.

According to the CPF, the BID in Sandton has been highly successful, specifically regarding the CBD. Patrols have been introduced emulating the "Bobby on the Beat" concept and are known as Safety Ambassadors, as Sandton is a high tourism area. At present there are 65 guards on patrol in highly visible uniforms. There is reportedly a campaign to harass sex workers and drug peddlers and traffic flows have been managed.

In addition to these patrols, the CCTVs located in many central business districts are said to add to the ability to monitor and detect crime and to respond rapidly to crime in these areas.



Residential Road Closures

This is another community response to the crime problem. Residential Road Closures have received mixed responses. According to both the SAPS and the CPF these road closure initiatives are highly overrated in terms of their success in reducing crime and, in any event, are illegal. In one area where the survey was conducted it was found that there were approximately 20-25 such closures, all of which are managed by one specific security group.

Business forums and block watches

These are established in some business areas where there are relatively high numbers of small businesses and industries. They are self-sufficient and funded through members' subscriptions, which usually cover their operational costs.

Business Against Crime

This is active in many areas, and provides resources and support to police stations and communities. However, as it is a self-funded initiative with its own national and provincial priorities, it is not discussed in any detail in this report.

2.4 THE ROLE OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In only a few areas did the study find local government reportedly being active in crime prevention.

Local government involvement in crime prevention

The Umhlatuze Community Crime Prevention Strategy Framework was developed for the municipality by the Centre for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) after an intensive baseline study. The strategic framework is underpinned by three programmes, within which new and existing initiatives are integrated, coordinated and implemented, namely:

- * The Trusted Service Providers Programme this will be based on an Integrity Charter binding the service provider to deal effectively with corruption and will have a strong educational component.
- * The Community Mobilization Programme this will deal with awareness raising for a wide range of stakeholders regarding the importance of reporting crime, understanding victims' rights, etc.
- * The Firearm Reduction Programme this is aimed at establishing firearm-free zones and developing reliable processes for reporting illegal firearms and the transparent disposal of illegal firearms.

The mechanism for driving the strategy will be the appointment of a project manager and the transformation of the Project Steering Committee into a Community Safety Forum (CSF), which will be managed by UMAC (U Managing Conflict), an NGO.

With the very notable exception of the Umhlatuze initiative described above, the involvement of local government was identified as a major challenge to the success of community-based crime prevention initiatives. Very few of the initiatives had any relationship with local government in any form and identified this as a stumbling block to the continued existence of their projects. One CPF reported that the police were playing their part in helping to combat crime in the area, but that the politicians and council in general were not helpful. In many instances, the councillors have failed to honour appointments and meetings called by the CPF.

Local governments have a key role to play in crime prevention. Internationally, there is an increasing shift towards local government involvement in the prevention of crime and improving the levels of safety and security. "Mayors and local officials have come to see community safety as a basic human right and an important aspect of the quality of life of their communities. They have mobilised local partnerships with key actors, the police, government agencies, community organisations, and residents to develop safe, secure, and vibrant communities in metropolitan...areas." (US Department of Justice, 2001: x)

While the Umhlatuze project in KwaZulu-Natal is an example of good local government practice in relation to crime prevention, in South Africa unfortunately examples such as these are the exception rather than the rule. Local government involvement need not be as far-reaching as in the case of Umhlatuze; many metropolitan and municipal areas have municipal or metropolitan police departments (MPDs) that have crime prevention as a core function. A number of cities, including Johannesburg and Cape Town, are in the process of developing and implementing City Safety Strategies aimed at obtaining a clear understanding of and approach to the local crime problems in their cities. In addition, there is a clear role for the work of the Justice Crime Prevention and Security (JCPS) cluster at the local level.

2.5 IMPACT OF THE INITIATIVES

It proved very hard to measure precisely the impact that these initiatives have had. This can be ascribed to a number of reasons, including the relative newness of many of the initiatives, the difficulty in obtaining up-to-date police statistics and the lack of indicators to guide the work of the initiatives. Where it was possible to measure impact, most of the indicators related to the SAPS and SAPS/community relations.

Community involvement in crime prevention initiatives is a key element of community policing. This study was aimed at identifying and reviewing the range and nature of crime prevention initiatives that exist in the 40 police station areas surveyed. While the fieldworkers made every effort to

speaking to as broad a sample of respondents as possible, the study had not factored in interviews with beneficiaries of community crime prevention initiatives in these areas. Hence the impact of the crime prevention initiatives reported here is based on the perceptions of those directly involved in implementing them or on the perspectives of SAPS and CPF members.

In relation to the SAPS, they report that:

- Intelligence flow is improved.
- More crime is reported.
- The likelihood and probability of making successful and timely arrests is increased
- Time management is improved.
- Crime is reduced in some areas.
- Cooperation and communication between the SAPS and the broader community is improved.
- Staff morale is improved.
- Both on and off-duty, police officers are no longer under constant threat of attack and can interact freely throughout the area.

In the communities benefiting from the initiatives that have SAPS involvement, both the community and the SAPS reported:

- Improved appreciation of the role of the police in the community.
- Recognition that the police are at least doing something about crime in the area.
- Improved community/SAPS relations in general.
- A feeling of safety is experienced in some areas, particularly at night.

An apparent contradiction that was often observed was that improved community/SAPS relations seemed to result in more crime being reported instead of reducing crime levels. In actual fact this reflects an increase in crime reporting, which might give the impression that more crime is being committed, whereas it is in fact a sign that people are finding the police station more user-friendly for reporting criminal activities. However, many respondents reported that residents felt safer and were to be seen in the streets and parks more often now than they had been prior to the initiatives.

An important point to note is the fact that sector policing is very much of a new phenomenon within the police environment, and therefore a sizeable number of police personnel still need to be trained in this respect.

2.6 INDICATORS USED TO MEASURE THE IMPACT OF INITIATIVES

As has been stated, the issue of indicators is one that has not been adequately attended to. This is partly because of the tendency to use statistics (which are not available in any current format) as a primary measure, and partly due to the fact that the initiatives did not identify the indicators that they would use to measure their success. This is certainly an area that the SAPS needs to address in the future.

2.7 FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE SUCCESS OF PROJECTS

The common denominator in all of the successful programmes or projects is the presence of a strong person or institution that drives the project and keeps it on track.

- For many of the projects, a strong SAPS presence was key to its success.
- Projects have a greater chance of long-term success if they are aimed at addressing the needs and concerns of community members.
- Effective planning and the involvement of key stakeholders in the process were also identified as being a key success factor, together with the need for a dedicated commitment to addressing a situation.
- SAPS involvement in responding timeously to requests and calls for assistance by the patrols and other visible policing initiatives has been important to their success.
- Obviously, too, success is more likely to be achieved with ongoing support and resources.

Surprisingly enough, many initiatives emerge even without financial support, but with a good mobilisation of those local resources that are available.

2.8 CHALLENGES TO THE INITIATIVES

Less surprising is the fact that the major challenge to the success of all of these initiatives is that of resources. This includes a lack of resources on the part of the SAPS to sustain some of the community initiatives, as well as insufficient money and resources to adequately equip community members to undertake crime prevention activities.

A number of CPF chairpersons expressed frustration regarding the SAPS policy on resource mobilisation, which did not allow a resource contributed to a particular station to be for the exclusive use of that station. Hence the expectation that if residents or businesses in one area contributed to crime prevention, then that contribution had to be for that area only. As the SAPS could not give any assurances that, for example, a donated vehicle would be used for a particular area only, those willing to donate were reluctant to do so.

For the community members who took part in street and neighbourhood patrols, the lack of resources meant that they did not have bullet-proof vests while patrolling, and as volunteers they often had to spend their own money in going to court to give evidence, taking those who had been injured to hospitals and visiting specific sites to locate stolen goods and criminals, despite the fact that many of the members were actually unemployed. They also used their own cell phones and home phones to make calls to the police, for which they were not reimbursed.



Two other major challenges relate to skills levels in the communities and the difficulties experienced in mobilising members of the public to support or involve themselves in the initiatives. At one police station it was felt that sometimes community members did not possess the necessary skills and expertise to handle criminal matters properly. The possibility of abusing such initiatives with ulterior motives could not always be ruled out if the police were not involved. Police also experienced problems when it came to mobilising the community or organising any meeting to inform or engage the community around crime prevention programmes. There was a general problem of public apathy when it came to sustained community participation.

2.9 Sustainability of the initiatives

The existence and survival of community structures in general is always dictated by the kind of resources and facilities available to them. The more affluent communities are able to finance their own private security firms and companies. The problem of survival and sustainability is felt most within the less affluent communities.

Those initiatives that are self-funded are more likely to succeed. Most of the BID initiatives are funded by business and hence are likely to be sustained. The participation in the forums is fairly good for specific stakeholders, namely restaurant owners, school principals, etc. but it is very hard

to sustain resident participation in sector forums on an ongoing basis. In those instances where volunteers were registered as informants or reservists with self-funded initiatives they were at least able to secure some remuneration.

Crime also plays a part in issues of sustainability, as the sustainability of community-based structures depends partly on the nature and pattern of the crime against which such an initiative is undertaken. Naturally, those initiatives where the main problem is addressed in a specific way will generally fade away over time.

According to the SAPS members interviewed, an important factor in terms of sustainable community-based crime prevention activities is usually the extent to which these structures are formalised in their own right. In other words, it is those structures that organise and mobilise their own constituencies around issues of self-interest (sometimes not necessarily in response or relation to normal sector policing activities), which are usually able to sustain themselves and their existence over time.

CHAPTER 3

COMMUNITY POLICING

3.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

The Community Policing Policy Framework and Guidelines defines Community Policing as “a philosophy that guides police management styles and operational strategies and emphasises the establishment of police- community partnerships and a problem solving approach responsive to the needs of the community⁶”

In 1994 the new South African Police Service (SAPS) was formed out of the eleven policing agencies that had existed in the country up to that point. This amalgamation brought with it two important legacies. In the first place, because of the nature of policing under apartheid, all of the agencies had notoriously bad relationships with the communities they were based in. Secondly, all eleven agencies had different entry requirements, different training and development strategies, and different work cultures.

Many programmes, policies and processes have been introduced over the past ten years to try and address these challenges, which are by no means the only ones that need to be faced, the philosophy of community policing being chief amongst them. One of the major objectives of community policing has been described as the establishment of “an active partnership between the Police and the community through which crime, service delivery and police-community relations can jointly be analysed and appropriate solutions designed and implemented⁷”.

The guidelines go on to outline five characteristics of community policing:

- Service orientation
- Partnership
- Problem solving
- Empowerment
- Accountability

In order to accommodate all of these principles, and in particular to address the issue of poor police-community relations and the levels of distrust that the community have historically had in the police, both the Constitution and the Police Act require each police station to have a community police forum (CPF) which will allow for ongoing consultation between the police and the community, and promote greater transparency and accountability on the part of the police. The responsibility for the CPF's existence rests with the station commissioner, but the CPF should not be chaired by the SAPS, but rather by a member of the community. Most police stations do have CPFs, but studies⁸ have shown that the effectiveness and efficiency of the forums varies considerably, as their functioning is affected

by a range of factors, including political influence, the wealth of the community, enthusiasm from the community and/or the SAPS, expectations, etc.

Partly in response to the uneven success of the CPFs, and partly due to the fact that there are a growing number of community-based crime prevention projects that are conceived and implemented outside of the ambit of the CPFs, either with or without the input and support of the SAPS, the police have moved the emphasis away from CPFs and towards 'sector policing' as a method of community policing. As the policing priorities are beginning to move away from the “stabilisation” approach adopted by the SAPS and towards “normalisation and prevention”, more attention is being paid by the SAPS to supporting and working with community-based crime prevention initiatives. As a consequence of this move, the SAPS have adopted sector policing as a strategy to increase the involvement of police and communities in crime prevention initiatives at a local level. While community policing is the philosophy of policing that provides the framework for the SAPS, sector policing is one of the strategies of community policing that aims at enhancing police visibility while at the same time improving service delivery at the local level.

3.2 THE NATURE OF “COMMUNITY”

In the course of this study it became increasingly evident that, in this country particularly, there is a lack of common understanding of community-based crime prevention and of suitable indicators, measurements and common objectives for such programmes. In addition, the term “community” is often used very broadly and does not always assist in the identification of the target population towards which initiatives are directed. Where necessary, therefore, it is important that the term “community” be disaggregated in order to clarify exactly which section of the community a programme is aimed at assisting. The identification of what makes successful community-based programmes work is therefore not straightforward. A focus group discussion that was held prior to the fieldwork of this study, identified that, in this study, and in relation to our understanding and support of local crime prevention initiatives, it was important not only to look at the role of the community, but also to look at the role of local government, as well as the role that the SAPS plays in catalysing, initiating, supporting, advising and generally contributing to the sustainability of such programmes.

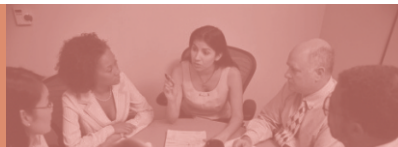
A broad range of communities, crime areas and disorder problems and responses was therefore identified and described. In each of these areas the level of understanding of crime prevention and the role of the community is different and is in fact reflective of the communities themselves.

In the areas covered that may be described as relatively

⁶Department of Safety and Security (1997), Community Policing Framework and Guidelines: A manual for the South African Police Service

⁷ Ibid

⁸See for example Pelser and Louw (2002), and Griggs (2003)



stable and medium to highly resourced, due to the presence of many businesses and/or high-income residents, there is a marked tendency for the community to concentrate on 'target hardening' or situational approaches to crime prevention. Community resources are therefore largely channelled into visible deterrents such as:

- Private security
- Increased policing
- Improved security at schools, businesses and private homes
- Improving police reaction times through the use of CCTV cameras
- The provision of police cars
- The use of road closures to block access to certain - mainly residential - areas

In the areas where there are stable but poorly resourced residents and businesses, the likelihood of victimisation is much higher than in the other areas, but the approaches to crime prevention have a greater element of social crime prevention in addition to the situational prevention approaches. These station areas have community initiatives that are largely aimed at intervening in 'at-risk' groups, and therefore include:

- Youth development programmes
- Recreational and sports activities
- Drug awareness programmes
- Feeding schemes and training for crèche managers and workers

In addition, community members donate their time and personal resources by becoming members of the community patrol groups. The SAPS plays a very key role in the catalysing and support of such initiatives because of the nature of these communities, which have little or no disposal income.

In the third category of police station area, there are differing levels of resources as well as different community needs, so the crime prevention initiatives are relatively disparate and reflect a combination of the above two trends. This category also shows a marked variance of community involvement in crime prevention according to the involvement of the SAPS. It is interesting that in these areas the relationship between the CPFs and the SAPS appears to be weaker and more contested than in the other areas, which report good cooperation and understanding generally.

The last type of area has differing crime problems at different times. The area around a large soccer stadium, for instance, may see an increase in robberies and car theft at times of large soccer matches, while police stations that have popular holiday resorts in their area may have particular problems related to crowding, alcohol and transport issues around the peak holiday times. It is generally up to the police to address these crime problems on their own because much of the community affected at these times is transient in nature and not easily identified or co-opted.

It is therefore clear that the understanding of, and support for, crime prevention initiatives on the part of communities varies in accordance with the safety priorities and resource availability in the communities concerned.

CHAPTER 4

SECTOR POLICING

4.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

The draft Sector Policing Policy issued by the SAPS in 2003 defines sector policing as:

“A method of policing used in smaller, manageable geographical areas in a police area. The appointment of a police official as a sector commander who, by acting as a crime prevention official will involve all role-players in identifying the particular policing needs in each sector and addressing the root causes of crime, as well as the enabling and contributing factors, in order to bring about effective crime prevention”.

The idea of sector policing originated and was adopted in London in the early 1990s⁹. Inextricably linked with the concept of community policing, sector policing is seen in South Africa as a practical method of applying community policing.

The concept of sector policing appears to have evolved out of many years of policing innovations in the United Kingdom and North America, and revolves around four key elements: geographical responsibility, problem solving, community consultation, and managerialism and consumerism.¹⁰

Geographical responsibility sees small teams of police officers taking responsibility for specific geographic areas. This allows individual officers to build relationships with the local people resident in their designated area, while at the same time developing a deep understanding of the area and its crime and disorder problems.

Problem solving relates to the identification, analysis and solving of local problems that give rise to crime in the area. Herman Goldstein, an American police scholar and the recognised “father” of problem-solving policing, noticed that many crime problems in neighbourhoods are grouped into clusters of “similar, related or recurring incidents”.¹¹ Rather than responding to each individual incident, the responsibility of the police should be to analyse the problems in order to implement and evaluate solutions that are specially designed to address that particular problem.

The community consultation element of sector policing is key to community policing, although the experience of such forums in both England and South Africa has proved to be less successful than was hoped (Dixon and Rauch, 2004).

The last element, of managerialism and consumerism, reflects a broader move in the public sector generally, and relates to the need to take a more managerialist approach

to the work of police and policing, while at the same time introducing the concept of service delivery and customer satisfaction for the community.

The reasoning behind and the elements of sector policing are reflected in the White Paper for Safety and Security, which states:

“Sector policing entails the division of areas into smaller managerial sectors and the assignment of police officers to these areas on a full time basis. These police regularly patrol their own sector and are able to identify problems and seek appropriate solutions. Sector policing encourages constant contact with members of local communities.” (Department of Safety and Security, 1998)

Sector policing is therefore a method of policing which aims at:

- Encouraging increased police visibility,
- improving the quality of service delivered by the police to communities,
- using resources efficiently and effectively,
- working closely with local communities, and
- applying problem-solving techniques of crime prevention.

Evaluations of sector policing conducted in London (Dixon and Rauch, 2004) showed that one of the greatest challenges to the successful implementation of sector policing was that of overcoming resistance to the idea from members of the police service. By seeing sector policing as a mechanism for implementing community policing rather than as a new philosophy, it is hoped that the adoption of sector policing in South Africa will not have the same difficulties.

4.2 THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SECTOR POLICING

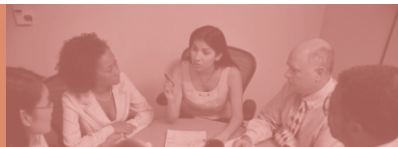
As discussed, the plethora of legislative and policy changes which South Africa has undergone since 1994 have had a significant impact on the approaches and philosophy informing the transformation of policing services. Aimed at improving the effectiveness and efficiency of policing services, these changes have emphasised two important elements, namely community involvement and a human rights based approach to policing. The policy and legislative changes called for a substantial change in the operational methods of policing, and one response to this has been the introduction of a new policing style, known as sector policing.

Sector policing is very much in the early stages of development in South Africa, the concept having been introduced in 2001. Of the forty stations surveyed, two stations indicated that the concept had been introduced at their station as early as 2001 and that implementation had been incremental since that time. The majority of the

⁹ See Dixon and Rauch, 2004

¹⁰ Ibid

¹¹ Ibid



stations surveyed reported having introduced sector policing within the last two years. One station had launched sector policing in May 2004 and another station indicated that it was still in the process of launching sector policing. Only a handful of the stations interviewed reported that sector policing was fully operational in their precinct.

In this section the implementation of sector policing at the 40 station sites reviewed is analysed within the context of the guidelines provided by the SAPS for the implementation of sector policing. The guidelines are aimed at “providing a national uniform framework for implementation of the methodology of sector policing.”¹² The document indicates that these instructions on sector policing are applicable to both SAPS and CPF structures.

4.2.1 PREPARING FOR SECTOR POLICING

Introducing sector policing to the precincts has taken different forms, with several stations reporting having hosted sector policing launches, where the sector concept was explained and sector managers “introduced” to stakeholders. Strategies for implementing sector policing were developed and rigorously implemented at some stations. These included:

- Undertaking awareness-raising campaigns, including workshops and pamphlet development with the community and other stakeholders.
- Extensive data collection on the profile of each sector.
- Door-to-door campaigns to canvass community perceptions and views on crime prevention.
- Consultations with councilors, community members and faith-based leaders.

At some stations the concept of sector policing is seen to have evolved almost organically from existing structures such as neighbourhood, street and block watches.

Internally within a station, the introduction of sector policing has involved the demarcation of sectors, as well as the allocation of SAPS personnel and resources to that sector as designated sector managers/commanders and sector team members. Decisions about the demarcation of sectors have been informed by different criteria at each station. Some stations based their decisions on local government ward demarcations, while others based sector demarcation on existing sub-forums of the CPF within the precinct. Yet others have based their decisions on geographical location and settlement patterns. A few stations reported that although they would have preferred to demarcate their precinct into several more sectors, their decisions had been influenced by the human and physical resources available to the SAPS at the time.

The process of establishing sectors appears to be in line with the National Instruction (NI), which mandates station commissioners to ensure and facilitate the process of establishing sector policing. Interestingly, the instruction

clearly stipulates that the determination of sectors and sector boundaries must be done in consultation with CPFs and station management.

Although some CPF chairpersons reported that they had been involved in establishing sector policing, none reported being involved in the determination of sector boundaries and their demarcation.

The NI provides some criteria for identifying sector boundaries but most of the criteria are general and vague, requiring that the decision take account of infrastructure, geographical size, topographical features, population size, etc. One example of this lack of clarity relates to the determination of the size of a sector, the only requirement being that it not be “too big”. Hence it was noted that sector sizes varied from less than 1 km squared to some that spanned distances of over 20 km.

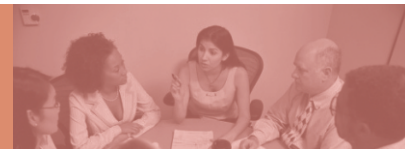
4.2.2 DEVELOPMENT OF SECTOR PROFILES

The concept of the development of sector profiles was embraced by all the stations that reported having implemented sector policing. However, the depth of information gathered varied from one precinct to the next. Types of information gathered for sector profiles included information on population demographics, the nature of the housing available, the availability of public facilities such as schools, clinics, etc., the extent and nature of commercial activity within the sector and crime patterns within the sector.

The sector profiles provide interesting insights and important information on the unique crime problems of specific areas, clearly enabling an understanding of the environment within which crime is committed for the police. As will be illustrated, however, there is no real uniformity in the development and presentation of the sector profiles.

Extracts from two sector profile documents are reproduced below:

¹² SAPS (2003) Draft National Instructions: Sector Policing



Sector	Name & geographical block	Settlement patterns
1	Mabopane Block EW	Formal and informal settlements), spaza shops and taverns
2	Mabopane Railway Station; Central City and Shopping Complex	Mixed residential, small business (hawkers), shebeens.
3	Mabopane Block CV	Informal settlement, fire station, shebeens
4	Winterveldt Stand 1418 to 1472	Rural settlement, schools, small business
5	Winterveldt Stand 1541 to 1589	Rural settlement, schools, small business
6	Winterveldt Stand 1590 to 1621	Rural settlement, schools, small business
7	Winterveldt Stand 1473 to 1540	Rural settlement, schools, small business
8	Winterveldt Stand 1622 to 1658	Rural settlement, schools, small business
9	Lebanon	Formal houses, schools, businesses, taverns, shebeens
10	Beirut	Formal houses, schools, licensed taverns
11	Slovoville	Formal houses, schools, licensed taverns
12	Winterveldt Stand 1066 to 1417	Rural scattered settlement, small business, schools

Another sector profile included information on the services and facilities within the township, the nature of the settlements and population data for the precinct:

Extract from Mdantsane precinct profile

In the Mdantsane precinct there are approximately 1,2 million residents, mostly from the lower socio-economic groups. The Mdantsane police precinct covers 1 988 hectares and is policed by 133 members on a daily basis.

The township has some retail shops, a few industries and a large informal trading sector. Within the broader township (including areas outside of the station precinct) there are two hospitals, 55 schools and five clinics. All formal housing has access to electricity and water via pre-paid systems and there are 52 informal settlement areas.

Some of the sector profiles reviewed provided information on the SAPS capacity within that precinct, including the number of functional members and the ratio of police to population, the number of SAPS personnel allocated to crime prevention and to sector work, as well as details of resource allocation per sector (e.g. number of vehicles allocated to policing work in that sector).

Below is an extract from the *Jeppe Street precinct, Gauteng* profile document:

Jeppe Street SAPS precinct

SECTOR 1

Sector 1 consists mainly of residential properties with patches of open spaces/fields. It is also reported that there are a few 'chop-shops' in this area. The main crime problems reported are:

- * Common and serious assaults, including grievous bodily harm (GBH)
- * Street robberies, usually mugging

SECTOR 4

Sector 4 has the largest number of hostels (a total of six) and sub-hostels in the area (15-20) as well as a few squatter camps. The area also has a few scrap yards and panel beaters where motor vehicle crime is sometimes reported. Unemployment levels are high in this area. There have been a number of cases involving unlicensed firearms. Main crime problems include:

- * Motor vehicle theft
- * Assaults (including GBH)
- * Street robberies

The NI provides explicit guidelines about the type of information to be gathered for a sector profile and structures it into three sections, namely:

- Section A, which provides information on sector personnel, members of the sector crime forum, information on prominent community leaders (e.g. councillors), details of NGOs and other structures active in the area.
- Section B, which provides socio-demographic data, namely population size, size of sector and boundaries, settlement and movement patterns of human traffic, infrastructure and community structures.
- Section C, which provides information on crime trends and the causes of crime.

It is evident from the above that while providing a useful framework the NI has not provided a clear uniform format for the types of information that would be useful for crime prevention and this accounts for the variations in the quality as well as the nature of the information gathered.

4.2.3 Operationalising sector policing at the precinct level

Operationalising sector policing within the stations has involved the appointment of sector managers and dedicated police personnel to a specific sector in accordance with the draft policy issued by the SAPS. The NI merely indicates that sector teams should be comprised of a sector commander/manager, sector deputies and category D reservists. Category D reservists are specially provided for in the NI, and are volunteer police officers, who

work in sector policing in both rural and urban areas (Dixon and Rauch, 2004). In fact, the document stipulates that each sector needs to have a minimum of two reservists as part of its sector team.

One station reported that their sector team included a detective and that it had been observed by management that this had helped the detectives to obtain crime intelligence from residents that was often not available to the SAPS and ensured that detectives could account to sector forums on progress made or identify specific assistance required with an investigation. At another station the station commissioner has taken the development of sector teams one step further by including a councillor and a member of the CPF on sector teams. No specific mention was made in any interviews of involving reservists as part of sector teams, although this is an important aspect of the strategy as seen by the SAPS.

The study did not explore in any depth the processes followed by station management in the appointment of staff for specific duties such as sector policing. One station reported that in order to offer sector policing on a 24-hour basis, they had designated specific vehicles and officers to each shift. The management of another station adopted a unique approach of having staff nominate sector managers, who would occupy this position for two years. It was suggested that this was to ensure that those SAPS personnel who were committed to the concept would be deployed and that the two-year tenure allowed for stability of appointments, which is especially important as sector managers are expected to build relationships with stakeholders. It can also be seen as providing an opportunity for other SAPS personnel who wish to work within sector policing to do so if the positions are rotated every two years.

The NI identifies criteria to be considered in the selection of sector commanders and deputies. A list of 12 criteria is indicated, including problem solving skills, marketing skills, team management in a multi-cultural environment, etc. The task of determining the competency of a candidate as a sector commander was left to a selection panel, comprising the station commissioner, the CPF representative, the head of Crime Prevention and any others that the commissioner wished to co-opt onto the selection panel. In addition to the stipulation of selection criteria, the NI provides an outline of the procedure to be followed in order to select the sector commander.

Sector teams are expected to meet weekly and report on a regular basis to station management on issues raised at sector forums, problems identified and activities undertaken. Normally this takes the form of the sector manager attending management meetings and providing feedback. At one station the station commissioner required that the entire sector team meet him and the station management on a weekly basis. At another station, the sector manager attended all sector crime forum meetings and reported back to the station commissioner on a weekly

basis. In addition to these reports, the station commissioner indicated that he received minutes of the meetings directly via Email from the sector forum chairperson. He stated that although he fully accepted the integrity of the sector manager, having direct access to the minutes allowed him to understand the situation as perceived by the sector and not from a SAPS perspective only.

4.2.4 Sector crime forums for SAPS engagement with the community

According to the NI, sector crime forums are to be established based on regulations provided for the establishment of CPFs and boards, which include an election process for office bearers, the drafting of a constitution and the election of an executive committee.

As a means of engaging with the community and other stakeholders, over half of the stations reviewed indicated that they had set up sector crime forums or had ensured that police linked up with the community via CPFs and sub-forums. The objectives of these forum gatherings were basically to provide an opportunity for the SAPS, CPF members and the specific sector stakeholders to meet, identify specific problems and jointly develop appropriate responses to these problems.

From the reports, received the sector crime forums met at regular intervals, either monthly, fortnightly or weekly, and the nature of these meetings also appeared to be very similar in content. At the meetings SAPS officials provided updates on crime trends and feedback on progress regarding particular problems identified and activities undertaken. In addition, the community was given an opportunity to highlight new problems, and the SAPS and the community worked together to find solutions to these problems.

The NI does not stipulate how frequently these meetings need to be held, but from the interviews it was clear that those forums that met frequently appeared to have achieved more in terms of sector policing than those that met infrequently.

It was noted that some of the forums provided an opportunity for awareness raising and training to be undertaken with the community on crime prevention. One interviewer observed that members of a particular sector forum appeared to be very articulate about and conversant with police procedures and regulations and that this was attributed to the role the forum played in capacity building.

Attendance at these meetings by SAPS personnel varies in that at some precincts the sector manager attends, while at other precincts other SAPS officials, such as detectives and crime information personnel attend.

Case Study

Early in 2004, the Mdantsane station commissioner initiated the concept of community *imbizos* to be held every month across all five sectors over a four-day period to hear from the community and to give feedback to the community on crime trends and patterns, to

identify solutions and to jointly develop strategies for crime prevention. This is in addition to the fact that his telephone number is widely advertised at the station, inviting the public to maintain contact with him, especially in terms of how the station can improve on its crime prevention and reduction efforts.

While for the most part the introduction of sector policing as a method of promoting crime prevention and facilitating community consultation was welcomed by the community, in some instances communication with the SAPS is still difficult and the implementation of sector policing is still very much a work in progress.

The study limitations meant that the researchers were not able to observe at first hand the functioning of some of the sector forums in order to assess their effectiveness. Through a process of triangulation it would have been possible to analyse the information gathered during the fieldwork against objective evidence. Despite this limitation, it is suggested that the information gathered can be verified against an analysis of the perspectives of different stakeholders.

4.2.5 Sector forums, sub-forums, community policing forums

It has been mentioned that, although there are guidelines for implementing sector policing, these are vague and generalised. It is evident that the transition to sector policing has been uneven within the precincts reviewed in this study. In some areas the SAPS works with the CPF structures only and has not set up sector crime forums but rather sub-forums of the CPF, while in other areas sector crime forums have been established with clear linkages to CPF structures, where these are operational. Sector policing has been credited with reviving CPF structures in some areas and CPF structures have been acknowledged to play a key role in enabling the establishment of sector policing in other areas.

The level and quality of sector policing provided by the SAPS can only be as good as the environment allows. Unfortunately, some of the police stations included in this study are poorly resourced with personnel and community/business support, and have inadequate infrastructure and equipment to allow for clear lines of communication and accountability between the police and the community.

4.3 SUPPORT FROM THE SAPS TO COMMUNITY INITIATIVES

Most of the community respondents reported positively on the support provided by the SAPS, although the nature and extent of this support varied.

Some sector forums rely heavily on the police station for logistical support (such as transport, stationery and venues for meetings) while in other areas sector forums operate with little or no support from the station. The ability to mobilise resources for sector forum work also varies, with the CPFs playing an important role in enabling resource

mobilisation.

The role played by sector managers and sector personnel was in some instances focused on direct policing work in that sector, including regular patrols, and in addressing crime problems. Some sector managers have included active networking and outreach to specific stakeholders in the community, such as visiting all schools on a monthly basis to focus on safety within the schools or visiting the elderly in residential care facilities at frequent intervals.

Sector managers have been engaged in conducting training workshops and undertaking awareness-raising campaigns, providing legal advice and hosting specific events, such as sporting events targeting street children. Almost all respondents identified the sharing by sector managers of crime trends and patterns regarding the sector as an important contributing factor in planning crime prevention initiatives.

Various examples of specific support provided by the SAPS and acknowledged by the community included:

- Office space provided to an NGO involved in crime prevention and victim support.
- Patrol group members provided with identity cards and identity jackets by the station.
- Sector managers who demonstrated a willingness to listen to community concerns and suggestions and acted on them.
- Specific escorts provided for the elderly on pension pay days by sector managers.
- Accommodation provided for the establishment of a shelter for street children.
- Provision of training on the reporting of crime and communication with the SAPS in cases of emergency.

Ongoing contact and ease of access to sector managers by the community is an essential component of sector policing. To facilitate ease of contact between the community and sector managers, the contact details of the sector manager and the team have been communicated to stakeholders. In several instances it was reported that the sector managers' cell phone numbers had been disseminated, giving the community a clear message that the SAPS could be contacted with ease. In one precinct a monthly community newspaper provided the names and cell phone numbers of sector managers together with telephone numbers for firearm licence enquiries on the front page of the eight-page papers.

Where sector policing was not operational or ineffective several of the respondents identified a lack of commitment to community policing and sector forums by the SAPS as the reason for these failures. At one precinct community stakeholders reported that in three previous meetings of the CPF, the SAPS had been unable to provide information on crime trends and feedback on what progress had been made regarding problems identified. In addition it was noted that despite the SAPS' commitment to responding rapidly to

requests for help, there had frequently been no response from the SAPS and that consequently stakeholders had lost hope of achieving any success by participating in sector forums. The chairperson of a CPF alleged that the only operational sector in that precinct had collapsed precisely because of community frustration about the inaction and unresponsiveness of the SAPS.

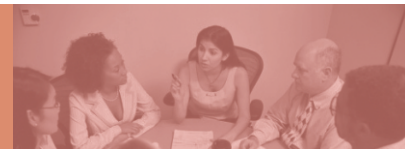
In general, most of the respondents did not appear to be aware of or identify as significant the role played by other levels of the SAPS beyond the precinct level in supporting sector policing. The nature of the support provided by the area office or province included:

- Training for sector forums on sector policing by the area CPF. A copy of handouts given to trainees reflected the following training contents:
 - Introduction to community and sector policing
 - Objectives of sector policing
 - Five pillars of sector policing
 - Five phases of sector policing, namely defining boundaries, appointment of sector commanders, compiling of sector profile, establishment of sector crime forum and, finally, engaging in sector forum activities.
- Allocation of resources from the area office, based on a proposal the station commissioner had submitted for the funding of crime prevention activities during the previous year. These resources had been used for crime prevention activities jointly determined by the SAPS and the CPF.
- Training for the six sector managers by the SAPS National Commission office.
- At least four stations reported that they provided accommodation for the CPF to be housed within the station premises.

4.4 ROLE AND EXTENT OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN SECTOR POLICING

In cases where sector policing is implemented and working, stakeholders including residents, businesses and specific interest groups, have embraced it wholeheartedly. Almost all of the interaction between the SAPS and the community takes place through the forum structures described earlier in this chapter, although other forms of interaction have also been indicated, such as joint patrols with sector police.

Community members have gone beyond participating in forum meetings to taking on more active roles within the community. Two stations reported that in addition to sector forum meetings, block managers or street managers have been appointed and that they met weekly with the sector manager to review progress and to share new intelligence. These "street or block managers" are residents of that area and their role is to serve as a liaison between stakeholders in their "block or street" and the sector forum, and, more



importantly, to be the identified person whom community members could approach if they needed the assistance of the SAPS or wanted to share information with the SAPS. In addition, these “civilian managers” had an important role to play in monitoring suspicious people and incidents in their area.

In some sectors, “block managers” had a list of the cell phone numbers of all residents in that block and when they noted a suspicious activity or a crime being committed they were able to send cell phone text messages to the residents and to the sector police. Residents had to make a once-off membership contribution of R 39,00 in order to be kept informed.

During the research an opportunity was provided for the researchers to observe a block managers meeting in progress.

Block Managers Meeting

“Eyes and Ears” the notion of community members serving as the eyes and ears of the community was very much in evidence at the block managers meeting. One of the block managers, a retired, elderly resident of the area, reported that a suspicious vehicle had been observed visiting the beachfront area in front of her block every morning for the past few nights at around 3 or 4 am and creating a disturbance with loud music and revving of the car. What the researcher found particularly interesting was that the block manager reported having tried unsuccessfully to take down the vehicle registration number, but that she was able to provide other information such as the colour and make of the car. Other block managers presented similar reports and a commitment was given by the sector manager that these matters would be investigated.

Attendance at the meetings by community and other stakeholders varies, depending on the extent of community mobilisation that has been undertaken and the value that stakeholders place on the effectiveness of the forum to address crime issues. Forum meetings consist of, among others, residents, people from the community involved in social development activities, political leaders (including councillors), interest groups such as traders, taxi owners' associations and businesses. Sector forums utilise creative mechanisms to advertise meetings, including notices in community newspapers, radio announcements and pamphlets and notices to residents posted in strategic places, such as the foyer of a residential complex or at a local library.

Of significance to the establishment of sector forums has been the role played by CPF structures in mobilising community and other stakeholders to actively embrace and participate in sector forums. This has been especially important in areas where the trust in and credibility of the SAPS among the community has been low. In one precinct, the CPF has been credited with success in ensuring that the CBD sector forum is well patronised by the business

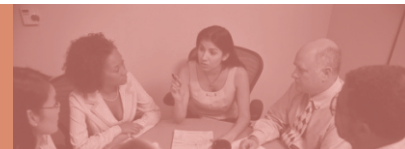
community, while in another the acceptance of sector managers by the community was facilitated through the endorsement by the CPF of the appointments.

Representivity of community stakeholders in sector forums remains an ongoing challenge. Failure to ensure inclusiveness and the lack of understanding of the roles of different structures in communities has generated power struggles that have been exhausting to deal with and demoralising for those involved in sector forums. One very active sector crime forum has set itself a quota of at least 35% of the forum members being women and at least three of its sub-forums being led by women.

Stakeholders who actively participate in sector forums make a huge investment of their time and in some instances of personal resources, as the following examples illustrate:

- In one sector crime forum members had identified block managers (people who reside/work within a specific block in that sector) and the block managers met with the sector forum chairperson and the SAPS sector manager on a weekly basis to reflect on crime problems and patterns as well as on successes.
- At another station the CPF chairperson and other members reported that they had spent their own resources in making calls to the SAPS to follow up on a matter or to attend bail hearings in order to give evidence.
- The former chairperson of a CPF said that he had resigned after serving for four years as it required a huge investment of his time and he was unable to commit this amount of time due to other demands.
- A sector crime forum chairperson reported that she had support from her employers (she lives and works within the sector) to take calls during working hours and to undertake some activities during work time.
- The establishment of a sector patrol emerged out of a sector forum meeting in one precinct and this has now been expanded to patrols being established in a further three areas in that precinct. These patrol groups function largely as foot patrols and are expected to call on the SAPS when they come across complaints. Patrol members operate on a volunteer basis and work for a designated number of hours at designated places as determined by patrol group leaders and sector managers. Patrol group members are obliged to participate in training regarding their powers and functions and to abide by a code of conduct, which is formally signed. Requirements for people volunteering to serve as patrol group members include not having any criminal convictions, being between 18 and 65 years of age and, importantly, being a resident of the sector patrolled.

Some sector forum members, particularly those residing in relatively advantaged and well resourced areas, appeared to be able to mobilise resources for sector forum and CPF



functioning such as meeting venues, photocopying and stationery, typing of minutes and the provision of refreshments. Examples of this are presented below:

- One CPF chairperson reported that his own company had spent approximately R6 000,00 during the last two years on printing, photocopying and other stationery costs.
- Sector forum meetings were held at the home of the chairperson, as well as in the dining room of a residential facility for the elderly. The chairperson also typed up the minutes and Emailed them to members.

What was very clear was that community champions, often the chairperson of the sector crime forum or CPF chairperson, played an important role in ensuring that sector policing works. The interest and commitment of one sector forum chairperson was evident from the message calls received on his cell phone, mobilising community involvement in crime prevention. Another example is the fundraising work done by many chairpersons to mobilise resources for the SAPS. At one precinct the SAPS management confirmed that the CPF chairperson had been instrumental in raising support for the station's functioning in excess of R1 million.

4.5 COORDINATION WITH OTHER LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT

In general, few of the stations reported any meaningful coordination and support from other spheres of government. Coordination efforts mostly related to local government, although a few isolated examples of other initiatives, e.g. with provincial government and with a parastatal, were also mentioned. The form and nature of this coordination is elaborated on below:

4.5.1 Coordination with local government

Despite the critical role that local government can and should be playing in crime prevention broadly and sector policing specifically, the involvement of local authorities is still relatively limited.

Local government coordination included the SAPS serving on crime and safety committees in urban renewal initiatives and the involvement of councillors in sector forums and CPF structures. A number of respondents from both the community and the SAPS reflected concern about the lack of effective involvement of local authorities in sector policing.

At one policing precinct, both the police and the CPF expressed frustration regarding their interactions with local government. The highways and squatter camps in the precinct have been identified as providing transit points and escape routes for criminals. The sector forums have made numerous proposals to the municipality to address this situation, but has found the municipality unwilling to

consider any of the proposals. Further efforts to involve the municipality in meetings have been fruitless due to constant apologies from representatives of the municipality for not attending meetings. It was noted in particular that developers are also not fulfilling certain basic architectural design requirements when developing infrastructure in the area.

Another complaint related to ineffective cooperation between municipal police and the SAPS in addressing crime problems. In one precinct it is alleged that traffic officers are failing to meet their responsibilities and, as a result of this, much of this work is being done by police from that precinct. Problems such as these are often compounded by the confusion that the relatively recent implementation of municipal policing has caused for crime prevention practitioners. Those areas that do have municipal or metropolitan police agencies are unclear as to the exact division of responsibilities, points of cooperation and geographical and operational boundaries.

However, not all stations reflected a negative relationship with local government. The community policing forum members at one precinct acknowledged the support and leadership of the mayor in crime prevention. At another precinct it was reported that the city manager drove around with CPF members, identifying potential crime sites that needed to be addressed, such as an illegal shebeen operating next to a primary school. The manager subsequently reported on this to the municipality and promises had been made to devote attention to these environmental issues. An outcome of this was that the municipality now provides the SAPS with a regular report on derelict and unused properties that are being occupied illegally and that joint action was being planned to address the problem.

In precincts where councillors had participated in sector policing, it has been noted that they have addressed important issues relating to crime prevention, such as environmental conditions, e.g. lighting, bush clearing, traffic offences and the introduction of appropriate bylaws on issues such as street trading, derelict buildings, etc.

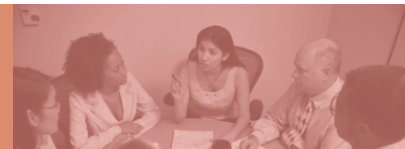
The NI document clearly stipulates that the liaison with local government to involve them in sector policing is the function of the CPF. It is evident from the interviews conducted that few if any of the CPFs understood this to be their role.

4.5.2 Coordination with provincial government

Some of the respondents in this study spoke about broader provincial initiatives.

In one province a number of the stations reported actively participating in crime prevention initiatives implemented by the provincial Department of Community Safety.

In another province it was reported that the Office of the



Premier had initiated social crime prevention initiatives as part of the urban renewal programme for that area.

4.5.3 Coordination with other institutions

In some of the areas relationships are forged with non-governmental departments or organisations. Business Against Crime (BAC) is active in many areas of the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng. The National Institute for Crime Prevention and the Rehabilitation of Offenders (NICRO) is also active in many provincial and national crime prevention and crime awareness campaigns, as are organisations such as People Opposing Women Abuse (POWA) and Childline.

In the Eastern Cape, SpoorNet (a parastatal) is working closely with the SAPS on its “Ukufumana” Crime Prevention Project.

“Ukufumana”

Translated from the Xhosa, this means “to recover” and is a SpoorNet crime prevention initiative that has been operating in the Eastern Cape for the past four years. It was initiated in response to the high levels of theft of cabling (steel, copper and aluminium) that is used for signals, rail equipment, etc. This had a serious impact on the community at large (23 deaths of passengers on a train arising from cable theft and retrenchment of staff); it also affected the parastatal's profitability, which had a broader impact on the economy, arising from the destabilising of the railways. The programme involves undertaking community-wide crime awareness campaigns sponsored by SpoorNet and undertaken in partnership with the CPFs in that area. The aim is to help people understand the impact of SpoorNet-related crime, which could lead to the loss of jobs, higher rail transport costs, etc. As an incentive to maintaining community interest, SpoorNet has committed itself to supporting much needed community facilities or school resources, such as computers for a school, refurbishment of community structures, etc.

The coordination includes access to resources, participation in joint awareness-raising campaigns and sharing crime intelligence.

4.6 FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO THE SUCCESS OF SECTOR POLICING

As has been discussed, the implementation of sector policing has not been uniformly implemented or received in the various police areas reviewed. In some instances the concept has been very successfully introduced and managed, and in others it appears to have had little reported impact. In the absence of detailed and clear standard operating guides (together with examples) it is apparent that the success or failure of sector policing, or indeed any new initiative in the policing environment, is very much personality-driven. The level of understanding of and commitment to community policing and sector policing within the person directing its implementation is critical to

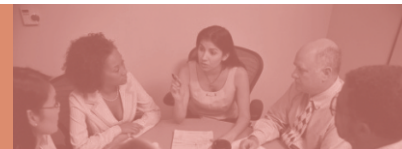
the success or failure of the initiative. The criteria for the selection of sector commanders as listed in the NI reflect the most important skills and capacities required by the incumbent, but in the absence of effective tools to assist SAPS management in assessing the capacity of selected candidates, these criteria will be difficult to apply. Resource availability within the SAPS and the community also has a great impact on the outcome of the initiative.

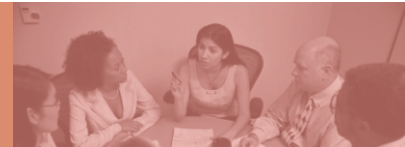
4.6.1 Factors contributing to effective implementation included:

- Commitment by SAPS management at the station level to sector policing, which translates into adequate allocation/mobilisation of personnel and resources to sector teams.
- Strong and capacitated sector management by the SAPS.
- SAPS and the community understanding of the principles of sector policing.

4.6.2 Factors that impacted negatively on the further development of sector policing included:

- The lack of adequate training and guidelines on sector policing for both SAPS and community members has resulted in a lack of clear understanding of sector policing and its role and function.
- There is some degree of confusion about the roles and responsibilities of SAPS members who are members of sector crime forums as well as officers of the police station itself.
- The lack of commitment on the part of SAPS management at some stations to implementing sector policing has resulted in ineffective sector forums being established, on the one hand, and ineffective responses from the SAPS on the other.
- The lack of effective and appropriate leadership within the SAPS to drive sector policing and to monitor its implementation.
- The inadequate resourcing of the SAPS to implement sector policing. For example, although one precinct was divided into 12 sectors, sector policing could only be operational in six of these sectors because of inadequate staffing and a lack of vehicles. It was suggested that the current budgeting structure was not responsive to sector policing initiatives and that this required transformation at the provincial level.
- Inadequate levels of staffing have resulted in sector managers being overextended, and this has led to burnout as well as an inability to respond to all requests appropriately, including the inability of sector managers to attend sector forum meetings.
- The problem of personnel and resources is exacerbated when a staff member is on sick leave





or a vehicle has broken down.

- The lack of personnel and transport puts a considerable strain on the relationship between the SAPS and the community, as expectations have been raised regarding the commitment of the SAPS to sector policing.
- Not all police personnel (including those within a precinct implementing sector policing) understand sector policing and its place in crime prevention, in fact some fear that it will make their work redundant.
- The demarcation of sectors that are too large and unworkable means that response times are longer than is acceptable, as long distances have to be covered.
- The turnover of SAPS personnel designated to a sector is also having an impact on relationship building between the SAPS and the community.
- The disruption of sector policing when police are deployed to other initiatives (major sporting events or conferences) for long periods of time.
- SAPS policy in relation to resource mobilisation needs to be reviewed, as it creates a disincentive for sectors to mobilise resources for their area, there being no guarantee that these resources will be utilised specifically for that sector.

4.7 IMPACT OF SECTOR POLICING

Given its very recent introduction, it is not possible in this study to assess the actual impact of sector policing on crime reduction and in the analysis that follows an attempt has rather been made to understand how sector policing has been implemented and what, if any, discernible impact has been reported.

The impact of sector policing is very hard to measure in terms of actual crime statistics, due to the lack of effective baseline measures as well as the lack of indicators against which to measure progress. Hence the impact of sector policing must be assessed using more qualitative methods. Where it has been effectively implemented, even in a limited way, there is evidence that sector policing does work and will benefit crime prevention and crime reduction efforts. In general terms, sector policing has contributed to more visible policing and improved crime information gathering by the SAPS, has enhanced community/police relationships and has facilitated a more interactive environment between the SAPS and the community. In addition, a number of precincts reported that sector policing appeared to have instilled an increased sense of responsibility and ownership in police officers on the ground.

Specific impacts reported include:

- Crime reporting by the community had increased at one precinct as a result of closer cooperation between the police and the community. The impact has also involved

increased expectations of the SAPS in responding to calls, which have not always been met owing to the lack of vehicles and other resources.

- Community members noted that in one precinct the SAPS had been able to respond more rapidly to crimes and that this had led to an increase in arrests.
- Another station reported a 12% drop in crime and the community reported improved service delivery by the SAPS.
- In another precinct each sector was able to identify crime “hot spots”. Having identified these areas, the SAPS had ensured that they were visited by sector police at least five to six times daily.
- One sector forum claims to have facilitated the closure of several escort agencies that were using children as prostitutes.
- Another reported that sector policing had enabled a cooperative relationship to be developed between private security firms and the police.

The inadequate implementation of sector policing has sometimes had the adverse effect of further alienating the community from the SAPS, as was reported at two of the stations surveyed. It was noted that the constant changing of sector personnel had created tensions between the SAPS and the community, as the community was often unable to contact the appropriate SAPS person.

4.8 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ENHANCING SECTOR POLICING

It is recognised that sector policing is very much a new phenomenon within the South African police environment and has little experience to draw on from countries other than UK, where the approach did not remain in favour past the 1990s. It is therefore still a very poorly understood concept.

The following recommendations have been made drawing on lessons learnt over the past few years:

- Sector policing needs to be popularised and accepted by all SAPS personnel through awareness raising and training in community and sector policing so that they can appreciate its value and implement it according to accepted principles. One suggestion was that sector policing be included in the basic training curriculum of the police.
- Targeted training for SAPS management in the implementation of sector policing in their areas is urgently required, so that a cadre of skilled sector managers can emerge. In particular, it was noted that training in handling interpersonal conflicts and conflict resolution would be essential.
- A national awareness campaign driven by a political champion should be launched to help the public understand the role and value of sector



- policing and sector forums in social crime prevention.
- Specific and appropriate training and ongoing support needs to be provided to sector forum members to ensure that they effectively fulfil their mandates. In particular, attention needs to be given to building leadership capacity at the local level.
- The provision of appropriate levels of resourcing for stations is necessary if sector policing is to be efficiently and effectively implemented across the country.
- In the development of sector forums partnerships should be formed with other relevant departments, including Justice, Social Development, Education, Trade and Industry, and Provincial and Local Government, with the aim of synergising the

Government, with the aim of synergising the various efforts at addressing crime.

- Local leadership in communities, including traditional leaders, ward councillors and development structure leaders, need to be integrated into sector forums from the outset to reduce the possibility of conflicts arising from “turf wars”.
- The SAPS needs to revisit its resource mobilisation policy to address ways in which sector-level resources can be utilised to benefit the sector.

CHAPTER 5

THE COMMUNITY POLICING, CRIME PREVENTION AND SECTOR POLICING SYNERGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

As will have become apparent, the concepts of crime prevention, sector policing and community policing are inextricably linked. Community policing is the overarching philosophy and style of policing adopted by the police in South Africa and in many other countries. The characteristics of community policing include those of accountability and consultation at the local or sector level, as well as problem solving and partnership approaches to crime prevention.

The theory and policy is clear in its guidance for both police and communities in respect of these issues. However, as is the case in many international studies, the practical and operational guidelines are in need of improvement if this array of policing approaches is to have an impact in South Africa. The study results presented in the next section clearly show the rather haphazard nature of the application of the various concepts and mechanisms by both the police and the community, due to the lack of uniform guidelines, indicators or measurement tools.

5.2 POLICY AND LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

There are numerous policies and forms of legislation that provide a framework for crime prevention and policing at the local level. It is beyond the scope of this report to discuss them in any real detail; however, it will be useful to identify the various documents and their relevance to this study.

The *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996)*, in particular Chapter 2, which contains the Bill of Rights, provides the context within which all policing and crime prevention activities should be undertaken. *The SA Police Service Act, No. 68 of 1995*, describes the roles and responsibilities of the South African Police Service and its members in some detail and Chapter 7 of the Act outlines the role and function of community police forums.

The *National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) (1996)* provides a theoretical understanding of crime and disorder and outlines practical programmes for reducing crime.

There are two White Papers that have relevance to this study: the *White Paper on Safety and Security* and the *Local Government White Paper*. The White Paper on Safety and Security stresses the need for stakeholders other than the police to be involved in the prevention of crime and addresses the need to deliver on crime

prevention at the local level as well as outlining the role of CPFs. The Local Government White Paper also places a great deal of emphasis on the importance of crime prevention activities and processes at the local level.

The SAPS has produced a range of policy guidelines to assist their members in the execution of their duties. Two documents are of relevance to this study: the *Community Policing Policy Framework and Guidelines* and the *Sector Policing Guidelines*. Both of these documents give practical advice to SAPS officers on the establishment and management of CPFs and sector crime forums.

5.3 MODELS OF SUPPORT

There are numerous models of crime prevention initiatives at the local level. For the purposes of this study, however, only those that are supported by or involve the participation of the SAPS are discussed here.

CPFes are the oldest formal community-based structures that interact with the SAPS in terms of crime prevention at the community level. But the fact that CPFes have been in existence for more than a decade does not necessarily mean that they are the most effective vehicle for community crime prevention. The study has established that there are other structured forms and models of support for community crime prevention in addition to CPFes. These include community safety forums (CSFs) and sector crime forums (SCFs). Each of these models will be discussed below.

5.3.1 Community policing forums

Community policing forums (CPFes) were created in the early 1990s to allow for better communication, accountability and transparency between the police and the communities they served, as well as to provide a forum for joint problem identification and solving.

It is interesting to note that some of the CPF members interviewed in this study have been formally and actively involved with these structures since as early as 1992, when CPFes were first introduced in this country. The study established that while the relationship between CPFes and the SAPS has been generally positive in some stations, there have been instances where relations have seriously deteriorated.

The effectiveness of CPFes as the primary forum for community crime prevention is something that should to be revisited urgently in this country. CPFes are supposed to be forums made up of different constituencies within the community to basically *manage* the relationship between the police and the community at police station level, and to allow for joint problem identification and solving. However, in reality the work of the CPFes is often administrative and police station based. While several CPFes have proactively gone out and initiated programmes and events within their

communities, they are constrained by a number of challenging issues at the police station level that usually consume a lot of their energy, time and resources. Occasional tension has been reported between CPFs and other actors at the local level, including ward councillors and even government departments, where each party has pursued crime prevention activities without the awareness or cooperation of the other.

With the introduction of sector policing, some CPFs have responded creatively by reshaping their sub-committees into sector crime forums. In such instances the chairpersons at the sector crime forum level then automatically become members of the CPF at station level. This has proved to be a workable formula, as tensions are minimised within the CPF itself as well as between CPFs and other local development actors.

5.3.2 Sector crime forums

The National Instruction (NI) on Sector Policing states that each police station has to demarcate geographic sectors within the police station area in discussion with the CPF chairperson and the head of reservists. Each sector must establish and sustain a sector crime forum using the same guidelines as those providing for the establishment of CPFs, which should link to the CPF at that police station.

These forums provide an opportunity for the community and police to discuss the safety and security issues of that sector.¹³ Sector crime forums may include representatives from a broad range of interest groups and sectors in that area, and are usually made up of different actors at sector level in pursuit of workable and context-specific solutions at this level. In line with the National Instruction on Sector Policing of 2003 issued by the SAPS, sector managers are part of the sector crime forum and serve as the link between the station management and the CPF around sector issues.

The advantage of sector crime forums is that they usually serve much smaller areas and that therefore members and participants are familiar with the issues and dynamics at this level. Crime trends are easy to observe and monitor at this level and if community members actively participate, then the success rate can be exponentially increased. Another advantage is the opportunity to mobilise stakeholders and role players around specific issues that are of particular importance to them.

It is still very early to assess the effectiveness of sector crime forums, particularly against the success, if any, of community policing forums.

5.3.3 Community safety forums

Community Safety Forums (CSFs) aim to bring different role players together at the same table to discuss security challenges in a given area and to ensure that each of the organisations or institutions taking part in the forum

individually takes responsibility for dealing with any issue that falls within their scope and mandate of operation. Participants in CSFs include national and provincial government departments, local government agencies and community organisations.

CSFs were first established in the Western Cape in the late 1990s in an attempt to increase the representation of role players and stakeholders in crime prevention at the local level. The conceptualisation and formation of CSFs was based on the weaknesses and limitations of CPFs in formally interacting with important external role players, such as the criminal justice system and government departments, in crime prevention. The point of departure for the CSF concept is an understanding that security challenges in the community should be tackled from a developmental perspective. CSFs, unlike CPFs and SCFs, are not mandated in any policy or legislation. CSFs have also been established in the Eastern Cape.

UMAC, a non-governmental organisation that is central to the establishment and support of many CSFs, states that CSFs are not there to replace CPFs but should rather function at a slightly higher level than CPFs. CSFs do not, however, have executive powers to preside or to implement ideas generated at this level. Operational matters are left to each of the participating organisations or institutions to deal with, as long as cognisance and due consideration are given to the viewpoints and input of other participating members.

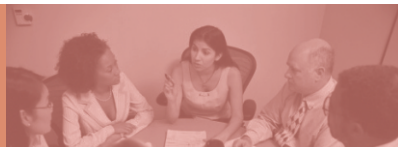
CSFs do represent a breakaway from CPFs but, like SCFs, only time will tell whether the experience from the piloted areas will add value to the broader national crime prevention discourse. However, from the interviews conducted, the impression is certainly gained that CSFs have proved equal to the task and challenge of community crime prevention, especially from a developmental intervention perspective.

5.3.4 Crime combating forums

In some provinces, certain areas have been identified as part of urban renewal processes to be targeted for integrated crime prevention programmes. As this study was primarily pitched towards community crime prevention issues, especially as they relate to individual police precincts/stations, the examination of CCFs is beyond the scope of this report.

However, two CCF interventions will be briefly described. In the Northern Cape, the Premier's Office has introduced a crime combating forum as part of the Urban Renewal Programme, to deal with safety and security issues in town planning and at service delivery level. However, the SAPS members interviewed felt that the CCF was a bit removed from the issues on the ground in that only senior police officers from the station and area commission levels were participating in this forum and the issues discussed never got communicated to that level.

¹³National Instruction on Sector Policing, 2003, issued by the Office of the Divisional Commissioner, Crime Prevention (Pretoria), SAPS



In Gauteng, the Alexandra Renewal Programme (ARP) has a safety and security desk that focuses on safety and security issues. The station commissioner of Alexandra Police Station, who is also the chairperson of this structure, represents the SAPS on the ARP.

5.4 CATALYSTS

All of the crime prevention initiatives that were mentioned and discussed during the course of this research had their beginnings in a specific person or persons who acted as a catalyst to start the process. Most of the respondents interviewed agreed that crime is a problem that affects every single member of our society and that therefore the responsibility to deal with and stop crime is everyone's duty equally.

The research project found that, in the main, sector policing units within police stations seem to be responsible for initiating and driving the types of community-based crime prevention activities that are mentioned in this study. Other than the police themselves, CPFs have also been instrumental in facilitating the establishment of community crime prevention programmes. At the same time there have been instances where individual community members, self-interest groups and even government agencies have initiated programmes that are directly responsive to the problem of crime in communities.

The main categories of catalysts for community-based crime prevention programmes can therefore be described as:

5.4.1 Sector policing and social crime prevention units Within police stations

A significant number of community-based responses to crime have been initiated or have blossomed as a direct result of the introduction of sector policing in police stations. The impetus for and introduction of sector policing has seen a number of crime prevention initiatives emerging. This is partly because sector managers have proactively gone out to engage with and seek out active local structures and willing community members to initiate projects at the sector level.

Most of the sector managers have targeted and mobilised specific interest groups such as churches, schools, businesses, youth associations, etc. In one station area in Gauteng, a whole range of stakeholders have been identified and a forum specially targeted at serving their particular crime prevention needs has been established. These forums are as diverse as liquor traders, garage owners and Youth Against Crime. Almost all police station areas have active Adopt-a-Cop programmes with the schools in their area, and some precincts have patrol groups staffed by members of the community.

These initiatives have largely taken a problem-solving crime prevention approach, with the police taking steps to

identify specific crime patterns experienced by each of the groups, as well as causal factors and measures that the respective groups themselves can take to assist the police in preventing such crime patterns. Sector policing efforts have also been strongly supported at police station management level through short and long-term business plans and strategies.

5.4.2 Self-interest groups

A sizeable number of community-based crime prevention initiatives have been triggered by issues affecting a specific interest group in the community. In this particular scenario, the trend has normally been that a specific negative experience or potential threat to a group has necessitated a joint or collaborative response from the section of the community most affected by such a crime. In the more resourced areas, these kinds of responses include private security, CCTV and road closures, while in the less well resourced areas they include community-based programmes such as community patrols, whistle-blowing campaigns and self-help programmes. While the police or CPF may have supported such programmes in the inception stages, individuals or groups that have a specific/distinctive character and interest in the community usually pioneer them.

In addition to interest groups such as those described above, the study also established that within the SAPS, too, there have been individuals who have initiated and championed crime prevention initiatives. At stations with hands-on and pro-active management and leadership, particularly from station commissioners, there is a notable difference in the success and impact of the projects at community level.

5.4.3 Community policing forums

To a limited extent, there have been instances where CPFs themselves have succeeded fairly well in initiating community crime prevention programmes. While CPFs in general have been around for a long time, many of them are still struggling to legitimise their existence in the communities where they operate. Thus it is usually those CPFs that are accepted as legitimate in their constituent communities that have been able to get successful projects off the ground.

A fair number of positive crime prevention initiatives and/or neighbourhood watch programmes have been established and driven by CPFs.

5.4.4 Government agencies and institutions

Many of the SAPS respondents in this study alluded to programmes and projects involving broader government interventions. In the Western Cape in particular, the provincial department of Safety and Security has been instrumental in initiating a number of crime prevention programmes at community level through mobilising a

diverse range of role players and stakeholders, including other government departments. This has culminated in a number of crime prevention activities, which are run especially during the festive season, under the banner of the 'Bambanani Against Crime' theme.

In other provinces, government institutions (both in the provincial and local spheres) have also initiated or triggered community crime prevention programmes. Examples of the latter would be programmes such as urban renewal projects and city/business improvement districts (CID/BID). In the case of urban renewal programmes, a component of such programmes would usually be specifically designed to deal with safety and security issues in the area, bringing in different role players to discuss crime-related problems in the area and to assist in assimilating the proposed solutions into the broader developmental agenda of the area.

Durban has a Safer Cities programme, which involves many of the key police stations in the Greater Durban Area, while the City of Johannesburg has recently instituted the City Safety Strategy, which aims at bringing together all relevant role players and stakeholders. Similarly, in CID/BID programmes efforts driven by local government structures have been made to divide the city or CBD into smaller nodes and then to strategise particularly around crime, cleanliness and the greening of those areas.

5.5 COORDINATION AND INVOLVEMENT OF OTHER STAKEHOLDERS

The biggest challenge raised in the study in terms of the potential effectiveness of community crime prevention programmes has been the lack of coordination between the different stakeholders and role players, be it at local, provincial or national level. This is a general trend within the development arena in South Africa and is not restricted to social crime prevention matters. Projects and initiatives that have displayed a more integrated coordination approach in the study were usually more successful and effective in general.

The two key partners are the police and the community. The police are central to any crime prevention effort and therefore their involvement and participation almost automatically guarantees at least minimal positive results with a given project. Thus, one of the key success features in community crime prevention initiatives has been police involvement. However, the coordination of community crime prevention projects and initiatives requires a lot of time, energy and organisational skills which, because of the usually overstretched human and material resource capacity of the SAPS, cannot easily be accommodated by the police.

Community members are normally at the receiving end of crime and thus form another important part of the equation.

Proper conceptualisation and planning of social crime prevention initiatives, including setting achievable targets

and goals, remains a key ingredient to success. The coordination of properly planned programmes is easy to manage in that responsibility can then be delegated accordingly to each role player in the programme. As an example, the festive season 'Bambanani' crime prevention programme run by the Safety and Security Department of the Western Cape involves a number of police stations, CPFs, other government departments and community-based neighbourhood watch schemes and has had a high success rate.

5.6 FEATURES OF SUCCESS

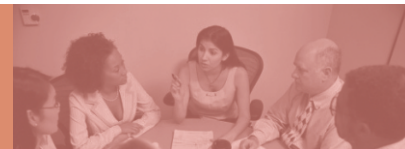
The dynamics and contextual factors within each province, be it at an economic, political or social level, make it difficult to generalise about what exactly constitutes the success of a community crime prevention activity. Even within the provinces, each policing precinct serves diverse communities and interest groups, so that the nature of the challenges faced would be likely to differ from one station to another. In addition, the sensitivity around crime statistics in particular and the confidentiality around internal police matters in general make it difficult to confirm some of the claims made by both the police and community members regarding the impact and success of community crime prevention initiatives.

Of the forty stations under focus in this study, a reasonable number of community crime prevention initiatives seem to have succeeded in at least raising awareness among community members of the negative effects of crime, as well as generating a sense of community. In the Western Cape in particular, the festive season anti-crime campaign spearheaded by the provincial department of Safety and Security has been widely reported to have had a huge impact, not only in terms of raising awareness but also in actually reducing the incidence of crime in targeted areas.

Central to the success of most community crime prevention programmes is the relationship between the police and the community. Improved community/police relations result in better levels of trust between the two, which is often mentioned as a key ingredient for success.

Although the success of most community crime prevention programmes is variable and in some instances extremely difficult to verify, a set or combination of critical success features that are common to all initiatives under focus could be listed, as follows:

- **Material and financial support:** Most community crime prevention initiatives are driven by volunteers and therefore financial and other material support plays a pivotal role in ensuring their continuity and sustainability. In the less affluent areas, most of the material support for crime prevention programmes is provided by the SAPS itself, usually in the form of transport, office space, telephone and faxing facilities (including the availability of computers and stationery) and



logistical support during campaigns and events. There has also been financial and material support from the private and public sector as well as individual community members. In one policing precinct, for example, a member of the public has volunteered to provide car workshop/garage services to SAPS vehicles free of charge.

- **Ongoing presence and support from the SAPS:** The very presence of the SAPS in community crime prevention initiatives has had a recognisably positive impact. In particular, sector managers play a critical role in encouraging community members to be involved in crime prevention activities. The presence and active participation of the police also serves to create an impression among the general public that the police are committed to such initiatives. Although it is difficult to verify, in one Gauteng policing precinct, the SAPS reports that there has been a 12% drop in crime, and this has been primarily attributed to the successful implementation of sector policing in the area.
- **Clear and time-bound targets:** Projects and initiatives that have clear objectives tend to be more successful than those that attempt to do everything for everybody. The extent to which the intended outputs of a particular project speak or relate to specific community priorities and needs also has a positive effect on the success potential of a given initiative.
- **Involvement and participation of the community and other stakeholders:** Participation of the community is one of the key and fundamental ingredients for success in most of the case studies. Most of those interviewed have strongly emphasised that the police cannot act in isolation to solve crime. The community is a pivotal stakeholder and thus participation by community members at the very least provides a better platform for making informed, relevant and contextual decisions. Other stakeholders involved in community development matters in one way or another are also important. Each of the different stakeholders brings in or adds value to the process and this does make a difference in the end.
- **Creativity and innovation:** The success of a handful of initiatives can be attributed to the fact that these programmes displayed a high level of creativity and innovation. Two such examples are the Katlehong Section 21 Company and Durban Central's Observation Book.

The control room in Katlehong police station is registered as a Section 21 company and is reported to have added a lot of value to policing efforts in the area and possibly contributed to reducing crime because of the effectiveness and speedy police response patterns it has created. The purpose of the

Observation Book at the Durban Central police station is to note or report any strange behaviour pattern or movement in a given location. In this way, the police are alerted about and given early warning signals of possible incidents that might occur, enabling them to take appropriate and timely action.

- **Political leadership, commitment and influence from the highest level of both the police and government departments:** In instances where the leadership and management of both government departments and the SAPS have demonstrated an interest in community crime prevention programmes, the success rate has been higher. At the local level, individual community members (champions or pioneers), ward counsellors in some areas and CBO leadership have also been instrumental in the success of a number of projects.
- **Trust:** One of the most underrated elements of a successful community crime prevention programme is trust. Trust between the police and members or participants in community structures, as well as within each of these two parties themselves, cannot be overemphasised. The biggest tussle between the police and criminals always centres around each party making sure that they are ahead of the other. For their part, criminals rely heavily on information leaks from both the justice and policing systems to thrive in their endeavours. They will therefore use every possible means of getting information from the police, including bribing police officials or infiltrating community-policing initiatives for this purpose. On the other hand, well documented cases of corruption (including collusion with criminals at times) by some of the policing officials make it difficult for ordinary community members to come forward and disclose or report criminal activities that might be eluding the police, as the confidentiality of their identity and disclosures might be compromised. It is critical, therefore, that relationships that are built on and encourage trust between the police and the community are formed.

5.7 CHALLENGES

A multitude of challenges to support for community crime prevention initiatives have been mentioned in this study. Those that are seen to be most critical to the success or failure of community crime prevention initiatives are discussed below.

CPF Independence

Those stations that provide office accommodation for the CPFs are at risk of the CPFs losing their independence from the police and reducing their accountability to the community they are representing. Even if the CPF is not

given permanent office space in the police station, there is a danger that members of the community who are not directly involved in the CPF may perceive the SAPS-CPF relationship as being there to benefit members of the CPF only, rather than the whole community. In truth, there have been instances where the CPF has worked to fulfil the needs and agenda of CPF members in particular, and the danger of CPFs losing their independence is very real.

Resources

One of the most important factors mentioned in this study is financial and/or material support to community structures. In particular, patrol and neighbourhood watch schemes in poorer areas are finding it difficult to operate in an environment where criminals have the upper hand when it comes to their ability to perpetrate crime, i.e. in terms of mobility and resources. Proactive community groups often find themselves losing the battle, as criminals tend to be more powerful and better resourced than they are.

The lives of community patrol group members are also at risk as they cannot defend themselves and do not always have adequate resources to seek urgent help from the police if the situation gets out of hand. For example, if a criminal activity were to be discovered by a community patrol member, they would either have to intervene and apprehend the perpetrators or alert the police timeously so that the police can then arrest the perpetrators. For a quick response, efficient communication equipment (e.g. a cell phone or two-way radio) is needed.

Community buy-in

Buy-in from the general public is another important challenge for community crime prevention initiatives. The police and proactive community structures cannot prevent crime on their own. Ordinary citizens are often fearful of reprisal attacks by criminals should they try to expose them. It is widely believed that some members of the police and even the CPF itself collude with criminals and pass on confidential information regarding crime whistle blowers. Beyond the issue of confidentiality, ordinary community members are not keen to get involved in crime prevention activities, unless they have been directly affected by crime themselves in some way.

Community and police capacity

It is often assumed that community leaders are fully equipped to deal with the complex set of challenges facing them and this is what in the end makes many initiatives fail. Many initiatives, if they are to be successful in the long term, need a range of skills including conflict management, communication, planning, and reporting as well as community and resource mobilisation skills. The importance of ongoing capacity building for both the police and community leaders cannot be overemphasised. The police are trained mainly in law enforcement and therefore social crime prevention, so that the dynamics involved in community policing are also a new area for the majority of police officers.

Other challenges that have been identified are:

- Political infighting and leadership struggles within community structures, particularly CPFs
- Lack of accountability on the part of CPFs to their supposed respective constituencies
- Overstretched human and material resources within the SAPS
- Duplication of social crime prevention activities in some areas by local and provincial government agencies
- Poverty and unemployment remain the most obvious breeding grounds for crime and must be addressed through social development programmes if crime is to be brought down to a reasonable level.

5.8 INTEGRATED CRIME PREVENTION

The National Crime Prevention Strategy of South Africa clearly identifies the need for an integrated approach to crime prevention. Crime results from a variety of causes and needs to be addressed on a number of levels if it is to be successfully tackled. Social development programmes, crime prevention through environmental design, and improved police visibility should all be supplementing the more conventional policing approaches that have been used in the past. The NCPS states that the only way to succeed in this style of crime prevention is to ensure the involvement and participation of a range of stakeholders and role players. This view is supported by the findings of this study, which show that an integrated approach, with the involvement and support of communities, is needed for crime prevention to succeed at the local level.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions

Although this study is by no means exhaustive and only examines community-based crime prevention initiatives in 40 police station areas in South Africa, some important findings have nevertheless emerged and may be used to improve crime prevention processes at the community level in future. A very important aspect of this study has been the identification of success factors and challenges in sustaining the types of initiatives described in this report, as this will give direction to the SAPS and local government bodies in responding to and assisting, and even initiating where appropriate, crime prevention projects at the local level.

There are a number of observations that bear special mention as they are of particular importance and interest to the local crime prevention debate and mirror observations that have been made in this regard internationally. The following are some observations made during the study:

Different approaches to crime prevention

The most striking observation made is the difference in approach to crime prevention evident in the communities with different income levels. Community-supported initiatives in the areas that have relatively stable and medium to high income levels revolve largely around target hardening or, as it is termed in the United States, 'fortifying' their areas. A great deal of money is invested in visible deterrents such as road closures, security patrols, private security, CCTV and the like. As the perpetrators who commit the crimes in these areas are not resident there, there is a sense that crime prevention energy is focused on keeping perpetrators out, rather than looking at ways to ensure that people do not become perpetrators in the first place, which has a much more long-term preventative slant than merely securing a particular area against crime.

In contrast, the initiatives in the less affluent areas are a combination of improved visibility programmes and programmes aimed at providing alternatives to crime that target both potential perpetrators and victims of crime in order to assist in reducing crime. The community members who reside in these areas do not have spare resources to put into paying for crime prevention initiatives, such as private security, CCTV and road closures, and instead focus on community projects and programmes, some of which, e.g. community patrols and observation activities, are concerned with target hardening. These initiatives rely largely on citizen participation and/or considerable input from the SAPS for their success.

Support and input from the SAPS

Another key element in the success of most of the unfunded

initiatives is the level of support and input from the SAPS. Because the SAPS have access to a great deal of information in their station area, they are the institution most likely to observe trends and patterns related to crimes and offences, and are able to identify causes and consequences, which they then communicate to the community. They are therefore an essential catalyst often in the absence of any other form of catalyst - in the creation of many of the initiatives, as well as the ongoing support of some of them. However poorly resourced, the SAPS is nevertheless able to contribute significantly to initiatives that have no resources at all.

Local government involvement

Lastly, the fact that, to date, local government has been minimally involved in crime prevention activities has been identified as a problem by both communities and the SAPS. Particularly in relation to issues of improving safety through the provision of services such as lighting, housing, public transport, etc (or Crime Prevention through Environmental Design/CPTED), the role of local government is crucial in assisting communities.

Some structural issues have also emerged:

- ***Levels of knowledge and understanding***
It appears that many of the challenges facing the effective functioning of CPFs and sector forums relate to the levels of understanding of the role and function of these bodies. This includes a knowledge and understanding of the responsibilities of community members and SAPS members, the definition of boundaries relating to what CPFs and sector forums are empowered to do, and the lack of clarity in relation to the mandate of CPFs and sector forums. Levels of knowledge and understanding amongst local government of the role they could be playing in crime prevention also need to be improved.
- ***Confusion of concepts and policies***
This confusion has been worsened by the many new policies and ideas that have been introduced in the SAPS over the last decade. The introduction of sector policing is a good example of this. In particular, there is a lack of clarity relating to the operational and policy differences between sector policing, community policing and CPFs.
- ***Personality-driven nature of crime prevention processes***
As with most effective community structures, CPFs and other community-based crime prevention initiatives that are making an impact in their communities are generally those that are led by strong personalities, either the station commissioner or, more usually, the chair of the CPF or leader of the organisation concerned. This results in the priorities of these individuals being given precedence, as well as placing all of the

institutional memory of the structures in the hands of these people. The danger associated with this is that the momentum of the initiative is lost when such people leave the structures.

- **Differences between community crime prevention, CPF and sector policing functioning and poorly and well resourced areas**

The levels of resource availability in communities affect and, to an extent, determine the levels and kinds of support offered by the community to the SAPS. Those initiatives that are located in well resourced communities tend to respond to crime problems in their area by putting money into the problem to better the target hardening of their neighbourhoods. Examples of these approaches include:

- Road closures
- CCTV cameras
- Private security
- Increased personal security

In contrast, the poorer communities provide more of a social development focus and donate their time and skills rather than money, through processes such as:

- Private patrols
- Youth activities
- Community gardens

Sector policing and sector forums appear to show similar patterns.

- **Lack of continuity**

Many of the CPFs and community-based crime prevention initiatives have a high turnover of membership, which affects the institutional memory of the structures as well as demanding a great deal of time and energy from the SAPS members involved who have to keep inducting new members and explaining the complexities of CPFs, community structures and their work.

- **Impact on the SAPS**

The SAPS members surveyed in this study are all committed to the idea of community involvement in crime prevention and are introducing sector policing with varying degrees of understanding and support from the communities in their areas. The impact has been twofold: on the one hand the relationships between the police and the communities involved in joint projects with them have improved dramatically. On the other hand, the amount of time that SAPS members have had to spend in meetings and consultations with community members has dramatically increased. This is not a concern for the SAPS, except for areas where the time spent is not rewarded with any

evidence of decreased crime or increased community satisfaction.

- **Impact on police/community relations**

Relationships between the police and the community they serve have, for the most part, improved through community and sector policing initiatives. In poorly resourced areas, the community is often very reliant on the SAPS for resources and support for their projects, and this results in a very close and supportive relationship. In well resourced areas, relationships are supportive and cooperative, although the inference can be made that the police sometimes feel as though they are obliged to go along with the will of the more vocal members of the community structures, rather than addressing the issues and problems that they feel are more appropriate to reducing crime in these areas.

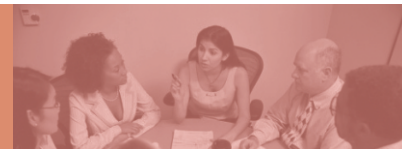
However, in almost all of the sites surveyed the police and the community both reported increased trust in and support for each other. The reduction of police murders in some areas was cited as evidence of improved relationships. Some police stations stated that they had noticed that people used public spaces more now than they used to, evidence that perceptions of the prevalence of crime are not as negative as they were.

- **Indicators**

Crime, as the NCPS states, "is not one thing". It is a very complex issue that arises from a whole set of contextual and environmental factors. It is therefore very difficult to measure the impact that crime prevention programmes have, particularly in the short term.

There do not appear to be any real indicators in place to measure the success and impact of community-based crime prevention projects. If the initiatives are to be sustainable and attractive to funders and sponsors, a set of indicators needs to be developed for each project. However, there are a number of informal measurements that can be used. These include:

- Changes in perceptions and the fear of crime;
- improved relationships between the police and the community;
- a greater sense of community and
- community support; and
- a reduced incidence of crime



CHAPTER 7

Recommendations

A range of recommendations have emerged in the course of this study. According to the US Department of Justice, “for community crime prevention to work, real commitment and leadership must come from someone at a high level who takes responsibility for putting the issues of community safety on the public agenda.” (Bureau for Justice Assistance, 2001). If community policing, and sector policing as an element thereof, are to be successful in initiating and supporting local-level crime prevention activities, some focused interventions are needed:

7.1 A STRATEGIC RETHINKING OF COMMUNITY POLICING

Ten years after the formation of the SAPS, a strategic realignment process for community policing with communities themselves is yet to be undertaken. A process to examine and recommend on the role of communities in crime prevention and CPFs could be undertaken.

As has already been discussed, international experience shows that, for local-level crime prevention to be successful, a political champion is required. At local, provincial and national levels, political leaders have an important role to play in putting issues of crime prevention and improved safety on the agenda.

If community policing and crime prevention are to be successful, there is a need to generate a better sense of community of knowing each other and looking after each other. Neighbourhood watches are an effective technique to mobilise communities locally in communal efforts to address crime and perceptions of crime.

Related to the need to review the thinking behind community policing is the recommendation that the legislation and policies providing the framework for community policing also be revisited.

7.2 FACILITATION OF ACCESS TO RESOURCES FOR POORER COMMUNITIES

There is a marked difference in the levels of resource availability in the different police station areas in the country. Those areas most in need of long-term crime prevention programmes that address the underlying causes of crime are the least resourced and therefore unable to make a significant impact on social crime prevention. In contrast, those areas least at risk of generating offenders are the most highly resourced and put considerable energy and money into protecting themselves, but do not focus on addressing the root causes

of crime in any way. The national government could play an important role in levelling resource provision by facilitating the sharing of resources between the affluent and poorer areas.

From a community perspective, it is important that the importance of resource sharing is accepted and responded to. Cross subsidisation models such as the one utilised by the Stellenbosch Watch, which provides free accommodation for street children from a neighbouring township and CCTV cameras in the neighbouring township, are good interventions.

The SAPS North Rand Area Crime Prevention Office is reportedly initiating a study at all police stations to establish where offenders arrested in the station areas are resident in order to generate a clearer picture of where social crime prevention resources and energy should be focused. It is suggested that this study could be extended into a programme to channel resources from the high-income areas to the low-income areas, thereby contributing to a long-term reduction of crime in all areas.

7.3 DEVELOPMENT OF SUCCESS AND IMPACT INDICATORS

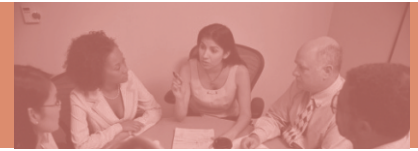
Certain models work well but may be area-specific. In launching projects that have a degree of success, there is a need to identify what works well in the different areas in order to maximise the chances of success and sustainability.

In addition, in order to measure the effectiveness of crime prevention at the community level, it is important to develop a set of common indicators and guidelines to assist in providing direction to organisations for implementation as well as measuring the success of initiatives. However, the difficulty of measuring the impact of the crime prevention initiatives that have been discussed needs to be accommodated in these indicators, which will need to be designed to reflect and respond to the nuances of crime and its prevention.

7.4 CAPACITY BUILDING

While many of the initiatives identified have evolved organically in response to community crime problems, there is a need for a better understanding of crime prevention theories, principles and practices at both the community and SAPS sector levels. This could be addressed through the introduction of standardised and properly managed training and induction programmes for both new CPF and sector forum members and new station commissioners. There is an urgent need for capacity building at rural stations in particular.

A less formal capacity building intervention could be the establishment of local forums for station commissioners to get together to interact and share ideas and best practices at the area/local level.



It is also suggested that the development of easy-to-read guides on partnership policing be developed in order to assist in generating a common understanding of community policing and partnerships amongst both communities and the police.

7.5 FACILITATION OF MULTI-STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPATION

All relevant departments and role players from within and outside government should be brought together at local multi-agency forums to develop local crime prevention strategies that clearly identify and describe the role of each agency in contributing to crime prevention. In addition to enhancing the coordination of the three criminal justice system departments, other departments that are located outside of the CJS, such as the Departments of Sport and Recreation, Planning, Housing, City Power and City Transport, as well as local institutions like public libraries and clinics, could all make an enormous contribution and impact if the requisite leadership and direction were provided by the cities and the mayors. Local government in particular should be integrating crime prevention activities in, for instance, their integrated development plans and city strategies.

There is an apparent lack of formal structures to deal with the issues that affect and are affected by a range of stakeholders. In order to address this problem, it may be necessary to develop memoranda of understanding

between station commissioners and the mayor of a city, or to develop structures at city level that will allow for intergovernmental relationships.

Another recommendation is that, as is the case in many countries, such as Britain, Canada and the USA, dedicated government funding of local-level crime prevention initiatives be provided for through multi-stakeholder management forums, which may be approached for funding of local initiatives. Each government department should be compelled to allocate part of its budget towards the funding of crime prevention as a contribution to the budget of these forums.

There is an urgent need for a community campaign to educate the community and other government departments, particularly those in local government, on their responsibility in respect of crime reduction. The SAPS could be playing the role of a catalyst in assisting to initiate and support organisations, but should not necessarily remain involved centrally. Assistance and guidance to the SAPS as to how to go about acting as a catalyst - mobilising people and resources, running the project etc. are needed.

CHAPTER 8

AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

During the course of this research, a number of areas that require or would benefit from further research were identified. These are presented below as possible projects to further enhance this study and the impact of community-based crime prevention and/or sector policing initiatives in South Africa.

- A study to elicit the views of community members who are beneficiaries of these initiatives, but not involved in their delivery, on the impact of sector policing and community crime prevention initiatives.
- This study could be broadened into a national study that would cover rural stations as well as a better spread of demographic areas.
- The findings of this study could be built upon through a follow-up study to be conducted in two years time to assess the progress and changes that have been made. This would also assist in assessing the impact of structures such as CSFs, etc.
- There is a need to develop a set of nuanced success indicators which would measure the impact of interventions on police members and members of the community, as well as providing input into the performance management processes of the SAPS.
- Further research into the utilisation of an integrated crime prevention approach should be undertaken. International research on how to initiate and sustain integrated crime prevention interventions may be useful in this regard.
- A study to identify and document good practice in relation to sector policing (for example, deciding on the optimal size of a sector, or appropriate programmes for specific areas) would assist with the further improvement and enhancement of the impact of sector policing.
- The sustainability of volunteers, participation in interventions, and the replication of members and leaders of organisations should be examined in order to ensure sustained, equitable and effective community crime prevention initiatives. This would benefit both communities and the SAPS.



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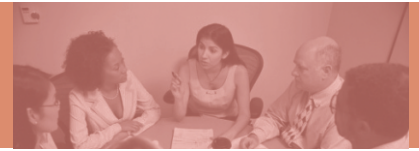
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