THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY POLICING IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

A COMPARATIVE STUDY BETWEEN MAFIKENG AND POTCHEFSTROOM AREA IN NORTH WEST PROVINCE

BY

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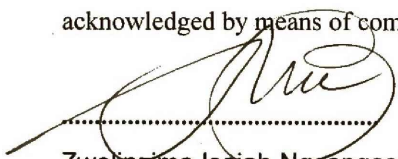
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DECLARATION

I, Zwelinzima Isaiah Ngcangcela hereby declares that the dissertation entitled,

THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY POLICING IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT. A COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN MAFIKENG AND POTCHEFSTROON AREAS IN NORTH WEST PROVINCE

Is my own work in design and has never been previously submitted by me for any degree at this Institution or any other university and that all the sources contained therein have been acknowledged by means of complete reference.



.....

Zwelinzima Isaiah Ngcangcela

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The Almighty God for His blessings throughout my academic life.

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ABSTRACT

The study made a comparative examination of the role of Community Policing in conflict management in the North West Province, with special reference to Mafikeng and Potchefstroom as case studies. The study found that, the competing values such as diversity in income, education, religion, experience, residential location, social class, race, gender, culture, influx of illegal immigrants, competition for limited resources due to power struggles, and poverty among different sections of the communities. These actors complicated the task of developing a shared vision of democratic community policing. They also made communication for managing conflict between the police and the community members difficult.

The study recommends: first, the need to develop mechanisms to promote awareness among community members on the importance of community policing in conflict management including crime prevention. This is an integral part of promoting peace building for community sustainable development, second, the promotion of effective partnership between community and the police which should include mutual trust and information sharing between community members and the police.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

We are entering a new era in policing, one, in which both community leaders and reform-minded police administrators are demanding significant changes in the form and function of law enforcement agencies. Under pressure to make police officers more effective at solving neighborhood problems, at mobilizing community residents and institutions, and at preventing crime and disorder, police organizations today have elected to discard traditional structures, policies, and crime control strategies in favour of new approaches. These include experimenting with novel ways to select, deploy, supervise, and promote agency personnel under the rubric of community policing (Holdaway, 1991).

Whether the reign of community policing will be recorded in the history books as another failed experiment in policing or whether it will produce lasting organizational reforms that significantly improve the quality of police services, remains to be seen. In the meantime, there are questions to be asked about community policing: Is it conceptually sound (based on prior theory, research, and experience)? Can it be successfully translated from theory into practice? What kind of positive and negative effects will community policing have on police departments, police officers, and citizens? (Fox et al, 1998).

This chapter is about the changing policing strategies. It is divided into two sections. The first provides an introduction of the topic with the policing history in South Africa. The second provides an overview of Community Policing, describing what it is as well as its definition and intended benefits, discusses the purported effects of community policing.

Since its inception, policing has experienced many changes. Growth in legal arena, technological advances, and the social, racial, ethnic, and cultural changes in our society have brought about changes in policing. Policing has grown from a white male dominated occupation where little education or training was required to a more racially, ethnically, gender mixed and a semi profession with fairly rigorous employment standards and requirements (Breakwell, 1995: 18).

Historically, the police officer was a white male from a blue-collar background where policing may have been a family tradition, and often represented a major ethnic group. From the beginning, the criminal justice system and the public believed that women were ill-suited to investigate gruesome crimes and to handle dispute between physically stronger citizens.

Most women who desired to be police officers did not challenge this view. Women instead argued that their unique feminine traits of compassion, morality, and negotiation made them well-suited to handle juvenile delinquency, prostitution, domestic violence, and victims of rape. Female officers focus on the protection of children and women also fitted the stereotypic view of women as more nurturing and compassionate than men. Female officers thus carved out a unique role that would not challenge the duties of male officers. Even before women were given the official tittle of officer and the power to arrest, many women either volunteered or were paid for the performance of certain police functions (Stevens, 1995).

Despite a history of racial and employment discrimination in this country, people of color have reluctantly pursued professions in law enforcement. Those who did enter law enforcement were interested in providing protective services in their community, lessening the degree of police brutality, and financial gain. Despite the under representation of minority groups as sworn police officers, some police departments across the country have begun the implementation of cultural diversity and sensitivity training for police officer. Obviously, the objective of police administrators is the

improvement of police relations with communities (Dantzker, 1997).

The high incidence of crime, and violence, which has reached epidemic proportions in many communities, underscores the need for police to work more closely with community groups by demonstrating, in tangible ways, their commitment to nondiscriminatory employment practices. Effective police work, then will increasingly demand closer relationships between the police and the community in crime control and prevention.

There exists an inherent tension between the performance of the police role and the exercise of democratic principles in society. It is therefore essential that police organization avoid employment practices that would exclude possible qualified persons. In fact, public legitimation of the police role is often contingent upon how the makeup of police organizations is viewed compared with the communities on racial, ethnic, and gender composition (Reynecke and Fourie, 2001).

Lumb (2002), South Africa does not have a history or tradition of community oriented policing nor is there a legacy of policing by consent. There has until recently been an absence of law protecting civil liberties and basic freedom. The history and experience of the police as oppressive remain alive in the people's memories. There is still a legacy of mistrust as suspicion of the police, and the public regards the police as partisan. This perception is reinforced by the fact that senior levels of the South African Police Service are by and largely unrepresentative of the communities they serve.

The South African Police (SAP) has been cast as the arch-villain in the struggle against apartheid. Today, as South Africans attempt to build a new non-racial society, the force throws its shadow across the process of political transformation. The transition from apartheid to democracy has been threatened more than once by police and military involvement in political killings, but without effective policing, democracy itself is impossible.

The process of change depends on a climate of law and order and free political competition: in the absence of external armed intervention, it will be largely up to the police to ensure this (Glensor,1996).

At critical turning points in the conflict in South Africa, the police have taken a center stage, if their actions have certainly helped to precipitate new phases in the struggle against apartheid. Many of the problems of policing in South Africa today are rooted in the country's factions and violent past. The character of the SAP has been moulded through decades of war, rebellion and civil conflict, it has always had a quasi-military role and been used as political instrument of the government of the day. Colonial frontier style policing, with its emphasis on armed force, characterized police strategy in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. With the growth of an African urban working class, police tasks became more bureaucratic and overtly political, the enforcement of the pass laws became a major aspect of their work (Pelser, 2000).

1.2. Statements of the Problem

The study was motivated by the following research questions: -

- What are the main issues of conflict among community members in Potchefstroom and Mafikeng areas?
- What is the role of community policing in conflict management in the study areas?
- What is the relationship between the police and the community in the study areas?
- What are the factors that influence community attitudes toward the police in the study areas?

1.3. Rationale of the Study

The vision of the South African Police Services is to create a safe and secure environment for all people in South Africa. While crime is a complex social problem that cannot be solved by any single agency, community policing seeks to address crime without being overwhelmed by the effort.

The partnership between the police and the community will assist the police in crime prevention through providing the capacity for more awareness, building trust, visibility and empowering vulnerable groups.
Raising awareness will be beneficial for people's safety and security, and will also help police public relations as well as encourages the community to report crime.

Building trust will encourage the community to take responsibility for crime prevention in designated areas by passing information onto the police, which will assist in making the community safer. Pro-active visible policing, which is supported by the community will be beneficial for crime prevention, which will free the community from crime. The study will also help to empower vulnerable groups, in that, by treating victims of crime with respect, can maintain or restore the victim's respect for the law.

1.4. Aim of the Study

The study examined the role of community policing in conflict management in Potchefstroom and Mafikeng areas in North West Province.

1.5. Objective of the Study

The study was based on the following specific aspects: -

- The main issues of conflict among community members in Potchefstroom and Mafikeng.

- The role of community policing in conflict management.
- The relationship between the community and the police.
- The factors that influence community attitudes toward the police.

1.6. Literature Review and Theoretical Perspectives

Literature review is an essential components of planning research into a topic. It contains accounts of all the existing theories and concepts which can be used to generate or to structure research ideas, of the findings which have been obtained by previous researchers.

Further the existing literature is an enormously rich repository which contains a massive amount of information about the topics which have been investigated in the past, about the specific research questions which have been adopted in previous studies, and about the research designs and methods which have been used by previous researchers.

Many changes typified the transformation of South African society into a fully democratic nation. The changing circumstance in RSA, the high occurrence of crime and violence, as well as the poor image of the South African Police among certain communities, necessitated a Community Oriented Policing approach. One of the major changes was the transformation of the old South African Police Force into the new South African Police Service. This did not simply mean a change in a name, but a whole new system of policing, of which community policing is a major component. It also means a whole new conception of how a police service should function within a democratic society had to be developed and learnt. Therefore, the South African Police Service had to become a learning organization, with all the concomitant implications of the term. Finally, the old autocratic, military-style form of management had to be replaced by a participatory style of management, once again with all its resultant implications (Pelser, 2000).

Community policing includes approaches to solving community problems through police initiatives, cooperative relationships between police officer and community members. In particular, the focus of such approaches is on community problems related to quality of life issues (Lurigio and Rosenbaum, 1998).

It is defined as any method of policing that includes a police officer assigned to the same area, meeting and working with the residents and business people who live and work in the beat area. The citizens and the police work together to identify the problems of the area and to collaborate in workable resolution of the problems. The police officer is a catalyst, moving neighborhoods and communities toward solving their own problems, and encouraging citizens to help and look out for each other (Trojanowicz, 1998).

According to Sparrow,"The concept of community policing envisages a police department striving for an absence of crime and disorder and concerned with, and sensitive to the quality of life in the community". It perceives the community as an agent and partner in promoting security rather than as a positive Audience.

The policy guiding the implementation of community policing in South Africa has while consistently focusing on the functions of the community policing forums, substantially shifted in the course of the past eight (8) years. Policing before the transition can be described as rules-based. Police behavior, responsibilities and duties were determined by rules, regulations and hierarchies rather than initiative, discretion and consultation. The manifestations of rules-based policing were a militaristic style, both in dress and attitude toward communities. Police enforced and upheld the laws promulgated by the previous government. They could not use their discretion, as a result, consulting communities on policing matters was never considered (Minnaar, 2003).

The style of policing was largely reactive, or rather incident-driven. This style permitted a lack of transparency in the old South African Police (SAP). As a result, the net effect of the rules-based policing was that it lacks credibility among its

supposed beneficiaries. Being incident-driven also meant that policing was ineffective and failed to prevent crime.

The end result was an enormous burden being placed on the police as well as the judicial and correctional system. The police force also becomes associated with abuse of human rights, and when the government of National unity assumed power in 1994 it decided there was a fundamental need to restructure it. Community policing was identified as one mechanism for achieving this, it was hoped this new approach would overcome some of the inherent deficiencies of rules-based policing (Mistry, 1997:1).

Community policing therefore demerits policing style, which the safety and security of local area are not left to the police alone, not scrounged in secrecy and left to so-called experts, but one in which local residents are involved too. There is a recognition that local people have the right to know what the police are doing now and why they are doing, and what results are being activated. Openness in all aspects of police work is essential in a democratic Society. It is recognized that relationships between the police and communities must be based on mutual trust and respect (Mawby,1990).

The involvement of civil society and local communities in attempts to address violence, experienced the first real breakthrough with the signing of the National Peace Accord in September 1991. Imperfect as the accord was, it represented a commitment by political labor, business and church leaders across the spectrum (including the security forces) to common vision of reducing violence by way of creating a partnership between the different role players and the communities involved. (Gastrow, 1996:1)

The basis of partnership must be a recognition by all participating agencies that they have something to gain by working together. Just as business partners recognize their joint responsibilities, so each must be able to make a contribution. However, it must be recognized that there is no single model of a partnership which can be

used in every context. Partnership will naturally vary widely in their objectives, resources, and results achieved. A principle of local solution to local issues is important. Each partnership should tailor the following six elements to suit its local environment: Structure, Leadership, Information, Identity, Durability and Resources.

Thomas et al(1995), in addition, the community must be convinced that its police department is operating objectively and serving the community's legitimate interests to the best of its ability. A partnership must exist between the police and the community. The partnership is one of the steps in laying the groundwork for an accommodation within the department and the community organization, information, and education efforts initiated by the police

In this model of policing, police are believed as part of the community, as one of the agents with a major role to play in the achievement of community safety. The concept and practice of community policing have only recently been placed on the agenda in South Africa. Given the history and legacy of apartheid, it was clear from the outset that the model of community policing which was imposed from above would work. What is required is an approach in which community policing was given opportunity to grow originally within a wider democratic process, ultimately leading to a uniquely South African model of community policing which represents a combination of good practice developed in South Africa and abroad (Shearing, 1998: 1-9).

The partnership approach to policing emphasizes that relationship between the police and public should be consultative, and extend into the process of planning. Furthermore, the community and its leaders must be involved in determining the policing needs of a given locale, the style of police work which would be effective, as well as desirable or undesirable forms of police intervention. Hence partnership policing may be defined as the police assuming a pro-active leadership role in bringing disparate community groups such as the public, agencies together to focus on crime and community disorder problems (Oppler, 1997: 1 - 2).

However, it appears that the basic principle is being reaffirmed, that everyday community contact is the bedrock of effective operational policing. In essence this means that the aim of effective police service should be to police communities with their support and participation, as part of the community and not set apart from it. Policing is one of the most controversial areas of our society as the SAPS have historically performed their tasks in a very problematic manner.

Effective policing, and an end to destabilizing actions, are essential to a peaceful transition to a non-racial South Africa, and because a culture of violence has taken hold, the problems of policing will remain one of the major challenges to any government (Cawthra, 1994).

Partnership policing developed during the 1980s when the model of police paternalism that was embedded in community policing evolved into a new concept of independent agents working together in partnership with formal structures. This form of policing conforms to the ideal of a multi-agency approach whereby the police, the public, elected officials, government and other agencies work in partnership to address crime and safety in the community.

Countries that have established, or are in the process of establishing the partnership approach, are, in particular, United Kingdom, Australia, Holland and South Africa. With no single model to fit these different contexts, those involved in policing are constantly having to use their initiative to formulate what work for them. Basically, this is the essence of how partnership policing should be operationalized on a local level. Success studies have shown that, to create safety in all communities, local players must adapt to the various partnerships to their own needs (Oppler, 1997:1)

The new model of the 'New-liberal' community involves empowered individuals who voice their opinions, offers their expertise, and take responsibility for their actions. Although this may be idealistic, it creates a sense of a responsible and empowered community.

A professional police service and a responsible community in an open and honest partnership presents one of the most fruitful routes to achieving a safer living and working environment."Partnership goes to the heart of what is meant by community safety." Although this sounds like an advertising jingle, it highlights the fact that no single agency acting alone can hope to reduce crime (Matthews, 1993).

Before a police agency can develop an effective order-maintenance program, it must first initiate a program of self-critical analyses, the goal of this program is to scientifically and rationally place the police role into proper perspective as it relates to community needs, tolerances, and expectations. Police officers are involved in a balancing act between rigid enforcement and community tolerances, which is complicated by their own personal beliefs. Before any alternatives, contingencies, or strategies are developed, the department must first acquire an in-depth knowledge of the community and its problems, which can only be accomplished by police operating as a part of, and not apart from the community

Democratic policing in theory acts as a balance between the rights and needs of citizens as individuals and their responsibilities as members of the community. But to perform the role of the modern police officer needs to be not only a lawyer and social worker, but also something of a scientist, marriage counselor, mediator, criminologist, sex, race and community relations, a psychologist and youth worker, together with having some skills as an athlete, accountant and firearm specialist and in dealing with drug and mental problems. In addition it is necessary to be knowledgeable about politics and current events (Pelser, 2000).

The theory of community policing is based on normative sponsorship and critical social theory. Normative sponsorship theory declares most people are of good will and willing to cooperate with others to satisfy their needs. It proposes that a community effort will only be sponsored if it is normative (within the limits of established standards) to all persons and interested groups involved. One of the major considerations when attempting to initiate community development is to understand how two or more interested groups can have sufficient convergence of interest or consensus on common goals to bring about the implementation.

Each group involved and interested in program implementation must be able to justify

and, hence, legitimize the common group goal within its own patterns of values, norms, and goals. The more congruent the values, beliefs, and goals of all participating groups, the easier it will be for them to agree on common goals. The participating groups, do not necessarily have to justify their involvement or acceptance of a group goal for the same reason (Trojanowicz, 1992).

Critical social science is defined by Fay as practical social science that inspires people to become socially active to correct their socioeconomic and political circumstances that they might have their expressed unmet needs satisfied. Fay discusses three core ideas of critical social science: enlightenment, empowerment and emancipation.

- Enlightenment educates people about their particular problematic situation and their potential capacity to change their situation in order to satisfy their unmet needs. This is achieved through reflection, communication and determination of the "quasi-causes" of their problematic social condition.

- Empowerment is considered by Fay as "practical force" which stimulates people to take action which is meant to improve their social condition. The social actions taken by the recipients of the expected positive results. It is not the "expert" who decides the action to be taken to improve others' quality of life. It is the recipient of the service that makes the determination.

- Emancipation is liberation resulting from social action. That is, people become emancipated, through their reflection and their own social action, from an oppressive, problematic, social situation. As a group, they rationally and freely determine the direction of their own lives by changing and improving their situation. Berstein interprets Habermas as stating that the experience of emancipation is the result of critical insight, through self-reflection, into the relationships of power, so that "quasi-causes" can be determined and remedied.

The discourse, enlightenment and theory-induced praxis, are the three phases of critical social science, as listed by Bernstein. Communicative action, both verbal and nonverbal, is based on a consensus that is taken for granted. Discourse is communication that results from this consensus being disturbed or disputed. Discourse, or the sharing of differences of opinions and beliefs, assists in testing the various claims of truth. Discourse produces arguments and it is in argumentation that claims are examined and challenged. The goal of discourse is an "accepted" consensus, something most people can live with and work toward.

Both normative sponsorship theory and critical social science incorporate the concept of evaluation of the results of the social action implemented. This confirms that the goals are met or that new activities are required if the goals are not met. The evaluation also confirms or rejects the critical social "theory" that induced the social actions. Critical social science is a dynamic process and requires constant feedback from the social actors to evaluate the results and determine if new or different action should take place.

To be successful community policing requires the total commitment of the so-called big five, the people, citizens and subgroups like business, media, political leaders and social service agencies and institutions of community. It is pro-active, decentralized and personalized, it is full service and works toward the goal of removing predators from the streets and solving long term problems by dealing with the causes, not just reacting to the symptoms.

Community Policing is based on the joint effort of citizens and police toward solving neighborhood problems which in turn satisfies the expressed needs of citizens and enhance the residents' quality of life. The role of the community police officer is equivalent to the role of the critical social scientist, the facilitator and catalyst of problem solving activities. The community policing officer assists the residents by meeting with them individually and in groups in hopes that communication will lead to some consensus of accepted actions that will be agreed upon and implemented by the residents. The major considerations in community policing are: citizens input into defining problems to be solved, citizen involvement in planning and implementing problem solving activities, and citizens determining if their felt needs have been met. Community policing is critical social science in action and is based on the assumptions of normative sponsorship theory(Trojanowicz, 1992).

Aristotle's view of politics is relevant to enlightenment. In the Aristotlean view, the process by which policy decisions are made is emphasized as of primary importance. This refers to the deliberate efforts of people to order and direct their affairs and activities, to establish goals for their society, to implement plans towards these goals, and to evaluate the achievement of the goals. What is significant in this form of politics is citizens' involvement in establishing and administering the laws of their community. In other words, people can only be free if they participate in decision making in the matters that affect them, one is free if one is self-determining. This type of political life reveals to people who they themselves are and who others are.

Political decisions made by a group of technically trained experts are an enigma to the classical, Aristotlean view of politics. According to Fay in Pelser (1995), to turn over political decisions to the "expert" is to lose an important and essential part of freedom, and it most often results in the rule of autocrats with the "correct" solutions.

1.7. Hypotheses

- The main issues of conflict among community members in Potchefstroom and Mafikeng policing areas are, crime, policing, unemployment and poverty, urbanization and migration, human security and violent conflict.
- Community policing has an important role to play in conflict management.
- The relationship between the police and the community is both negative and positive.
- Factors that influenced community attitudes toward the police are personal such as relationships, political and cultural.

1.8. Significance of the Study

The study provides policymakers with information to take informed decisions when developing strategies for community policing in the study areas and other parts of the country. It also forms the basis for early warning systems for police actions in cooperation with local communities. Moreover, the study provides information for community capacity building and awareness of the importance of community policing and police-community relationship in the study areas. It provides readers more especially peace students with information to advance their knowledge of the study of peace studies, conflict transformation and prevention with regard to the role of policing structures in the community in crime prevention.

1.9. Methodology

This was a comparative case study on the role of community police in conflict management between Mafikeng and Potchefstroom areas in the North West Province. Since the study had a strong community bias there was a wide consultation with community members and their leaders in all phases of the research process. Qualitative research methods such as key informers, interviews, review of available literature and personal observation was the core of the data collection methods, while a questionnaire was administered to the population sample in an effort to collect supportive quantitative data.

The use of both qualitative and quantitative approach were so as to give an overall presentation of social and cultural behavior within the study population. The used of a combination of qualitative and quantitative is to draw a clear picture of the research problem. The quantitative data draw a picture of the overall population, while qualitative data are used to give a reflection on the characteristics of the population. After data from both methods are collected, the results are triangulated for a comprehensive understanding of the research problem. There has always been much debate of which of the methods is the best. The truth is, both methods have advantages and disadvantages. Qualitative data collects in-depth information, whereas quantitative data although providing comparable in information, always leaves open the questions of validity of the responses.

1.9.1. Subjects

The following constituted the sources of information for the study: -

- The key persons in the police such as the Directors, Senior Superintendents, Community Representative because these people were conversant with the issues of conflict in the community.
- Primary sources comprised of journals, research documents, Internet, government publications, policy documents etc.

Key persons are often well placed individuals in their society due to their position and knowledge they derived from that position in the community. In this study they included the police authorities from the rank of a director to the lower rank of a constable, the CPF chairperson, town majors councillors and political party leaders. In cooperation with these community leaders and other key persons, a stratified random sample of at least 50 community members (25 males and 25 females) from each study area were selected for the administration of the questionnaire.

1.9.2. Methods of Data Collection

Key informants were interviewed in all the study areas as means to gain qualitative information on the research problem. A questionnaire was used to obtain factual information such as the socioeconomic and demographic background of the respondents. This included their age, gender, marital status, ethnic origin, occupational and educational status.

1.9.3. Procedure

The researcher obtained a letter of introduction from the Department of Applied Social Studies, which provided access to the sources of information. The appointment was made with the authorities to explain the objectives of the study, and requested their cooperation in the selection of study cases and administration of the research instruments.

1.9.4. Data Analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research can occur before the data collection process has been completed. As Coffey and Atkinson (1996) suggests, in qualitative research, "we should never collect data without substantial analysis going on simultaneously." This is because of the view that allowing data to accumulate without preliminary analysis is a recipe for unhappiness if not disaster.

The study used both quantitative and qualitative methods to analyze data from the field. However, most of the information concerning the current study was qualitative in that it was based on primary and secondary sources such as journals, Internet access, publications and key persons. Therefore, data analysis was based on content analysis of viewpoints, thoughts, feelings, attitudes and opinions.

Sociologists often employ content analysis to uncover relevant information in historical and contemporary materials. Content analysis may be applied to almost any type of recorded communication, such as letters, newspapers and even paintings, all of which can reveal much about people's behavior. This research method is especially useful in historical studies, because it provides a way to systematically organize and summarize both the manifest and latent content of communication(Light, 1990).

1.9.5. Ethical Consideration

The need to protect the statutory rights of members of the social community or groups being investigated helps to avoid undue intrusion, obtaining informed consent and protecting the rights to privacy of individuals and social groups **(www.unesco.org/ethissj.htm).**

There was a need to remain sensitive to and cognizant of the social and cultural differences of the respondents with the view to consider conflicting interests whenever they arise. Sieber (1992) posits that research should be conducted in such a way that it maintains the integrity of the research enterprise and does not diminish the potential for conducting future research. As such a research should avoid intrusion into the lives of the individuals or communities they study. In this context every effort was made to protect any potential harmful effects of those participating in the research. Therefore, every effort was made to avoid breaches of ethics that could cause serious limitations in the ability of other future researchers to collect reliable and useful data.

Research designs and procedures, which fail to meet ethical standards, are likely to result in misleading, inconclusive and biased results **(www.unesco.org/most/ethissj.htm)**. In the light of these factors, confidentiality of responses was maintained. The participation of the respondents was voluntary with the view to respect the individual's freedom to participate. The full disclosure of the purpose of research was maintained.

1.9.6. Limitations of the Study

- The smooth administration of the study was hampered by different issues such as reluctancy on the part of some respondents to participate.

- The sample was too big and scattered over a large area. This had led to serious problems in moving from one police station to the other to collect data, that is Police Stations were approximately between 200 and 240km apart from one another.

- The respondents omitted some spaces incomplete, which made it difficult to analyze data.

1.10. Organisation of the Final Report

Chapter One is the introduction. It includes the background, aim and objectives, and methodology of the study.

Chapter Two looks at the main issues of conflict among community members in the two areas.

Chapter Three describes the role of community policing in conflict management.

Chapter Four examines factors that influence community attitude toward the police and the relationship between the police and the community in Potchefstroom and

Mafikeng Policing Areas in North West Province.

Chapter Five are the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

MAIN ISSUES OF CONFLICT AMONG COMMUNITY MEMBERS

South Africa today is characterized by diversity in income, employment, education, religion, experience, location, class, race, gender and sexuality, ages and culture. Policing has also always been a contested terrain - a site of struggle particularly during the apartheid years. Power struggles, competition for limited resources and poverty escalation of crime, high influx of illegal population and unemployment remain reality within the new democratic South Africa. This has complicated the task of developing a shared vision of democratic policing.

Many factors and conditions in South Africa may either directly or indirectly generate or be conductive to conflict in general or to specific conflicts. However, without research on it is extremely difficult to do the following, to distinguish between direct and indirect causal and conductive factors, to understand the complex relationships between such factors, and determine the individual factors' contribution to conflict.

The aim of this chapter is to look into the main issues of conflict among the community members, in Mafikeng and Potchefstroom areas in North West Province.

The internal security situation fluctuates continually, mainly as a result of the interaction between various factors, such as the radicalization of power bases and paramilitary mobilization to the left and right of the political spectrum. There are however, marked differences in the manifestation of the surrounding and the initiating factors which play a role. Socioeconomic such as unemployment, insufficient housing and provision do not only have a direct influence on the occurrence of and increase in crime, but are also its origin. Some of the factors or conditions which may be generating crime or be conductive of to its occurrence are discussed below.

4.1. Policing and Staffing

The notion that the two policing areas present a greater crime problem than others in the province seem to be supported by the authorities, judging by the level of police station staffing. According to station figures gathered, Potchefstroom has more than two and half times the staff of Mafikeng, with 560 employees and Mafikeng 245. This is despite the fact that, Mafikeng a quarter of the resident population and a land area over 20% larger.

The policing approaches of the two stations are fairly traditional, in keeping with the operational strategies of the national office, with notable exception. Potchefstroom is one of the few policing areas in the country to have extensive business watch unit initiated by business against crime and SAPS.

4.2. Unemployment and Poverty

There seems to be diversity of windows to stimulate broadly defined local development in the study areas. Nevertheless, the practice of local economic development is still very much behind the evolving policies. But even at this level, one cannot distinguish job creation in the township as a priority target.

High unemployment rates, the virtual absence of formal employment opportunities and low incomes in black townships show no tendency to disappear. The impossibility of finding a clear relationship between concentrated unemployment and the location of formal employment opportunities could be attributed to an underestimate of the specific nature of a township. This is a specific South African problem which needs more than the adoption of either free market models of local economic development.

If there was one issue that was expected to feature prominently, it was concern for poverty reduction. Given its pervasive and debilitating effect, poverty is generally viewed as Achilles heel of development.

At the same time, we live in a world in which relations of subjective, suffering and dispossession, and the contempt for human dignity and the sanctity of life are at the center of human existence. Conflicts abound in the country, and it is clear that our understandings of innovations should extend to the rediscovery of traditional or indigenous resources for peace building and human security. Looking at the issue of poverty, both in terms of alleviation and eradication, asymmetry in the rights and responsibilities between those, who produce knowledge particularly in the formal sector.

The study found that the economic and financial space for local government is more restricted, because of the increased service responsibilities, administrative costs and salary pressures, while operating funds and experienced personnel have been reduced.

There is a popular belief that unemployment and poverty directly generate all crime. This belief stimulates the idea that job creation will solve the crime problem. It should however, be stated clearly that the belief in job creation as a definite solution to most of our crime problem is not true. Most of the unemployed and poor people do not become criminals, although it is true that unemployed and poor people have a high chance of becoming involved in crime than employed people.

4.3. Urbanization

During the past two decades South Africa experienced a multidimensional transition. The process will continue for at least the next decade and it is only logical that this seems to have had and will continue to have an impact on crime. South Africa experiences exceptionally high levels of urbanization. This is normal process through which every society at a certain juncture in its history has to pass. In South Africa this process is complicated by the fact that this society experiences compacted urbanization.

In a very short period of time millions of work seekers flocked to the major cities. Here they either squat in and around the dormitory township areas or in high density flat-lands on the periphery of CBD areas where many people share small flats and/or hotel rooms. This compacted influx since especially 1986 was worsened by the fact that South Africa's urbanization is not only fed from within its own boundaries. Millions of economic refugees/ job seekers from especially neighboring countries like Mozambique and Zimbabwe but also as far as Morocco, China and other countries of Eastern Europe have joined the local stream of job seekers to the cities. A number of other factors/ conditions which may have an impact on crime usually accompany urbanization, namely:

- A loss of rural subsistence economy and a wider social support network associated with extended family. When one is unemployed in a rural setting, these institutions will provide the necessary support needed to survive. In the cities these institutions are replaced by the phenomenon of the peer group.

- A growth of deprivation and rising expectations. In the city the difference between the rich and the poor is much more visibility of flashy material objects and social status/value attached to belongings like cars, cellular phones etc.

- A growth in formal housing, urban decay and the mass supply of sub-economic housing. The masses streaming to the cities have to find accommodation. This is usually found in squatter shacks in and around the dormitory township areas or in high rise flat-land areas where the housing units were originally built for single or double occupation and not to accommodate (6) six or more people. These housing conditions create the following which may all be conducive to crime:

- Overcrowding and lack of privacy within housing units. This can inter alia lead to a situation in which children observe the intimate acts of adults and/or are constantly experiencing the quarrels and fights of adults. The observed behavior will tend to influence the child's future behavior. The child may, for example imitate the observed sexual behavior of adults with another and in

the process commit rape.

- High level of anonymity. Where thousands of people are herded together in very limited space without the necessary sport, culture and recreational facilities, a growth of anonymity will occur. People do not know one another and this creates bigger opportunity to get away with crime.

- Squatting in the backyards of conventional housing in open areas within existing townships or on the periphery thereof makes policing of such areas extremely difficult. There are usually no lights, addresses or even streets where the police can do proper patrolling and find a complainant or suspect when necessary. Because of the social conditions in these areas, people may not be very friendly toward the police as symbols of the state either.

4.4. Immigration and Ethnicity

One does not need to spend much time in these two areas to realize that a significant portion of the population is foreign born. After the first democratic elections in South Africa in April 1994, the country opened up internationally and was exposed to global trends, economic, political and social. It was also affected by transnational crime to a far greater extent than previously. This had impact not only on the policing of the borders but also on the activities of organized crime, which ranged from the smuggling of drugs, illegal immigrants, firearms and other goods into the country to the illegal export of stolen cars and endangered species.

Illegal immigration into South Africa is as a result of various sources of insecurity within and between Southern African States. Since 1994, South African immigration policy can best be described as ambiguous. Various factors account for this. In the first instance, it could be argued that the ambiguity relates to the fact that the Department of Home Affairs is one of the few government departments that still does not have a White Paper on Migration Policy. This lack of clear policy guidelines result in ad hoc, reactive and uncoordinated responses to illegal immigrants and confusion

amongst civil servants and who require clear signals from policy makers.

However, while we should be concerned with the welfare of human beings everywhere, the government may owe a greater moral debt to its citizens, many who are homeless, jobless and destitute.

4.5. Human Security

The study found human security as a problem which can only be achieved when people feel they have a reasonable amount of control over various aspects of their lives. In this case of women in particular, a sense of insecurity is created by the lack of control over the following:

- ☐ access to information, particularly information that is relevant to their daily lives and which offers opportunities for improving their future,
- ☐ opportunities for procuring a sustainable income,
- ☐ various factors in their socio-political environment, such as armed conflict and domestic violence,
- ☐ representation in local and national development and political agendas.

Some of the root causes of the factors affecting women security include the long standing cultural and social attitudes toward women which have been ingrained in economic, political, and social institution.

Millions of women, and children spend most of their time looking for food to eat and water to drink. A narrow and weak economic base forces the population to rely on the intensive utilization of local and often fragile environments to meet such basic needs.

Based on the experience of South Africa during the eighties and nineties of the previous century, considerable evidence exists to suggest that high level of fear and insecurity may generate crime or violence which will add to a scoreboard. In short the dynamics of fear and insecurity is as follows:

- Security is one of the most basic needs of human beings and one of the only real reasons for the existence of states and their security structures like the police.

- If people experience very high levels of insecurity and even fear because of violence and crime, they will start to lose confidence and trust in the official security services of the state, e.g., police. They may even begin to suspect the security forces/ police of supporting the enemy/criminal and consequently start to arm themselves with legal and/or illegal weapons, as well as organizing themselves in vigilante and self-defense structures. The moment such a situation arises, an explosive situation comes into being, ready to ignite. The trigger for vigilante action and the use of violence is usually provided by either shocking event which confirms that the situation has become extremely insecure and that action has to be taken or a rumor that something is going to happen which seems to make it appropriate to take action.

- If feelings of insecurity and fear are the only shared basis in mobilization of the vigilante group, they will probably only add to the crime scoreboard. However, if a historical, racial/ethnic (based on language, religion, culture) a common denominator is in addition employed to mobilize the vigilante group, if its members share this additional common denominator, the result may become a serious threat to security and stability.

4.6. Violent Conflict

It is universally accepted that apartheid was a cruel, inhuman system which caused racial stereotypes and hatred to thrive in a deeply divided South African society. In addition, strategies like ungovernability and violence aimed against the police and agents of the state were employed in the struggle against apartheid. During apartheid people become so used to violence employed by the state and violence used against the state and its allies that they became brutalized. Life became very cheap and

violence was seen as something that can easily be employed to obtain whatever objective. Since 1994 political/ideological conflicts has consistently decreased, but continuous flows of quite bloody criminal incidents like heists, robberies at residential premises, gang rapes, etc. are reported on daily basis in media. Many South African will admit that the one horrific incident in the mind is usually replaced by the next.

4.7. Racism

Racism did not despite initiatives taken by government suddenly disappear after 1994 and it may take quite a few generations before it disappears completely and does not play a role anymore. Some crimes can directly be generated by racism. If crime is committed across racial boundaries, chances exist that these hatreds from the past may influence the perpetrators to use excessive violence.

While personally appealing, then, the moral argument is an inadequate basis on which to build policy.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ROLE OF COMMUNITY POLICING IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Because of the vast differences in circumstances prevailing in specific areas, it is problematic to try to develop a single formula or model in terms of which conflict in townships should be managed without relying on the army. Different factors will also have to be taken into account when addressing the random terror which often reigns in the community.

The different socioeconomic political and ethnic factors which exist in these areas need to be reflected in different approaches which both civil society and the security forces adopt when attempting to address conflict in those respective areas.

The aim of this chapter is to describe the role of community policing in conflict management in Mafikeng and Potchefstroom policing areas in North West Province.

2.1. Police Policy Framework and Community Policing within the Community

The SAPS has a wide set of functions, including crime prevention, investigation of any offences, the provision of security and the maintenance of law and order. In terms of the 1993 constitutional stipulation, policing is the primary responsibility of the police. The Constitution prescribes community policing as a style of policing to be adopted by the SAPS to meet the safety and security requirements of all people in the country. Therefore, there is a need for transformation to ensure that the SAPS develops into a community oriented policing service which adopts a consultative approach to meet those needs of safety and security of the communities it serves, a service which therefore becomes more accessible and acceptable and more efficient and effective.

The policy which guides the implementation of community policing in South Africa

has, while consistently focusing on the role of community policing. The first formal reference to community policing, as the prescribed approach for policing in South Africa, is found in the very same interim constitution, Act 200 of 1993. The constitution directed that an act of the parliament was to provide for the establishment of community policing forums, the functions of which would include, the promotion of the accountability of the service to local communities and cooperation with the service, the monitoring of the effectiveness and efficiency of the service, and advising the service regarding local police priorities, the evaluation of the provision of visible policing services, including: the provision, siting and staffing of police stations, the reception and processing of complaints and charges, prosecution of offenders, and requesting enquiries into policing matters in the locality concern (Pelser, 2000).

The role made explicitly here, is the emphasis on setting priorities with the police, and monitoring and evaluating the police, suggest public influence in policing matters than in many other models of community policing. Thus, the political imperative informing community policing was one of accountability. The police were to be legitimized by enhancing public role generally, and particularly by enhancing interaction, consultation and accountability in conflict management.

This emphasis on accountability was continued with publication of the new government's first formal policy statement on safety and security. This placed particular emphasis on the democratic control of the police service, and community involvement in safety and security issues. In advocating greater democratic accountability, the policy statement also addressed the inter-related issues of demilitarization, decentralization and community consultation.

A major objective of community policing is to establish an active partnership between the police and the community through which crime, service delivery and police-community relations can be analyzed and appropriate solutions designed and implemented. This, however, requires that the police should consciously strive to create an atmosphere in which potential community partners are willing and able to co-operate with the police.

In a nutshell, the legislation directing the role of community policing emphasis three key responsibilities: the improvement of police-community relations, the role of policing at local level in conflict management, and the mobilization of the community to take joint responsibility in fight against crime.

2.2. Routine Activities of Community Policing Officer

The community policing officer's duties, is to organize the community and building a sense of pride and ownership, plan and institute community-based problem solving initiatives, and assist young people by being a positive role model, establishing positive educational, social, athletic activities, providing alternatives to gang membership, offering a more nurturing environment, involving and supporting parents, networking with schools and other agencies that can help identifying and dealing with child abuse.

The CPO serves as the formal leader of this new group of a community-based problem solver for many reasons. eg.

- ☐ He knows the community intimately, its strength and weaknesses.
- ☐ He has already established a bond of trust with the law-abiding people in the community, which can serve as a foundation for the other service provider.
- ☐ He acts as protector of the community.

2.3. Community Policing and Conflict Management in the Community.

Conflict is an inescapable part of our daily lives, an inevitable result of our high complex competitive, and often litigious society. Whether it is in our personal relationships or our business interactions each of us, has our own ideas, opinion, and needs, and how we deal with our differences with others can determine the quality of our lives.

When exploring ways of managing conflict in a township without resorting to assistance from the military, it should therefore be borne in mind that township dynamic differs from place to place and from province to province, and in any form of social intervention the peculiar circumstances which pertain to a given community or geographic area play a key role to determining the best way to address problems that are experienced in such areas. This applies as much to development and health issues as it does to initiatives at enhancing the safety and security of the people.

The concept of conflict management emphasizes an alternative to arrest. This is an important but sometimes neglected aspect of police community relationship. Society is continually groping for an understanding of the proper position of arrest in the fulfilment of its needs. No one believes that arrest can be completely discarded, but in many situations the usefulness of arrest is questionable. The power to arrest is necessary and a useful tool in police work, but many times arrest, particularly mass arrest and arrest relating to civil disobedience, is likely to be inconsistent with the responsive, effective, considerate police operations so essential to police community relations. Mass arrest has always been associated with the suspension of individual rights. Many arrest may aggravate rather than resolve impending problems (Cooper and Hawtin, 1997).

Conflict management focuses on working with the community to identify areas of conflict, defusing problems when (or before) they arise, minimizing or preventing property damage and violence through communication, education, and/or advocacy of community interests. This approach emphasizes policies, procedures, and attitudes that are different from the punitive policies and procedures traditionally associated with police work. Community relation is an important part and a beneficiary of conflict management approaches. Unfortunately, there is no prescribed formula to tell us how to accomplish this task. Each situation is unique and must be resolved through intricate knowledge of the community - its concerns and its priorities.

A major objective of community policing is to establish an active partnership between the police and the community through which crime, service delivery and police-community relations can jointly be analyzed and appropriate solutions designed and implemented (Schnetler, 2000)

CHAPTER FOUR

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE POLICE AND THE COMMUNITY

Relationships change as individuals, communities, and societies change. They change as the needs and responsibilities of each member in the relationship change. The police are the edges, the most visible and according to many citizens, the most approachable of the Criminal Justice Practitioners. A police-citizen partnership is essential to reduce crime. Community policing is seen as the most effective way to police the South Africa of the future. It is viewed as fundamentally policing philosophy which specifies a new kind of relationship between the police and the public.

The aim of this chapter is to examines the relationships between the police and the community, and factors that influence the attitudes towards the police. The chapter starts with an examination of the demographic characteristics of the respondents. Then, a discussion of some of the key pertinent variables such as police-community relations, factors that influences the relationship: fear of crime, attitudes of officer, attitudes of citizens, and victimization

3.1. Demographic Characteristics of the Respondents

The importance of sample demographics is used to obtain factual information such as the socio-economic, the background and attitudes of the respondents in the study. It helps to establish the size, composition, and distribution of the society as it is affected by three major population process: fertility, mortality and migration. All demographic projections are based on estimates of the size of the population at a certain time.

Demographic analysis is not done simply because a statistical report is needed. It is done because a community profile must be focused on changing or persistent problems. Population characteristics and trends need to be known in order to identify current and predict future policing problems and community needs.

The data is derived from two cases, conducted in Mafikeng and Potchefstroom police station areas. The study was limited to residential and CBD areas only. The study included questions about criminal victimization, opinions on safety and crime, police performance, and questions geared to evaluate community cohesion.

The study is composed of 60% Africans, 10% Whites, 20% Asians and 10% others. Of all the respondents in the study 65% are unemployed and 35% employed. Those employed ranges from the top management to lower management, while those unemployed ranges from a housewife to a self-help female headed family.

In as far as the level of education is concern, all respondents have completed their matric. The majority are currently busy, or have finished at various tertiary institutions. At the most 65% of the respondents, mostly who are without a job had acquired two to three degrees in different professions. On the whole, 40% of the respondents are divorced with two to three dependents, 20% single also with two to three dependents and 40% married at least for 10 years now with three to four dependents.

In as far as housing is concerned, 25% of the respondents have indicated to be owners of their houses in the rural areas, townships and suburbs. The remaining 75% rent houses in towns and townships from the banks through mortgage bonds.

Of all respondents who participated in the study, by completing questionnaire, 75% move to these areas as job seekers and the other 25% is in the areas for the sole purpose of doing business. It is worth nothing that of all respondents in the study, the overwhelming majority of the participants were Africans whereas only about less than five percent have completed questionnaires. In this study, a quarter of the respondents was telephonically interviewed, and in the process, lot of problems which were not included in the questionnaire were raised by the respondents.

3.2. Police Community Relations

The concept of police-community relations is not a new one. This comes a long way. When Sir Robert Peel (1910) undertook reform of the London Police, he and the two commissioners he appointed, Charles Rowan and Richard Mayne, emphasized that the police should work in cooperation with the people, protect their rights, serve their needs, and earn their trust.

For many years police minority relationship has been most controversial. This long standing situation is largely due to the tension between the minority concern with equal protection under the law and the police concern with crime control and order maintenance. It must also be emphasized at the outset that this is not strictly a black - white issue. Other ethnic minorities have had difficult relations with the police. Tension has also arisen because many racial and ethnic minorities, homosexuals, and women have actually been prevented from entering the police field.
As the establishment of police-community partnerships through CPF structures is a key practical element of the policy and is prescribed by the legislation, it is not surprising that this was the most common element identified by respondents. However, it is clear that enhancing police-community communication and providing input to the police are much more important to the CPF representatives than to the police, as is engagement in crime prevention activities.

These responses are indicative of the extent to which the practical issues were raised in the interaction between the police and the community representatives had, over time, superseded the original policy goals. For example, the policy is explicit on the purpose of police-community partnerships via the CPF.

Also, the issues of police service delivery and accountability for meeting local policing priorities were not directly mentioned by the respondents, although they might be implicit in the few responses related to improving trust and local policing. The policy on policing is clear that the CPF structures are to be representative of the communities in which they function.

Such representivity is very important to the police and CPF practitioner in the area. While general knowledge of the functions of the CPF appears to be reasonably well developed amongst those who know these structures, there is a disjuncture between what CPF practitioners indicated was their primary role. Given the limited public reach of the CPFs, it is clear that in their present form and functioning and meaningful government support, these structures are poorly placed to engage meaningfully in any of the roles outlines for them.

The findings have been consistent over time in the study. However, the attitudes of minorities do not necessarily reflect personal experience with the police. To many minorities the police are an occupying force, more concern with restricting their freedom than providing service to their community. From the police point of view, minority neighborhoods have not always been supportive of their efforts to combat crime.

Although cases processing generally treated offenders similarly, racial differences were found at two key points, minority suspects were more likely than whites to be released after arrest, however after some felony conviction minority offenders were more likely whites to be given longer sentences and to be put in prison instead of jail.

Often compounding the individual officers' problems is the police department's problem of poor community relations. Looking back into the recent history of policing, we can find many practices that were seemingly brutal and abusive, but which had the open or silent approval of most of the members of the community. Even though these practices of misconduct have been eliminated, the residents of the community may still have a tendency to view their police some what less than sensitive, unfair, oppressive, and perhaps even unaware of social needs and changes.

'It is apparent from this study that members of the community responded only to their perceptions of the uniform. They generally do not consider any officer's professional attributes. Members of the community may therefore act in a hostile manner, regardless of the individual officer's professional behavior.

Some apparently have been conditioned to the concept that everyone who wears

uniform has certain prejudicial attitudes, and because he is responded to with what he consider to be hostility, he is not given a chance to demonstrate to the community that his professional considerations are not the appropriate response for dealing with certain groups or individual in the community. The chance the police had of beginning a new era of excellent community relations is then stifled.

3.3. Factors influencing attitudes toward the police

The study paid special attention to organizational and individual differences between police officers and police forces contrasting different and police community relations displaying similar attitudes toward the community they serve. Organizational and cultural variables attribute of the officers, city characteristics and the nature of ethnic groups and relations turned out to be more important than individual systems in shaping these attitudes.

In this respect the importance of the culture is best portrayed in service delivery to be problematic in city areas such as ghettos. Attitudes of police officers are important not only when they are directed with respect to the community they serve but also when directed at themselves.

When black and white police officers' role played in weekly sessions, blacks accepted whites more than the other way round and this was interpreted as lower satisfaction on the part of the whites because the programme was perceived to improve the condition of blacks, but not all officers.

Underlying the cooperative efforts between the police and the community is the assumption that such cooperation rest on, and in turn shapes, the attitudes that citizens hold toward the police. These attitudes will influence the character of the relationships between citizens and the police and will function to further or hinder cooperation.

Moreover, prediction of behavior of both citizens and police may improve considerably if attitudes are combined with social situations. In other words, the images and perceptions that citizens have about police will augment or restrict their inclination to cooperate with police officers and will affect the number of offences that receive police attention.

The study revealed that attitudes toward the police include such matters as perceptions of police efficiency, police toughness and assistance to citizens, and may be indicative of potential cooperation or lack of it with the police. Having a negative image will curb cooperation, but having a positive image does not in itself guarantee cooperation.

The assumption is that community attitudes are shaped by personal experience gained through social interaction. Also, community attitudes toward the police are considered by some to be the only basic measure of police effectiveness when considering satisfaction with police services.

3.3.1. Public Perception of Policing

Service to any community must be matched to the citizens perception of need and to the resources of the community. Distrust of establishing agencies, expectations of the community members, different languages and different symbols, and many other factors must be considered in planning and providing for effective service. Many new immigrants (both legally and illegally) suffered abuse at the hands of government officials in their native lands. A product of those abuses is a strong distrust of government institutions in general and the police in particular. These immigrants tend to perceive the police as oppressors rather than public servants. Their fears are heightened by cultural conflicts and language barriers that block effective communication between the police and many ethnic communities.

The study sought to gather information on general public perceptions of crime, and policing in their areas to assist an analysis in the police, expectations of the police

and engagement with the police, the CPF and issues of safety and security.

The response to the question of what the police should do to improve public confidence in them, was that police corruption should be stopped. There does not appear to be public enthusiasm for general interaction with police. Rather, for the general public in the study areas, improvements of the core service functions of the police are likely to have the most positive impact on public perception and confidence.

With 60% of the respondents saying that the crime situation had not got better despite government efforts, and most blaming the government on this lack of progress, it might be expected that public opinions about policing would be poor. But most respondents who had been to the local police stations said their visits had either improved their opinions of the police or that it had stayed the same. Further, most people felt the local police were doing well or fair job, with others feeling they were doing poorly.

Those with negative opinion were most likely to blame this on corruption (63%) or laziness (17%) with very few mentioning racism, brutality and lack of resources. The majority of the respondents 80% said they saw a police member in uniform at least once a day, and 90% said that they new the location of their local police station. Of these, 65% had been to these police stations. Mostly 80% knew to call 10111 if there is any emergency. This level is remarkable, but may be due to the high level of population density and crime in these areas. Of these respondents 22% knew the names of members they could approach with problems. This single fact is very reassuring with regard to the implementation of community oriented policing in these areas.

Mafikeng and Potchefstroom are one of the police stations where the high density policing operations conducted under the geographic focus of the National Crime Combating Strategy (popular known as operation crackdown) were premiered. Unfortunately, other crime prevention initiatives were not as well-known or popular.

Very few understood community policing forums' concept. Of these, the most popular response when asked about its purpose was to give the police information.

This level of awareness falls far short of what the government hopes to achieve with the CPF programme. Every citizen should have access to a CPF, yet only 1% of the respondents in Potchefstroom were aware that a CPF was operating in their area.

The overall evaluation of the police performance is therefore mixed. The police get high marks for visibility, seem to be doing well in terms of community contact, are not often accused of brutality and racism. On the other hand, there is very widespread view that the police are corrupt. The CPFs not seem to be widely known, which is a shame.

3.3.2. Perceptions of Safety

One of the most consistently asked questions in the study is: How safe do you feel walking in the area where you live during the day and during the night? The response to these questions in the study is tabled in 3.1 and 3.2.

During the day the safety profile is fairly typical for the two policing areas, with about half feeling safe and half not. The night time response is, however, quite extreme, with less than 20% of the people feeling safe on the street at night, and nearly three quarters feeling very unsafe. But there was a considerable variation within the study areas in this regard. In some, 27% felt safe during the night, while in one area, 36% felt very safe. In residential premises, only 35% felt safe during the day, and 7% safe at night.

Table 3.1: How safe do you feel walking in the area where you live during the day?

Respondents	Percentage Distribution
Very Unsafe	10
Bit Unsafe	15
Fairly Safe	35
Very Safe	40
Total	100

Table 3.2: How safe do you feel walking in the area where you live at night?

Respondents	Percentage Distribution
Very Unsafe	40
Bit Unsafe	35
Fairly Safe	15
Very Safe	10
Total	100

Despite this fear, 20% of the people in the study area felt that crime in their area had actually decrease since 2002, with 65% saying they felt it had increased either little or a lot, and 15% saying it had stayed the same. Again, this figure varied quite a bit by study area: in one area, 55% felt crime increased a lot and in another, 45% though it had decreased either a little or a lot. Overall, 70% of the people held the government responsible for the change in crime figures, in whole or in part, whether positive or negative. Of those who felt that crime had increased, 77% felt the government was partially responsible for this increase.

It is not surprising that foreign nationals are less enthusiastic about radical solutions to the crime problem because, if the public opinion is anything to go by they would

likely be on the receiving side of these measures. When asked who commits most of the crime in their areas, 60% mentioned foreigners. This was particularly given that nearly a quarter of the sample was foreign. In fact, 25% of foreign nationals said, among other things, foreigners were responsible for crime. Unemployment, however, a cause particularly favored by the African community when discussing the causes of crime in other area, emerged again as the most prevalent explanation: 80% mentioned unemployed people as the source of crime.

3.3.3. Victimization

Mostly, victim study asked a set of standard questions about perceptions of safety and impressions of the state response to crime. These questions also have value simple because they have been asked so many times, and are therefore comparable across these areas and time period.

In weighing up these opinions, it is important to keep in mind that just under half of all the respondents said they had been victims of one of the specified serious crimes in their areas. As a result, much of this data is informed by some direct and recent experience. A remarkable 55% of the victims claimed that they have reported the incidents to the police, which reflects a high level of confidence in the police, but this rate varied sharply because of the type of crime.

While victim study gathers a variety of opinion data, the purpose is to determine the real rates of criminal victimization. Only a fraction of all crime is reported to the police, and thus police statistics are inherently incorrect. Some types of crimes are more under reported than others. The study has found that interpersonal crimes, especially sexually related crimes and domestic violence, are also less likely to be reported.

The respondents were asked about their experiences of crime in their areas. They generally like to report crime and often have fault sense of when events happened. Variation in reporting levels is to be expected since areas have different relationships

with the police and attitudes vary over time. People with easy access to the police are generally more likely to report. Access was determined by a variety of factors, including:

- ☐ economic factors which influence the rates of insurance and ability to absorb the costs of reporting,
- ☐ cultural factors including the availability and popularity traditional dispute resolution mechanisms,
- ☐ police-public relations, including trust of the police,
- ☐ the proximity of the police station to the scene of crime, which is influenced by the geographic area serviced by each station.

All other factors being equal, then, high rate of reporting could be expected of poor urban areas like Potchefstroom, where 70% of the respondents know where the local police station is situated. While rates of insurance are likely to be lower in these areas, the police stations servicing these areas are within a walking distance, and to some extent with exceptions to Mafikeng which is 60% rural and the victims have to book a taxi before they can reach the police station to lodge a complaint. While the necessity of paying cash for accommodation and the lack of access to subsistence agriculture requires some cash income, many people are engaged in informal enterprises and have some flexibility to their working hours.

3.3.4. Crimes Recorded by the Police

The number of crimes recorded by the police in these two police station areas has varied a bit since 2002, some trends are clear. In Mafikeng, robberies with firearms nearly double between January to May 2002 and between January to May 2003. Assault to cause grievous bodily harm has also sharply increased.

Residential Burglaries have just radically declined over the same period. In addition, both these policing areas experience large commuter inflows. Looking at tables 3.3 and 3.4 it becomes clear that, with exception residential burglary, the number of

crime incidents in the two areas is fairly comparable. Potchefstroom experienced about 30% fewer serious assaults and burglaries than Mafikeng while robberies were about the same.

Figure 3.3: Incidents of crime recorded by police at Mafikeng

Types of Crime	Percentage Distribution
Robbery	35
Assault	45
Burglary	60

Figure 3.4: Incidents of crime recorded by the police in Potchefstroom

Types of Crime	Percentage Distribution
Robbery	35
Assault	30
Burglary	30

Table 3.5 shows reporting rates for major crime types found in the study areas. Respondents were asked if they have been victims of these crimes and then asked if they reported this crime to the police. These figures show some consistency in under-reporting patterns by the type of crime, with between 36% and 40% of robberies and 30% and 50% of assaults being reported. Burglaries are more of a wild card with 60% and 80% cases being reported. Respondents were asked if they have been victims of these crimes tabled in 3.5 below.

Types of crime	Percentage Distribution
Robbery	15
Assault	50
Burglary	35
Total	100

3.3.5. Migration and Community Cohesion

The relationship between crime and migration is complex. Many parts of the two study areas show rapid turnover of residents, and this influx of people can be expected to create a kind of community instability. Of those households interviewed, 60% said they had been living in their present location for less than five (5) years, 40% had lived in the household less than a year. What is disturbing about this condition was the fact that most were tenants, without long term property interests in these areas. Less than a quarter reported owning the place where they were living. Those that posit social cohesion as a major factor in preventing crime would see this as key to the areas' crime problem.

These areas are also home to a large number of foreign nationals of dubious immigration status. The study revealed that many immigrants carry Section 41 refugee visas, granted those who are lodging a claim of political persecution in their home country, regardless of their country of origin. While these visas allow residence, they do not allow the recipient to legally seek work, a paradox that seems to necessarily lead to illegal conduct for all but the most affluent. These documents are often crudely altered and forged, and those who have looked into the issue closely find that most of the immigrants are economic, rather than political refugees.

The situation was even more extreme in the residential places. Fifty-two percent had been in their present household less than a year and 58% less than five years. Thirty percent (30%) were foreign nationals, and 25% had only arrived in the country three years ago. Respondents were interviewed in a variety of housing types, but most were flat dwellers.

This is, indeed, high density housing and can be extremely difficult to ignore cultural differences under such conditions. The hygiene, musical tastes, business practices, religious rituals, and romantic behavior of new migrants can clash with local conditions. Despite the high level of transience in these areas, a surprisingly positive response was had on the questions aimed at analyzing community cohesion. One possible explanation lies in the high levels of unemployment and the need for cooperation to survive in an otherwise hostile environment.

The discrepancy between the number of respondents indicating they had been victims of crime, and the number of crimes they said they have been victims of, suggests that some of the respondents have been victims of more than one crime.

Given this relatively high rate of victimization, and the violent nature of many of the crimes, it is no surprise that most of the respondents believed that crime in their areas had increased and those changes in policing had little significant impact.

Despite these perceptions, there does not appear to be real disengagement of the public, as there is clearly a willingness to report crime. Of concern, though, are public perceptions regarding the integrity of the police, especially police corruptions. The severity of the issue is indicated by the finding that most people who believed that the quality of policing in the areas had deteriorated and who lacked confidence in the police cited corruption and lack of motivation as reason for this belief.

Interestingly, the research found that an overwhelming majority of communities are satisfied with the police in their community. On the whole the public is modestly positive in its perception of the police. What is also important is that it confirms a widespread public scepticism regarding the integrity of the police. It also indicates that for the general public in the study areas, improvements to the police service delivery are likely to have an impact on public perceptions and confidence. Given the common perception that there had been little impact on crime and that crime had actually increased, it is not surprising that most respondents believed that the quality of policing had not improve.

However, the diversity in the range of the areas and police stations accessed in the study, together with the fact that there was significant input from the respondents means that the issues raised may well be relevant to the implementation of community policing in the study areas. The majority of the respondents in both areas believed that crime in their areas of residence had increased. This indicates a considerable difference in perceptions about the extent of the increase.

3.3.5. Police Attitudes

It can safely be argued that the majority of today's police officers are still very much production-oriented as their performance is clearly evaluated by a system that values their ability to make arrests, write tickets and control public order. In this regard, officers perceive themselves often as being the only component of the criminal justice system that is actively attempting to do anything about stopping crimes, and perceive other components, such as courts and prisons, to be the ones that let the criminals out. The majority of the police officers felt that there was lack of support from the public, the courts and from other officials and this have a serious impact on their ability to perform well at their work. Antagonistic attitudes on the part of the citizens and police officers alike are not inevitable and even were prevalent, efforts at changing them are partially successful.

Attempts to determine a modal police personality that will allow prediction of police officers' behavior and attitudes were partially successful, but are subject to methodological weaknesses that call for further examination of variables such as self-selection, organizational selection, selective attribution and occupational socialization. Other attempts were somewhat successful in supporting hypotheses regarding police attitudes and values. This proved that authoritarianism and punitiveness differ as a function of particular police roles, that officers have a more punitive attitude than non-police. However, there seemed to be an agreement on attitudes and values but differences were found on the interpretations of behavior.

The potential negative attitude of the officers towards the community and particularly towards the service delivery aspects, as opposed to law enforcement was found in this study, which was also quick to point out the existence of another important variable, ie, police solidarity. It seems that the negative attitudes towards the service delivery aspect of police work, emanate not so much from a negative view of the community as much as from seeing it as a hindrance to the development of police solidarity, which the police value most and seek opportunities to reinforce in their work. The study found that officers' orientation towards the community can be better attributed to the type of department they are assigned to than to their off-duty community involvement or personal history.

Therefore, considering the asymmetrical relations that exist between police and citizen and relatively less frequent resort to the use of (physical) coercion, it is not surprising to find officers' voicing dissatisfaction at being blamed for the increase in crime. As mediators of community conflict, as law enforcers and as helpers and facilitators, officers often find themselves caught between contradictory perceptions that may help or hinder their success at community policing. Appearing as punitive or having significant adversarial contacts may have a negative effect on their attempts to gain the community's cooperation.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The following conclusions have been deduced from the study and will be accordingly stated:

There are problems and challenges that continue to confront the South African Police service. The majority of today's police officers a still very much production-oriented as their performance is clearly evaluated by a system that values their ability to make arrests, write tickets and control public order. These police officers face a dual if not a contradicting role, on the one hand they need to be compassionate and help the needy, on the other they need to be tough when dealing with the often openly serious law breakers. The study found variables related to job stress, such as perception of supervisors, the public they serve, education, age and satisfaction with equipment as distinguishing among different types of police officers.

In context, the study found that personal contact, particularly respondents' perception of the way in which specific officers have treated them personally in the previous encounters, is a more significant detriment of the general attitudes towards the police than were major socioeconomic status variables such as race or income.

There is no real doubt that there must be an agency to fulfil the police function in a modern liberal democratic society. The notion of collective responsibility is decidedly simplistic given the complexity of the modern world. This does not however, provide answers to the question of the quality of relationship.

It is evident from the findings that the situation in the two policing areas is in several respect unique, as the two areas shares many of the problems experienced by depressed areas found around South Africa. They have become the temporary holding zones for people in transit, outsiders, outcasts and others who have no permanent ties to the community.

They contain residents from a range of origin, whose diverse values and traditions seem impossible to accommodate.
While this may seem a mammoth task of social engineering, few recommendations could have lasting impact.

- Quieting the chaos will require the turnover of people flowing through the area, revamping a decaying city scape so that it looks like the authorities care about what goes on in the area. It will also require dealing with the people who are illegal by their status.

- People need to be given the capacity and the incentives to remain and invest in the area in a long term. This is not likely when three quarters of the residents are tenants. Mafikeng and Potchefstroom need to be owned by people who live in.

- The state should assist new owners in making their homes liveable. Giving the area a fresh coat of paint will do more than just raising morale, many studies showed that when residents demonstrate a commitment to keeping up their area, levels of crime are reduced.

  Many crimes described in this study took place in public space. Therefore the study suggests that effort should be made to identify these locations and take measures to address any environmental factors that contribute to them being hotspots.

Mafikeng and Potchefstroom provide a haven for many illegal migrants.
Therefore, making these areas uncomfortable for undocumented immigrants would provide a significant deterrent to many. Focusing on these areas instead of the borders, limited resources could have maximal impact if securing indoor accommodation is made difficult without sufficient documentation. It is also true that focusing on certain criminal enterprises in which certain groups of immigrants are over represented, like the drug trade, would unearth a lot of illegal immigrants.

If the state wishes to reduce crime, the motivation of those who commit crime must be addressed. While the law enforcement activities traditionally undertaken by the police are essential for a variety of reasons, not everyone respond to the deterrent effect of threat of incarceration in the same way. The nature of crime in these areas heavily depend on the environment in which it occurs. Residential areas are subject to different sort of crime than commercial crime.

Responding to this divergent crime profiles will require different policing approaches, which are likewise influenced by the characteristics of the area in question. Understanding crime and the appropriate response to it also requires detailed knowledge of local conditions.

However, despite shocking figures, general public opinion of the police performance is not that bad. Most of the respondents felt the police are doing at least a fair job, and those who had visited the local police station said it had improved their opinion of the police. A remarkable number said they knew a police member by name that they could approach with problem, which shows high levels of community outreach.

Throughout this study many attempts have been made to assess the public's opinion of its police. As often as not has been necessary to stop short of absolute conclusions. This does not represent the absence of a genuine attempt to find the truth, but reflects the inconclusive nature of the evidence found. This study from the outside can only skim the surface of the conditions faced by the police. It is also true that many of the questions asked were less successful than expected.

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