THE POLICE AS A FEAR OF CRIME REDUCTION AGENCY IN TWO RURAL COMMUNITIES

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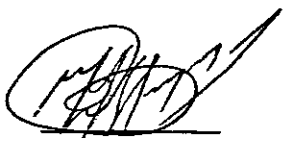
DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare herewith that the dissertation: *The role of the police as a fear of crime reduction agency in two rural communities* is my own work both in conception and in design. All the sources that I have used or quoted from have been acknowledged by means of complete references.



L.E. MAYOYO

18 June 2009

DATE

DEDICATION

The researcher would like to dedicate this research project to –

My late Father, P.B. Mayoyo and Mother A.N. Mayoyo

May their souls rest in peace.

L.E. MAYOYO

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L.E. MAYOYO

SUMMARY

Title: *The police as a fear of crime reduction agency in two rural communities.*

BY

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This study entails an empirical inquiry of the police as a fear reduction agency in two rural communities in the Eastern Cape, South Africa. It is based on data forthcoming from a non-probability sample selected from Mthatha and Butterworth respectively, according to purposive (judgemental) sampling procedures. A pre-coded, closed-structured questionnaire has been implemented as data capturing instrument. Statistical outcomes are based on the opinions, perceptions and attitudes of 300 respondents randomly selected from those two areas. The study resembles an exploratory, descriptive analysis of dependent variables, cross-correlated with one prominent independent variable: *gender* and described in terms of frequency distributions. This investigation does not entail a comparative study.

The study has two focal points: fear of crime and the role of the police in reducing fear. The safety (physical sense of protection) and security (psychological sense of peace) of each individual is a basic human right in terms of the Constitution, entrenched in the Bill of Rights. Individual safety and security are basic to the quality of life in any given society. If the quality of life is affected by crime and fear of criminal victimisation, then both conditions should be viewed as a social problem. The main objective of the study revolves around expanding our substantive knowledge of fear of crime. The study further seeks to establish whether selected priority crimes contribute to the respondents' fear of crime.

Additionally, it is curious about differences in variations of fear of crime measures rating of certain crime measures as a social problem and whether the role of the police is conducive to the reduction of the fear of crime. Research techniques employed include literature study, questionnaire, random sampling and Chi-square test.

Based on data contained in statistical tables, the following emerge:

- Gender attributes appear to be a good predictor of fear of crime
- Selected serious personal and property crimes and previous criminal victimization are posing a threat to respondents' safety and security which may result in fear of crime.
- When cross-related with measures of fear of crime, significant differences between male and female respondents emerged; females are more fearful than males.
- Acquisition of self-protection measures to allay fear of crime are slightly more popular among female respondents who opted to curtail their movements, leave the lights and TV on, but were less inclined to acquire a firearm.
- Female respondents had more positive contact with the police than males and somewhat more inclined to work with the police.

Reconsidering mission statements, enhancing police-public cooperation, appointing and training Community Police Officers, etc. are a few recommendations of this study.

KEYWORDS: Fear of crime, police, victim, criminal victimisation, opinions, perceptions, attitudes, Likert-type scale, empirical research, police-community relations, community policing.

ISISHWANKATELO NGESIXHOSA

Isihloko: *Amapolisa njengabathibazi boloyiko lolwaphulo-mthetho kubantu eMthatha naseGcuwa.*

NGU –

L.E. MAYOYO

Olu phando luphuhlisa indima yamapolisa njengabathibazi boloyiko lolwaphulo-mthetho kuluntu. Olu phando lusekelwe kwizinto ezibambekayo ezifunyenwe kwiPondo leMpuma Koloni e Mzantsi Afrika; kusetyenziswe indlela ethe ngqo emxholweni ngabo bantu batyunjiweyo. Kusetyenziswe uxwebhu olunothotho lwemibuzo elisekelwe lindindwe lanazo neekhowudi ekuthatheni la manqaku. Iziphumo okufikelelwe kuzo zisekelwe phezu kwezimvo, iimbono, nokutyekela kwezigqibo zabaphandwa kwicala elithile; bangamakhulu amathathu (300) kwaye kuthathwe njee kwamntu akucalulwanga. Apha besifuna isitya emnyameni, sihlalutya sichaza izinto ezinxulumeneyo; zibe phofu zona zinxibelelene nento enye egqamileyo ezimeleyo ; isini somntu; kujongwe ubukhulu becala ubuwasalala bezinto eziboniweyo. Akukho luthelekiso lwazinto apha kolu phando, kujongwe njee ukuba iimpendulo zabaphandwa ziphuma zisithini na.

Sigxile kwizinto ezimbini: uloyiko kophulomthetho nendima yamapolisa ekuthibazeni uloyiko. Ukhuseleko (ngokwasemzimbeni) nokuphumla (ngokwasemphefumlweni) komntu ngamnye lilungelo elibethelelwe kwiXwebu lamaLungelo oLuntu eliku Mgaqo-siseko welizwe. Eneneni ngawona malungelo angundoqo la nakweliphi ilizwe. Ukuba abantu bahleli ubomi bentshontsho ngenxa yolwaphulo-mthetho nangenxa yokoyika izibhovubhovu zezigebenga loo nto ithetha ukuthi ezi zinto zombini ziluhlelise manzondolwana uluntu. Eyona njongo yolu phando kukwandisa ulwazi lwethu ngoloyiko oluhlalisa abantu benxunguphaliswe lulwaphulo-

mthetho. Ngaphezu koko sifuna ukuqonda ukuba zeziphi iindidi zolwaphulo-mthetho eziphambili ukunxunguphalisa uluntu. Ezo zinto sizifuna kwaba sibakhethileyo kolu phando.

Apha sibaze iindlebe sihluza ukuba iindidi ezithile zolwaphulo-mthetho zishiyana kangakanani na ngokomgangatho nesantya ekugrogriseni uluntu; nokuba ubukho bamapolisa bunefuthe na ekuthibazeni uloyiko kubantu. Iindlela ezisetyenzisiweyo zokuphanda ziquka ukufunda osele kubhaliwe ngalo mba, ixwebhu elinothotho lwemibuzo, abantu abatyunjelwe ukuphendula imibuzo nobalo oluziphumo ziqinisekileyo ngokothende lwengcinganè esiyisebenzisileyo.

Sibona ezi zinto zilandelayo;

- Isini somntu senza sikwazi ukuqikelela uloyiko analo lokuhlaselwa
- Ulwaphulu-mthetho olukhohlakeleyo olujoliswe esiqwini somntu nasempahleni noloyiko lokungakhuseleki ngenxa yokuba lixhoba ngaphambili.
- Sithe xa sihluza sabona umahluko phakathi kwamadoda nabafazi; abafazi boyika ngaphezu kwamadoda.
- Amabhinqa abalasele ngokufuna iindele zokuzikhusela ukuhlisa uloyiko ngokuzikhebula ekuhilizeni, bashiye iTV nezibane zilayitiwe kodwa abavamile ukufuna imipu.
- Amabhinqa abonise uthakazelelo wokusebenzisana namapolisa kunamadoda.

Ezinye zezihlokomiso zolu phando zizithembiso, intsebenziswano yamapolisa noluntu, ukuchongwa nokuqeqeshwa kwamapolisa oluntu nezinye.

AMAGAMA ABALULEKILEYO: Uloyiko lolwaphulimthetho, amapolisa, ixhoba, ixhoba lobundlobongela, izimvo, iimbono, izigqibo,Isilinganiso esifana sesika-Likert, uphando oluthembekileyo, ubuhlobo bamapolisa noluntu kunye nentsebenziswano.

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CHAPTER 1

GENERAL ORIENTATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Fear of crime is one of the more adverse social and psychological consequences of crime leading to anxiety, mistrust in the criminal justice system, social disruption and the deterioration of the quality of community and social life. Crime has continued to increase and remain at unacceptable high levels, regardless of whether crime is measured by official records (i.e. police statistics) or victimisation surveys. Most victims of crime turn to society for help in alleviating crime and subsequent deviating behaviour. Society, in turn, has introduced a formal social control mechanism, namely the criminal justice system (police, courts and corrections) to combat or eradicate crime. However, the ability of the criminal justice system to single handedly alleviate this problem has been seriously questioned over decades.

The public image of the police usually revolves around perceptions of how police service delivery of safety and security is rendered to members of society. Perceptions of this kind may be of a direct (personal contact with the police) or indirect nature (mass media presentation of police performance, police misconduct, etc.). Factors which influence this perception (and the subsequent image of the police), include: police ineffectiveness in respect of crime prevention, police dishonesty, abuse of police power and authority, impartiality, friendliness and courteousness, cooperation in regard to emergency calls by the public, police accountability, etc. (Van Heerden 1976: 140-156).

Serious underreporting of crime, discrepancies in crime statistics, presence of organised crime (especially involvement of crime syndicates, armed robbers and car hijackers), inability of the criminal justice system to efficiently and effectively respond to serious crimes, disarming potential victims of crime, etc., are also regarded serious obstacles in building a safe and secure South African environment (Cf. Naylor 2003). The police play an integral role in the relationship between crime and the fear of criminal victimization (Van Velzen 1998:199). The present study is set to empirically investigate the role of the South African Police Service in two rural settings, as well as their influence in the reduction of fear of crime among those citizens.

1.2 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aims of the study revolve around the following:

Aim 1: To render a statistical description of the nature and extent of fear of crime in two rural communities of the Eastern Cape based on the perceptions of a non-probability sample.

Aim 2: To ascertain whether selected 'priority crimes' exerted any perceptual influence on respondent's fear of crime.

Aim 3: To statistically establish any significant differences in previous victimisation among respondents according to selected independent variables.

Aim 4: To statistically account for the differences and variations in respondents' fear of crime measures, the rating of certain crimes as a social problem and the role of the police as a fear-reduction agency.

1.3 RATIONALE FOR THE RESEARCH

With the exception of a few studies into different dimensions of peoples' fear of crime by Schurink and Strijdom (1976), Schurink and Prinsloo (1978), Glanz (1989), Smith and Glanz (1989), Neser, Geldenhuys, Stevens, Grobbelaar and Ladikos (1993), Pretorius (1994), Maree (1993) and Van Velzen (1998), empirical research on fear of crime in South Africa still appears to be inadequate. This may be the case because the *modus operandi* of criminals varies over time and space and tend to become more brutal and even more sophisticated. Housebreaking (generally referred to as house robberies) with intent to commit a crime (usually theft, but also murder or even rape, etc.), for instance, are mostly executed after midnight. In cases of robbery of Automatic Transmission Machines (ATM's), explosives are being used to damage and even destroy such targets just to get to the money. Armed robbers are also using explosives to blow up cash-in-transit vehicles, etc. (The Star 2009:1). Towards the end of 2008, the new Safety and Security Minister, Nathi Mthethwa confirmed the seriousness of violent crimes which are taking place in South Africa and reiterated that: "Our people cannot be held hostage in their homes by ruthless criminals" (The Times 2008:5) and even promised to involve the Air Force to assist the police with cash-in-transit robberies. Despite all the rhetoric around crime prevention plans, intentions of upgrading the criminal justice system, etc., it still seems as if the issue of *fear of crime* is accepted as a mere by-product of violent crimes which does not necessitates special attention or further in-depth research.

Looking closely at the crime statistics released by the South African Police Service (SAPS) and published my virtually every newspaper round about the middle of 2008, it comes to mind that something drastically is wrong in the country. After having recently tormented several (mainly) white owners of smallholdings in the Kameeldrift, Cullinan and Bronkhorstspruit areas in northern Gauteng through midnight house robberies, some of the residents or members of

their families were brutally murdered and women raped after they have been over-powered (Beeld 2008:4; Beeld 2009:1). Shortly after that crime wave, scores of criminal gangs have descended upon other areas of KwaZulu-Natal where unexpected residents were over-powered, killed and raped during surprise attacks in the homes of the victims (Rapport 2009:6). While some of the main political parties have released their crime prevention plans, the African National Congress (ANC) accepted that "...there is general public discontent with the government's inability to curb violent crime" (The Times 2008:12). It also transpires that studies into the fear of crime and the role of the police have not been undertaken in the past twenty years or so in the Eastern Cape Province. It is, therefore, the primary goal of the present study to bridge this gap in our substantive knowledge and insight about the fear of crime in the Eastern Cape. Furthermore, given the prevailing high rate of serious crime in South Africa (such as murder, rape, armed robbery, car hijacking, corruption, kidnapping, etc.), it is the considered view of the researcher that fear of crime is a pervasive social phenomenon, especially among the rural communities of this province. The apparent shortcoming in appropriate research into people's fear of crime and the role of the police as a fear of crime reduction agency in that province, form the basis of the research question in the present study.

1.4 STEPS (PHASES) OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS

Bailey (1982:9-11) opines that every research inquiry is a unique undertaking in its own right in terms of time, space and magnitude. The present investigation is no exception to the rule. All types of research, irrespective of whether it has a qualitative or quantitative indination, share a common goal: to provide information and a better understanding of social reality. In doing so, various stages (steps) of the research process come into play. It should, however, be noted that any discussion of the phases of the research process would be incomplete if only the research orientation or tradition – either qualitative or

quantitative – is being singled out according to which these phases could be discussed or illustrated. In the discussion that follows, the following should be noted:

(1) All different writers of research methodology textbooks in criminal justice/criminology do not provide exactly the same sequence of the research phases.

(2) The phases of the research process of a typical quantitative (empirical) research orientation will be briefly highlighted below:

(a) Stating the research problem, by considering a variety of aspects such as: personal experiences, practical concerns, undertaking a literature review, checking shortcomings in criminological theories, review, select and specify area to be investigated (e.g. perceptions of the police), etc. (Van der Westhuizen 1982:59; Hagan 2000:25).

(b) Establishing a research rationale, or the reason why research question (problem) should be subjected to scientific inquiry, how will the information be applied and by whom? In short, there must be a reason why the study is being undertaken (Simon & Burstein 1969:84), whether to explore and/or to explain and describe (Neuman & Wiegand 2000:19).

(c) Setting the aims of the study, in relation to the research problem (usually by checking and re-checking the title of the research project), the objectives are set to give direction to the social inquiry (especially when utilized in conjunction with hypotheses). The aims provide a broad indication what precisely, the researcher would like to attain with the study: are the aims to describe, explain, predict or explore?

Note that there are basically three types of research studies: exploratory, descriptive and explanatory (Mouton & Marais 1993:42).

(d) Formulating hypotheses, to indicate what results are to be expected from a scientific study or social inquiry; in other words, making *intelligent and informed guesses about the probable outcome of a* study. Research and null-hypotheses are distinguished and usually, specific statistical techniques are implemented to test whether a null-hypothesis is valid (accepted) or invalid (rejected). Hypotheses are only tentative generalisations (Van der Westhuizen 1982:59) and, perhaps Thomas H. Huxley was correct when he once observed that 'the great tragedy of science is the slaying of a beautiful hypothesis by an ugly fact' (The Mercury 2008:10).

(e) Specifying the research design or plan according to which the study will be executed, which includes specification of research methods and techniques, data collection, measurement, and scaling procedures, sampling, data analysis, etc. (Potgieter & Mersham 2002:5-21).

(f) Specifying operational definitions of variables, especially with regard to dependent variables in the form of statements, etc. (Van der Westhuizen 1982:59).

(g) Specifying ethical issues, with special reference to the treatment of sampling units, publication of results, guaranteeing anonymity, etc. (Simon & Burnstein 1969:91-92).

(h) Formal collection of data, which may be done through person-to-person distribution and collection of data by means of questionnaires

to prospective respondents, etc. Data collection may also take the form of observations during the interviewing process, etc.

(i) Data management, which entails questionnaire editing, compiling a coding sheet and a code book for the transfer of data onto the SPSS-program, running frequency distributions of both independent and dependent variables for data verification and data cleaning, cross-correlating and cross-tabulation of data, data presentation, etc. (Hagan 2000:329-338).

(j) Finally, research report writing, through which the most important findings and recommendations emanating from the research could be disseminated to interest groups or instances, takes its course (Neuman & Wiegand 2000:433-436).

1.5 RESEARCH DESIGN

Referring to Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook (1965:50), Mouton and Marais (1993:32) describe research design as the "...arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure". Research design is built on two pillars: *designing* and *planning*. *Design* in research could be thought of as the vital decisions researchers have to make when 'planning' a research project, like in cases of structured and controlled research such as experimental studies, etc. The concept *design* has also become important in present-day structured social survey studies, especially when the planning and design of sampling techniques are at stake. Research design becomes especially important when the need for reliability and validity has to be considered to eliminate inaccuracies as far as possible (Mouton & Marais 1993:32-33). Huysamen (1994:10-11) defines

research design as"...the plan or blueprint according to which data are to be collected to investigate the research hypothesis or question in the most economical manner". Simon and Burstein (1969:87-95) offer a fairly broad explanation of what actually constitutes research design. What most writers of research methodology textbooks would argue to be stages or phases of the research process, these two writers regard them as the research design process: (a) selection of independent and dependent variables, (b) calculation of benefits of accuracy and cost of error, (c) selecting the research methods and techniques, (d) collecting the data, (e) analyzing the data, (f) compilation of the final research output in the form of the research report, etc.

Following is a brief discussion of the various (building blocks) of the design of a research project:

1.5.1 Research objectives

Before a researcher can put the sails for research together, the building blocks comprising the research planning and design insists that researchers, seriously consider the objectives of criminological/criminal justice research (Van der Westhuizen 1982:2-3). These objectives are listed below:

- Description of social phenomenon to be studied.
- Explanation of trends and patterns emanating from the data pertaining to the referent object being studied.
- Prediction of either group or individual behaviour by utilizing two prediction techniques: (a) categorisation and (b) extrapolation.
- Exercising (symbolic) control over the study object, such as the incidence and fluctuation of the crime phenomenon.

Descriptive techniques are usually implemented to describe a social problem (phenomenon) to be studied by means of different techniques such as verbal, categorical and numerical descriptive techniques. Apart from verbal-scientific and typological description, statistical description is the most common in quantitative (empirical) research projects. Explanatory research techniques are used to explain the observed qualities of the social phenomenon under study. This is usually done through *tabular analysis* after frequency distributions about the social phenomenon have been obtained. *Correlation analysis* entails correlating or plotting two variables – an independent and a dependent - against each other in a logical-statistical way to reveal: (a) the presence/absence (and if it exists), (b) the direction of any such association, (c) estimation of the strength thereof, and (d) the nature of the association (Van der Westhuizen 1982:11-13). Two techniques are of importance: *prediction* utilises categorisation by means of which a group of people is dichotomised or divided into discrete categories, e.g. delinquents and non-delinquents, while *extrapolation* is used to graphically display human behaviour, feelings or thoughts over a given period of time to facilitate future projections about them (Van der Westhuizen 1982:13-14).

1.5.2 Research approach

A general-scientific approach with *positivistic* undertones has been adopted to quantify, analyse and explain statistical outcomes pertaining to the social phenomenon in question, viz. *fear of crime and perceptions about the role of the police as a fear-reduction agency.* This approach is natural science-oriented, suggesting that "...the same approach applicable to studying and explaining physical reality can be used in social sciences" (Hagan 2000:19). *Positivism* is based on a quantitative approach; a tradition that keeps itself busy with measuring social, or more particularly, criminal justice realities. Positivism subscribes to scientific practice that is characterised by 'problem-solving' through empirical research (Van Velzen 1998:62), especially in cases of applied research.

Positivism is often viewed as "...a theory of knowledge based on the assumption that facts exist as inherent attributes to things; that controlled sensory perception is the only way of knowing and that knowledge has its primary aim the discovery of laws according to which society [reality] operates" (Alant, Lamont, Maritz & Van Eeden 1981:199). Positivism actually refers to positivistic orthodoxy or *philosophical epistemology*, i.e. the theory of knowledge about the nature of social phenomena as well as the procedures (methodology) for determining its validity and existence. Epistemology becomes aware of the existence of 'things' or social phenomena, either through discussion, experience, observation, and also includes the establishment of the truth (Alant *et al.* 1981:197). In short, then, *epistemology* refers to (accurate) knowledge (Greek: episteme) about a given social phenomenon or so-called referent object (Mouton & Marais 1993:4). Ontology, on the other hand represents actually nothing more than the philosophical view of the 'world as it is', in other words, how 'things' relate to one another in society (Alant *et al.* 1981:199), which could be established through scientific measurement.

In studying *social science*, three prominent views emerge: (a) nineteenth century sociologist, Wilhelm Dilthey's extreme position about the *free* will of human beings, suggesting their behaviour is *unpredictable* and, as such, cannot be generalised (for instance) from the specific (sample) to the general (population from which the sample was drawn), meaning that in ordinary terms, humans actions are not open to explanation and prediction. (b) A second view, entertained and maintained by Emile Durkheim, postulated that social phenomena are indeed *orderly* and can be generalised. This kind of scientific view, paved the way for positivism because Durkheim was convinced that social phenomena "...adhere to underlying social laws, just as physical phenomena follow physical laws"... with little difference between social and natural science ..."except for subject matter" (Bailey 1982:5). (c) A third view acknowledges that not all social scientists subscribed to either the idea of physical science or

positivism as did Durkheim. There are many social scientists who prefer a 'middle of the road-approach' created by the German sociologist, Max Weber who supported an intermediate approach between the two existing extremes of Dilthey on the one hand, propagating that human actions are unpredictable, and on the other hand suggesting that social science make use of the methods of physical (natural) sciences. Weber postulated that the free will of people, although a product of volitional action, does not make human behaviour totally unpredictable; human action is exercised in a rational way through which it can be predicted by understanding rational action, even through what he labeled to be direct understanding or *Verstehen* (Bailey 1982:5-6).

1.5.3 Research procedure

The social survey method has been implemented to gather factual information about a study object of public interest: *fear of crime and perceptions of the police as a fear-reduction agency*. Procedure closely resembles a specific approach that will be followed by a researcher (e.g. a general-scientific approach), or a specific inclination to examine 'something' according to a specific method or procedure, such as the *inductive* (formation of theories) and *deductive approaches* (testing of theories) (Van der Westhuizen 1982:10-11). It has already been indicated that the research approach of the current inquiry revolves around the application of *positivistic* research methods and techniques which will briefly be described below.

1.5.4 Statistical techniques

1.5.4.1 Raw scores and level of significance

Raw scores expressed as the number of respondents (N), followed by corresponding percentages (%), will be utilised to portray the data in frequency and cross-tabulation format. Pearson's Chi-square test (χ^2) has been implemented to test for significant differences between variables. The test of significance is being utilised to determine whether any observed statistical differences are the result of sampling error or due to chance or "...that it is highly improbable that they [differences] have been due to sampling error and thus considered statistically significant at a given probability level" (Hagan 2000:381). In the present study the significance in differences between variables has been set at the .05% probability level. This means that the researcher is 95 percent confident that the relationship is a real one, although it is accepted that it is in error 5 times out of 100. In other words, in 5 out of 100 times, the results obtained from the cross-correlation of the data may be due to sampling error rather than real differences in the population form which the sample was drawn (Hagan 2000:383).

The statistical formula for calculating the Chi-square is given as follows:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$$

Where: O = Observed frequency (Questionnaires received back and edited).

E = Expected frequency Questionnaires distributed).

Σ = Sum total of each cell value (Hagan 2003: 376).

The statistical formula for calculating percentages is as follows:

$$P = \sum \frac{(fx) \times 100}{(NG) \quad 1}$$

Where: P = Percentage

(fx) = Total responses in each category, multiplied by the applicable weight.

(NG)= Number of respondents, multiplied by the highest numerical value. In a typical Likert-type scale, the highest value is 5.

Σ = Sum of. (Maxfield & Babbie 1998:355).

1.5.4.2 Research delimitation

Delimitation will be executed at three levels: geographical, qualitative and quantitative levels. Geographically the study is confined to the jurisdictions of Mthatha and Butterworth, both medium-size rural towns, located in the Eastern Cape Province (previously: Transkei). Qualitatively, respondents that were selected for inclusion in the sample consist of all population groups. Table 1.2 provides a demographic description of the independent or qualitative variables of the sample. Quantitatively, an expected frequency of 300 respondents has been achieved. See also paragraphs 1.7.2.1 and 1.8 for a more complete exposition of the research demarcation in the present study.

1.5.4.3 Measuring scale

Scaling generally refers to a process of developing a composite measurement or ranking of social phenomena. Levels of measurement include: nominal, ordinal, ratio and interval levels. In the present study, only nominal and ordinal measurement has been utilised. Nominal variables have only the characteristics of exhaustiveness and mutual exclusiveness (e.g. gender = male/female, etc.), with no variations. Ordinal variables have rank-order attributes which are mostly found in Likert-type scaling procedures, viz.: (1) always (2) often (3) undecided (4) sometimes (5) never (Babbie 2003:132-133). Three major types of *attitude scales* are available to social science researchers: Thurstone, Likert and Guttman scales. The semantic-differential scale, Factor analysis and prediction scales are less known attitude scales (Hagan 2000:323-324) but are, nevertheless, also applied often. As will be observed below, a typical Likert scale has been implemented in the present study to measure and quantify the responses of respondents (N=300) pertaining to various aspects on the role of the police as a fear-reduction agency. For this purpose, the questionnaire also reflects the following calibration: (1) strongly agree (2) agree (3) not sure/undecided (4) disagree (5) strongly disagree. A pre-coded, closed-structured questionnaire has been devised as a data capturing instrument. As far as possible, all the theoretical and statistical requirements applicable to questionnaires proffered by Kenneth Bailey (1987:109-142), have been accorded duly considered during the questionnaire construction phase, e.g. length, word order, abstract versus factual questions, ambiguous questions, guaranteeing anonymity to respondents, contingency questions, open-ended versus closed-ended questions, double-barreled questions, etc. – see Annexure A.

In the final analysis of data, the first two response categories were collapsed into 'favour', indicating a positive response or perception, while the last two categories were linked together under the heading 'oppose', which indicates a

negative perception or opinion. Neuman and Wiegand (2000:151-152) contend that Likert type measuring scales are widely used and are very common in social survey research. Combining or collapsing response categories is also a common feature in survey research using 5-point Likert type scaling procedures.

1.5.4.4 Summated-rating scale

What makes a measuring scale (like the Likert-type scale) a *summated-rating scale?* Paul Spector (1992:1) recommends:

- Summated-rating scales must contain multiple items (or variables/statements). The word summated simply means that these multiple items will eventually be summed or combined in the final counting process by the statistical analysis computer program (e.g. the SPSS).

- Each individual item (or variable) must measure something that has an underlying, quantitative measurement continuum, meaning that each variable should measure a property of 'something' that varies quantitatively, not qualitatively. An *attitude,* for instance can vary from being favourable (positive) to unfavourable (negative).

- Items contained in a summated-rating measuring scale have *no* right or wrong answers, which differentiates a summated-rating scale from a multiple choice-scale or test (well-known 'monkey-puzzle' tests).

- Each item or variable in a scale should be rated or evaluated in terms of response choices. Respondents should be asked to indicate which one of the five responses best reflects his or her personal opinion or perception. After having made a choice, a respondent indicates the outcome of his

or her evaluation by drawing a cross in one of the five blocks next to that particular statement.

1.5.4.5 Response calibration

When the data collection phase of a research inquiry has been concluded, a researcher is encouraged to condense or collapse those categories of the Likert-type scale with inherent or similar measuring properties (Neuman & Wiegand 2000:152), just before the statistical analysis of the data is attempted. This 'move' will ensure that data will be presented and expressed in a more manageable format, especially when some independent variables are cross-correlated with dependent variables. In the present study, the response categories of the typical 5-point Likert, summated-rating scale has been symbolically calibrated or collapsed into the following latitudes of response freedom (Sherif, Sherif & Nebergal 1965:233-234; Warren & Jahoda 1979:396):

Strongly Agree / Agree	}	Latitude of acceptance (favourable response/opinion/perception)
Not sure / Undecided	}	Latitude of non-commitment (neutral response/opinion/perception)
Disagree / Strongly Disagree	}	Latitude of rejection (unfavourable response/opinion/perception).

The above-mentioned authors are adamant that the method of response calibration of a typical 5 or even 7-point Likert scale appears to be of social importance in the operational measurement of attitudes, primarily to determine the degree (latitudes or variations) of *acceptance, rejection* and *neutrality* of the respondents towards a referent object (e.g. fear of crime and the role of the

police as a fear-reduction agency). Such latitudes constitute the *essence of perceptions, opinions or attitudes* (Cf. Sherif *et al.* 1965).

1.5.4.6 Data management: editing, coding, keyboard entry and data cleaning

After having completed the data collection phase, two hundred incomplete questionnaires (Annexure A) have been rejected, leaving the observed frequency of 300. A coding sheet (Annexure B) was designed which enabled the researcher to accurately capture the data forthcoming from the 300 questionnaires. Professor Potgieter of the University of Zululand has written both the data and variable files using the SPSS program, which conveniently facilitated data (responses or code numbers) to be transferred from the questionnaires to the coding sheet (Annexure B) and, likewise, onto the computer by means of computer keyboard entries. The SPSS, version 15.0, has been implemented to accommodate the raw data and to perform cross-correlation analyses. The data cleaning process has been undertaken by means of checking each data column for inaccuracies only after an ordinary frequency distribution run of all the independent and the dependent variables was completed and 'unauthorised' values were detected and exposed. Continuous frequency distribution runs have been conducted until the data deck was 'clean' (Cf. Hagan 2000:329-334).

1.5.4.7 Literature review

The mass media via print and electronic outlets provide ample information about criminal victimisation and the concomitant fear of crime among law-abiding citizens as well as perceptions of the police as a fear of crime-reduction agent. Academic textbooks dealing with policing issues, crime prevention, fear of crime, etc., have been consulted. Additionally, dissertations and theses reflecting

research that has been undertaken in this direction in the past were also consulted, as well as relevant scientific journals.

1.5.4.8 Text editing and typing of manuscript

Neuman and Wiegand (2000:448-450) suggest three steps to be adhered to when writing a research manuscript or the final research report: *pre-writing, composing and re-writing.* The latter component include two very important processes: (1) *revising,* which entails the insertion of new ideas, addition of supporting evidence, changing or deleting words, ideas or even sentences, etc., and (2) *editing,* which refers to the process of checking and improving the accuracy or clarity of a text and attending to its stylistic content, etc. All these steps have been adhered to by the researcher of this scientific report.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Methodology refers to the operational framework within which facts are placed so that their meaning may seem more clearly (Leedy1985:91).

1.6.1 Research methods

Three major research methods are available for studying the crime or any appropriate social phenomenon: (a) the case analysis method (b) the method of mass observation and (c) the analytical method. The analytical method which has been followed in the present study coincides with the scientific approach which represents the global view of the researchers when studying the crime

problem. It will, furthermore, be blended with the method of mass observation in order to accommodate raw data.

1.6.2 Research techniques

In this study the following research techniques will be implemented: (a) a closed-structured questionnaire, using a typical 5-point Likert measuring scale, (b) literature study, (c) statistical tests (Chi-square, percentages, etc.).

1.6.2.1 Sampling

The researcher implemented a non-probability sampling technique – specifically, a purposive (judgmental) sampling procedure. The researcher selected respondents among the residents of Mthatha and Butterworth in the Eastern Cape by allocating and distributing 250 questionnaires to each area (expected frequency). After all the questionnaires have been collected and carefully edited, only 168 (56.0%) of the 250 questionnaires for Mthatha and 132 (44.0%) of those distributed (250) in Butterworth have been retained and included in the study. The loss of so many questionnaires could be attributed to (a) negligence on the part of the field workers, (b) large quantities of the questionnaires had been lost by prospective respondents, and (c) a large number of the questionnaires contained insufficient information. Altogether four field workers (2 for Mthatha and 2 for Butterworth) were employed during the data collection phase. These field workers were carefully selected because they all have completed an undergraduate degree (B.A. in Criminology) at the Walter Sisulu University for Science and Technology. They were trained in the basic skills applicable to questionnaire distribution and collection only. They were not allowed to suggest any possible answers or outcomes to questions and/or statements contained in the questionnaire, to only clarify uncertain terms or

words, and to refrain from attaching personal prejudices and/or viewpoints to the present study. It should further be clearly noted that the present study is **NOT** a comparative study at all (Bailey 1987:194). See Tables 1.1 and 1.2.

TABLE 1.1 STATUS OF QUESTIONNAIRE DISTRIBUTION AMONG TWO RURAL POPULATIONS IN THE EASTERN CAPE (N=300)

Area	Expected frequency		Observed frequency	
	n	%	n	%
Mthatha	250	50.0	168	56.0
Butterworth	250	50.0	132	44.0

Table 1.1 reflects the results obtained after sampling has been concluded. The researcher arbitrarily decided to select a non-probability sample from each area that would be large enough to provide a balanced perception of respondents' fear of crime and the police as a fear reduction agent. Chi-square values show that both samples are not representative of the respective expected frequencies. Mthatha area shows a somewhat greater sample (168 or 56.0%) than the Butterworth area (132 or 44.0%). The researcher is confident that both samples constitute a large enough discussion forum pertaining to the research question at hand in the Eastern Cape (former Transkei-area).

Table 1.2 / ...

TABLE 1.2 DEMOGRAPHIC PARTICULARS OF THE SAMPLE (N=300)

	Frequency	Percentage
GENDER		
Male	133	44.3
Female	167	55.7
Total	300	100.0
AGE GROUP		
<20 years	22	7.3
20-25 years	58	19.3
26-30 years	56	18.7
31-40 years	78	26.0
41-50 years	53	17.7
51-60 years	22	7.3
61-70 years	9	3.0
>71 years	2	0.7
Total	300	100.0
POPULATION GROUP		
African	281	93.7
Asian	3	1.0
Coloured	8	2.7
White	8	2.7
Total	300	100.0
EDUCATION		
<Grade 12	53	17.7
Grade 12	89	29.7
Certificate	38	12.7
Diploma	50	16.7
Under-Graduate Degree	44	14.6
Post-Graduate Degree	25	8.3
Apprenticeship	1	0.3
Total	300	100.0
Marital Status		
Never Married	161	50.3
Married	107	35.7
Divorced	17	5.7
Separated-bed & board	4	1.3
Separated-Estranged	5	1.7
Widowed	11	3.7
Other	5	1.7
Total	300	100.0
PLACE OF RESIDENCE		
Mthatha	168	56.0
Butterworth	132	44.0
Total	300	100.0

1.7 DELIMITATION OF THE STUDY

1.7.1 Qualitative delimitation

Qualitative delimitation is based upon known attributes of respondents such as: gender, age, population (race) group, marital status, etc., and is operationalised through *independent variables* contained in Section A of the questionnaire (see Table 1.2). This table presents a frequency distribution of demographic particulars of the respondents who participated in this research inquiry – see Annexure A, section A).

The above table clearly reflects a female dominated sample: 167 (55.7%) female respondents compared to 133 (44.3%) males. In terms of age groups, it transpires that 131 (44.3%) respondents are between the ages 31-50. The age categories 20-25 years (58 or 19.3% and 26-30 years (56 or 18.7%), are also well presented in this study. Only 22 (7.3%) of the respondents are under 20 years of age – the same as those falling in the age category 51-60 years (22 or 7.3%).

As could be expected, most of the respondents are Africans (Xhosa speaking people) - 281 or 93 percent. Only very small percentages of Coloureds (27%), Asian (3.0) and Whites (2.7%) are also observed. The table also reveals that 53 (17.7) respondents are in possession of qualifications lower than grade 12, while 89 (29.7%) are in grade 12 and 38 (12.7%) hold certificates. It also appears that 50 (16.7%) have diplomas, 44 (14.7%) undergraduates degrees and 25 (8.3%) have post graduate degrees. In terms of marital status, 161 (50.3%) are not married, 107 (35.7%) married, 17 (5.7%) divorced 9 (3%) estranged and 11 (3.7%) widowed.

1.7.2 Quantitative delimitation

Data analysis will be based on an expected frequency (f_e) of at least 500 respondents. However, the observed frequency (f_o) will eventually determine the sample size of both population groups (Mthatha and Butterworth) - see Table 1.1 as well as sub-paragraphs 1.6.5.2 and 1.7.3.

1.7.3 Geographical delimitation

The study will be executed among adult respondents of two rural communities: Mthatha and Butterworth located in the Eastern Cape Province (see Annexure C).

1.8 CONCEPTUALISATION

Researchers tend to differ on the reason why concepts and/or terms should be highlighted, defined or their meaning made clear when exploratory and descriptive studies like the present one is undertaken. Zondi (2002:3) opines that concepts are defined simply to exploit their relevance to the social phenomenon being investigated or studied. It also create opportunities to eliminate possible confusion that may aris from their interpretation. The following concepts will be defined or explained in this section: crime, crime prevention, fear, fear of crime and police.

1.8.1 Crime

The concept *crime* has two different meanings to criminologists and criminal justice practitioners: *juridical* and *criminological.* Crime in juridical sense refers to the violation of a law by means of an overt action or an omission that can be punished by the state in a criminal court. If found guilty and sentenced, a

perpetrator will be committed to a correctional facility to serve his or her sentence (Van der Walt, Cronje & Smit 1982:26-27). This definition relates to the formal aspect of social control. In criminological (or non-juridical) terms, crime is defined more 'widely' to include the harm that is done to society and all its members. Van der Walt *et al.* (1982:34-36) opine that crime in criminological sense supports the juridical definition but accepts it also includes anti-social actions or behaviour which influences the quality of life of the individual, his or her community and society at large (see also: Van Velzen 1998:20).

1.8.2 Contemporary crime prevention

Bayley (1994:102-104) asserts that the police, instituted by society through statutory law, are quite aware that crime prevention is their mission. In fact, the "... police [hopefully] do judge themselves by the standards of crime containment [prevention and control] and crime reduction. As an *agency of crime control*, the police are daily called-upon to reduce crime – ostensibly by being omnipresent in the daily social life of people they are obliged to protect through eradicating crime precipitants. Although the development of new crime prevention strategies have been influenced in the past by the following three prominent factors, it should be remembered that crime do not change fundamentally and, as a result, basically still require the same attention. Firstly, the police can never prevent crime and solve social problems *alone*; they need the assistance of the public, the crime vulnerable and the victims of crime. Members of the community *must buy into this kind of activity as co-producers of public safety or social order.* Secondly, police resources, like manpower and human energy as well as equipment should proactively be directed at crime and the circumstances that are causing it; in other words, they should focus on *police business*. Engaging in bureaucratic red-tape would mean "...shutting the barn door after the horse has escaped" (Bayley 1994:103). Thirdly, although some researchers suggest that police patrol has become too expensive, it should be borne in mind that *police*

presence has become too passive in modern times. Patrolling has become expensive to the extent that police energy is not managed wisely enough, because on its own, mobile patrols do not reassure the public of police protection or deter criminals, if it is not *actively and visibly* engineered to *create a climate of social order, security and trust among members of the public* (Bayley 1994:102-103). Controlling human behaviour of a non-criminal nature and fear-reducing would do much to support this aim.

1.8.3 Fear

Again, *fear* could be approached from different angles. Physiologically, it entails a series of complex bodily changes that alert an individual about the presence of potential danger (Van Velzen 1998:21). Psychologically, fear is capable of stimulating an individual into performing major feats or heroic deeds, but it could also cause the individual to be incapacitated in the form of surrendering to something (e.g. an attack). Internal psychological processes caused by fear may include: feelings of hopelessness, anger, outrage, frustration and powerlessness. Fear can also be viewed as a reaction to external stimuli in the surrounding environment. Van Velzen (Cf. 1998) refers to the observations of Goffman (Warr 1990:892) to show how an individual could respond to his or her environment. If *no danger* is sensed or perceived, the individual continues his or her normal activities, but when *danger* seems to be around, the environment is viewed as *unsafe,* which can cause an individual to be vulnerable. Further, if the stimulus appears sudden, or as a surprise, vulnerability may translate into *powerlessness* or a feeling of having lost control over one's immediate situation and circumstances which, in turn, may result in *anxiety* about prevailing conditions in the external environment. "This state of powerlessness" says Van Velzen (1998:21), "can manifest itself in the fear of crime" – if antisocial behaviour appears to be the threatening stimulus.

1.8.4 Fear of crime

Although *fear of crime* has different meanings to different people, it appears that such condition, in this context, points to the anticipation of the occurrence of a criminal event and, as such, becomes a consequence of the potential for victimisation (Van Velzen 1998:22). Keane 1992 (Van Velzen 1998:22) distinguishes between ***formless fear*** which refers to an observation and subsequent perception of being vulnerable to crime, either in terms of a physical, socio-economic nature or just a general feeling of *unsafety.* On the other hand, ***concrete fear*** entails the perceived (real) risk of victimisation and the type of crime likely to take place or fear of specific crimes. Fear of crime is based on four factors (Van Dijk 1979 in Van Velzen 1998:22):

- Cognitive, i.e. what is perceived by a person in terms of personal risk of being victimised as well as prevailing incidences of crime in a given area.
- Normative, which is a concern about personal safety and security among members of the public.
- Emotional, which includes feelings of anxiety.
- Behavioural, embracing actual steps to protect life and property including necessary adjustments, depending on the impact and severity of the fear of crime present in society.

1.8.5 Police

Referring to quite a few past researchers, Van Heerden (1982:13) conveniently informs us that the word *police* is derived from the Greek word *polis* (city), *polites* (citizen of the state) as well as the Latin word *politia* (state authority). It is believed that the word *police* had first been used about 600 A.D. and another police scientist is convinced it is directly derived from the French word *policer* (power of the people). The term *police* officially received recognition in Ireland

round about 1787, while it can be accepted that the year 1929 is the time when modern policing had been introduced in England – see Chapter 2.

1.9 ETHICAL ISSUES

The following ethical issues have been given due consideration: (a) respondents' anonymity will be guaranteed and protected at all costs, (b) information provided by the respondents will not be disclosed to any unauthorized persons or instances (c) respondents human rights to freedom of speech, dignity, privacy, and freedom of conscience, religion, belief and opinion, etc., will also be respected. Ethical principles drafted and accepted by the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS) and the American Criminological Society (ASC), will also be followed as practical guidelines in the ethics of social research.

1.10 SUMMARY

This chapter merely outlines the research methodological issues pertaining to the referent object (topic). Apart from having specified the reason (rationale) why the present topic has been selected for research purposes and having formulated the study aims and subsequent hypotheses, a clear exposition of the research methods and techniques has also been provided.

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CHAPTER 2 /...

CHAPTER 2

THEORIES OF THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROLE OF THE POLICE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Gaines, Kappeler and Vaughn (l999:57) assert that:"Sometimes a history is nothing more than a story of places, people, and the events. However, history provides a background and understanding of the present; it should provide a backdrop or a context by which to better understand current affairs. By trying to understand the past, it is possible to better comprehend the present, and possibly future, events. It is, therefore, important to understand the history of policing, sometimes referred to as law enforcement."

History convincingly demonstrates that such problems as large scale unemployment, poverty and overcrowded living conditions tend to be associated with high crime rates regardless of the period during which they occur. Around the start of the of the sixteenth century, such conditions of life began to characterise England's larger cities as ever increasing numbers of people moved out of the farms and villages and into the country's urban centers. As the rural exodus produced high crime rates, the pressure on the country's woefully inadequate law enforcement machinery mounted and led to demands for new measures to combat the rising tide of lawlessness (Kirkham & Wollan 1980:23).

2.2 EVOLUTION OF POLICING IN FRANCE

2.2.1. The Napoleonic Police Model

The Napoleonic police system was constructed during the Napoleon epoch and has endured to the present day, not only in France but in many countries where France had a hand in government. The main features of the Napoleonic police system were: control from the center by ministers and prefects, a dual structure of military and civil elements, a distinct police force for the capital city, substantial reserves for emergency use, a high degree of surveillance of the population, association with criminal procedure that favours the state more than the citizen. These undoubtedly are still the characteristics of policing of France to this day (Stead 1977:64).

2.2.2 Legacy of the ancient regime

Stead (1977:64-66) proceeds to point out that during the last decades of the ancient regime the various formations and units of the *marechauss'ee,* brought by the royal ordinance of April 28, 1778, into a single corps. This military police force was later renamed by the National Assembly as the Gendarmerie Nationale, the name which, after modifications had been introduced to suit the various regimes of the nineteenth century, still bears the name today The status of the Gendarme, the lowest rank in the corps was equated to that of a non-commissioned officer of the cavalry. Among other duties, the gendarmerie were required to patrol, to gather information about crime, to seek out and pursue malefactors, to seize anyone surprised *in flagrante delicto*, to seize brigands, thieves, killers, devastators of woods and crops, to take prescribed action with regard to beggars and vagabonds, to make reports on bodies found on country roads or retrieved from the water; to report on fires, burglaries, murders and other crimes, to be on hand at large assemblies of people such as markets, fairs,

feasts, and ceremonies and to escort public funds, gunpowder convoys and prisoners.

According to Stead (1977:66-68), Napoleon fulfilled a double role of a soldier and administrator and found the Gendarmerie, this ready-made instrument of public order, immensely attractive and an organisation on its own. Napoleon appointed General, later Marshal Moncey as the first inspector-general of the Gendarmerie in 1801. This post, created by the king in 1667, came to be known as the lieutenant-general of the police. During its life time from 1667 to 1789 the lieutenancy-general of the police became a kind of ministry, with a large and prosperous bureaucracy and a manifold interest in the economic and social life of the city of Paris as well as in the enforcement of law and the preservation of the public peace. The lieutenancy-general of the police was abolished in 1789 when police responsibility was transferred to the new municipal authorities.

2.3 DEVELOPMENT OF POLICING IN ROME

The last century of the Roman Republic (133-31 B.C.) saw the steady deterioration of law and order. During this time Julius Caesar was assassinated and Augustus Caesar took over. He was confronted with numerous problems of restoring law and order. He established himself as head and restored peace to Italy and the Empire. Augustus removed many potential causes of the breakdown of law and order. His last and the greatest problem had been to find a body of men to enforce the peace in Rome. The Romans were very sensitive about innovations; any measure that was contrary to custom and lacked a precedent was viewed with suspicion and alarm. Augustus used a precedent of a guard of honour to which a general had been entitled but made his guard to be on a far larger scale than Julius Caesar's guard. Their prime function was to be the imperial guard, to escort and protect Augustus. As the only troops in Rome,

their presence would also help to keep law and order, and they could be used, if necessary, to enforce the peace. Augustus later disbanded this potential private army and had it replaced with a firefighting force charged with the duties of night patrols and night watchmen. They also dealt with cases of burglary assault and similar petty crimes they came across (Stead 1977:12-16).

Augustus was the first ruler to draw a distinction between military and police functions. He relieved a selected group of soldiers of military duties and commissioned them to protect his own person and property. This *Praetorian Guard* (state guard) was later supplemented by urban *cohorts* (military troops) and the *vigiles* (night watch) and charged with keeping order in the cities and fighting fires. The *vigiles* are often referred to as the first non-military urban police. After the fall of the Roman Empire policing did not follow any fixed pattern of development. At this stage social control consisted mainly in a system of individual responsibility, and conformity to the rules of behaviour enforced by means of extremely cruel punishments (Van Heerden 1982:21).

Stead (1977:16-26) further states that these vigiles were organized along military lines in so much as they had officers and Non-Commissioned Officers (N.C.O.'s) in their units. The vigiles were placed in private houses throughout the city but later in special barracks and watch stations were established. They were deliberately recruited from freedmen, a category normally excluded from military service except to meet catastrophic situations. Augustus instituted a force to police Rome during the last years of his reign probably in A.D. 13 forming three urban cohorts, each five hundred men strong, and tasked to police the capital. The very idea of a regular police force was still unacceptable to many citizens. Unlike the vigiles, the urban cohorts were recruited from citizens and were organised along the lines of Praetorians, although they received only half of their pay and had a different length of service. Each Urban Cohort was commanded by a battalion commander or captain and contained six companies, under the

command of a commissioned officer (centurion or lieutenant). Among the special personnel attested were the sergeant in charge of the prison and the sergeant in charge of the city records and interrogations. In establishing a police force Augustus deliberately avoided centralisation.

The penal philosophy of the time was that punishments should be designed to protect society by eliminating the offender, to reform subjects and to promote obedience. This attitude, together with the fact that the judiciary made a general practice of forcing confessions meant that organised repressive policing was unnecessary (Van Heerden 1994:21).

2.4 DEVELOPMENT IN ENGLAND: THE DAWN OF MODERN POLICING

The development of policing in England also went through some important phases. In the first of these phases, every individual and group was responsible for the maintenance of order. Later, constables were appointed to apply the laws in cooperation with and under the supervision of justices of the peace. Finally, an organised professional police force, of the kind we know in South Africa to-day, came into being. Although these successive phases differed greatly from one another, three basic characteristics remained constant throughout, namely the command nature of the work, origin of the common law, and the placing of legal officials in the same legal positions as other members of society. According to the common law, the professional police official was simply an ordinary citizen who was being paid to perform a service, in which in the last analysis, every citizen was required to perform such service on a voluntary basis (Van Heerden 1982:21-22).

2.4.1. The role of private individuals

Throughout the period 1674 to 1834 many victims of crime were able to identify the culprits and secure their arrest by contacting a constable or justice of the peace. Those who witnessed a felony had a legal obligation to arrest those responsible for the crime, and to notify a constable or justice of the peace if they heard that such a crime had been taken place. Moreover, if summoned by a constable to join the "hue and cry", inhabitants were required to join in the pursuit of any escaping felon. Although these legal obligations were rarely enforced during that period, Londoners continued to help apprehend suspected criminals. As proceedings frequently illustrate, cries of "stop thief" or "murder" from victims often successfully elicited assistance from passersby in preventing or apprehending suspects. It seems likely, however, that this sense of individual responsibility for law enforcement was eroded over the century, as an increasing number of men were paid to carry out this task. For example victims paid "thief-takers" to locate and apprehend suspects. The difficulties the authorities had in identifying and apprehending criminals led them, too, to offer rewards to thief-takers and others, and pardons to the accomplices who were willing to turn in their partners, for activities which contributed to the conviction of the perpetrators of serious crimes. Increasingly, ordinary Londoners left the task of turning in criminals to groups of people who were motivated to do so by the prospect of financial and other rewards (Hitchcock & Schoemaker 2007:1).

However, Van Heerden (1982:22) is of the opinion that the system of collective responsibility worked well in settled agrarian communities, but with the growth of cities and the increasing mobility of city-dwellers its shortcomings became apparent. Also, groups tended to protect and conceal wrongdoers to avoid the risk of having to pay restitution.

2.4.2. The era of the justice of the peace and the constable

The word constable is derived from the Latin word *comes-stabuli* meaning horse-master and was originally entrusted with the maintenance of armies, but in the course of time became associated with the enforcement of the laws. For example, a constable was expected to supervise watches, investigate crime, issue summonses and warrants, organise and administer the hue and cry, control court procedure, and carry out the instructions of justices of the peace. The office of the justice of the peace was instituted by Edward III in 1361.The original function of these officials was to try certain types of cases but later on, in conjunction with the constables, they began to fulfill a police function as well. The constable was subordinate to the justice of the peace and was accountable to him for the manner in which he maintained peace and order. The system of collective responsibility supplemented by the alarm system eventually became inefficient, mainly because peace officers were not paid for their services and because ordinary citizens had distanced themselves from it. Watch services and patrol duties were supposed to be undertaken by all citizens in turn, but these obligations were often evaded and fulfilled by hired replacements. These hirelings were often aged and incompetent drunkards. A compensation system was introduced in an attempt to regain public support (Van Heerden 1982:24).

The advent of salaried constables and watchmen who were responsible for patrolling the streets means that several characteristics of a modern police force were already present in the eighteenth century London: the streets were regularly patrolled by men whose job it was to prevent crime and

arrest suspects. Such men walked regular beats, and some wore uniforms. While they were more experienced than the part-time men they replaced because they were low paid and low in status, they were not necessarily more respected or more effective. There were concerns that they developed too close a relationship with the underworld they were supposed to police, and it was believed many such officers were corrupt. This was especially true of those officers who became, or were linked to the practice of thief-taking (Hitchcock, & Schoemaker, 2007:2).

Van Heerden (1982:24) adamantly states that the tradesmen, dissatisfied with the protection, afforded them an opportunity to start their own private merchant police. The parish Parochial Police, the Military under the command of a *Provost Marshall* (magistrate instituted by General Oliver Cromwell, the farcical *Charlies* set up by Charles II, and Thomas de Veil's *Thieftakers* (private detectives), all came to grief.

The first real effort to examine the crime problem systematically and prescribe more effective law enforcement methods for dealing with crime came in 1749 when the novelist and lawyer Sir Henry Fielding published his work "An Enquiry into the Causes of the Increase of Robberies". Fielding who was at the time chief magistrate of Middlesex and Westminister, concluded on the basis of his surveys that inferior police personnel were themselves a major cause of crime. In addition to setting forth advanced law enforcement principles, Fielding called for improved methods of police selection and better pay as essential first steps in dealing with crime. With the help of his brother, John, he sought to put concepts into practice by establishing a new kind of force at the Bow

Street station. It involved the use of mounted officers to patrol the crime-infested highways leading into the city, and foot patrolmen in the densely populated residential and business areas, both of them based on the modern notion of a mobile patrol force. Fielding is usually remembered for his introduction of what is believed to be the first real detective force in history: the Bow Street Runners or Thief-Takers. (Kirkham & Wollan 1980:27).

When Henry Fielding died in 1754 in Lisbon, the situation of safety in the streets of London was still not guaranteed despite Henry's endeavours and Henry was succeeded by his half brother John Fielding who continued to fight crime until his death in 1780. John Fielding always sought to further the ideas Henry had introduced Henry recognised the inadequacy of the traditional institutions and proposed the creation of a unified, mobile police which would operate under a central direction in accordance with a policy which was designed to suppress crime. While Henry and John are properly credited with having first introduced the idea of a unified mobile police force for the city into English political culture, and if they had not done so it would have been proposed by others in the same era. Despite the Fieldings malicious gossip and personal attack, the Fieldings were remarkably hard working, honourable and honest men (Stead 1977:33).

The constables and watchmen were appointed by the voters. These appointees served the same purpose as the magistrates in name only. In fact the two groups had no obligation to work together. Often they were hostile towards each other and common ground between them was usually found only in concerting their actions to collect fees. Fielding was

unusually qualified to be a magistrate. He was a well-trained lawyer with several years of experience. He was widely known in London, having been active as a journalist and a play writer. He felt that uncontrolled gaming and drinking was a principal cause for the appearance of large and well-organised gangs who robbed and stole who and wherever they could. He urged the reform of poor-law administration which would have had the effect of removing many potential criminals from the streets (Stead 1977:38-9).

According to Van Heerden (1982:25), the magistrate Henry Fielding and his brother John, were responsible for the first organised police force. In 1750 they secretly trained a number of selected constables in criminal investigation and general legal principles. These '*Bow Street Runners*' as they came to be known, were at first disliked by the public but successes they achieved and their sustained preventive activities, such as improved patrol services and help given to young people, won the confidence of the public. There was a marked abatement of public antagonism to organised policing, because the work done by the Bow Street Runners provided concrete evidence that policing was not irreconcilable with individual and constitutional rights. Like peace officials of the past, members of this unit were not paid salaries. In 1792 the Police Bill was passed and William Pitt succeeded in appointing a number of full-time, salaried constables.

2.4.3. The rise of modern policing in England

Van Heerden (1982:25) believed that the Industrial Revolution that began in England in about 1760 resulted in tremendous social and economic

changes. Cities grew, slums developed, poverty increased and all forms of crime proliferated to a degree out of all proportion to the increase in population. This state of disorder made the public uneasy and for the first time there was some concord between public's anxiety about social order and the ideas of those who philosophised on the topic of policing.

Some years later (1792), Patrick Colquhoun, a successful businessman, was appointed as magistrate. He worked diligently to alleviate social problems and deal with crime. He worked toward relieving unemployment, and provision of food for the poor. Colquhoun understood Fielding's methods and began to apply them. In 1796, he wrote *A Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*, which reviewed the various crime problems facing the city. He also advocated a formal, structured police force, a suggestion that sustained substantial criticism. As a result of his book, Colquhoun was approached by the West India planters and merchants for suggestions to curb crime in the dock areas and he accordingly drew up a plan, financed by the merchants, and approved by the government (Gaines *et al* 1999:71-72).

Van Heerden (1982:25) further states that Dr. Patrick Colquhoun had stated that a centralised police force was the only possible way of ensuring that individual rights would be upheld while guaranteeing society against disorder. His approach to centralised and organised policing made the concept more acceptable to both the government and the public, just at the time when the movement for humane punishments and prison reform was at its height. Colquhoun may be regarded as an architect of modern policing on the grounds of preparatory work he did. On the same analogy,

Sir Robert Peel would be the builder. It was under his leadership that the first organised police force was established in terms of the *Metropolitan Police Act* (1829). He is generally regarded as the father of modern policing, and the nickname 'Bobby', derived from his name, is still a generic term for a policeman.

Gaines *et al.* (1999:72-74) adamantly state that Peel introduced a bill in parliament: *An Act for Improving Police In and Near the Metropolis, or the Metropolitan Police Act* (italics added). The Act provided a single authority that would be responsible for an area that covered approximately a seven-mile radius from the heart of London city. Peel deliberately made the bill vague in terms of the operation of the new police, which facilitated its passage. The *Metropolitan Police Act* was passed as a political compromise and only applied to London. The police force began its operation in September 29, 1829 with 1000 officers in six divisions. The new headquarters was located at 4 Whitehall Place, which opened onto a courtyard that had been the site of the residence used by Kings of Scotland. The headquarters was subsequently named Scotland Yard. Robert Peel drew up the principles of which still serve to guide most modern police operations.

Peel's most important proposition was that social disorder had been largely the result of ineffectual policing, and that the preservation of internal security and the maintenance of individual rights should be entrusted to specialist policemen rather than to ordinary military forces. The opposition he encountered and the criticism his police unit had to endure, reflected contemporary ideas about social order and how it should be maintained.

Organised policing was regarded as undemocratic because it meant placing power in the hands of a particular group, and represented a serious threat to the basic individual rights to freedom and privacy. It was argued that the existing laws were sufficient for the control of behaviour and that organised policing would be superfluous. Peel himself was at first regarded as a potential dictator, but he was vindicated by the successes attained by the new police force (Van Heerden 1982:26).

One of Peel's most important counter arguments to the criticism his 'invention' had to cope with, was that the laws did indeed make provision, not only for the preservation of the social order but also for the restoration of it by determining where, when, how and by whom this was to be done. He pointed out that suppression was not the primary purpose of policing in a democratic society and that it was, on the contrary, a social service with the primary task of preventing crime. The most important principle underlying his arguments was that organised policing should be seen as a process of transition from enforcing order by means of gross physical compulsion to achieving social order at the public's desire having activated public's acceptance and appreciation of personal and communal advantages of social order (Van Heerden 1982:26).

The new police unit was organised inter alia on the following principles which have remained constant to this present day:

1. The police must be organised in a stable and effective way, on a semi-military basis.
2. The police must be subject to government control.

3. A scarcity of crime is a sign of effective policing – activities must therefore centre upon prevention.
4. News about crime should be disseminated with the hope of activating assistance from the public.
5. The work demands temporal and spatial decentralisation.
6. Emotional control is indispensable; controlled and determined action produces better results than brute force does.
7. A good appearance commands respect.
8. Selection and training form the bases of efficiency.
9. For the sake of public security every policeman must have a number. The head office must be centrally situated and easily reached.
10. Policemen should be appointed on a probationary basis. With a view to effective distribution of manpower, police registers be kept (Van Heerden 1982:26-27).

Robert Peel, the politician, called upon Richard Mayne, the lawyer, and Charles Rowan a soldier holding the rank of lieutenant-colonel to be the joint commissioners of the police. Thus, each of the trio brought to the task of setting up the Metropolitan Police, his own special qualifications and experience. Peel brought the political thrust, and the ability to carry Parliament with him in creating the minimum statutory base for the force. Mayne brought a trained lawyers mind to establish a code of legal practice on which the police could operate. Rowan was able to apply a soldier's knowledge of military organisation and discipline to mold the body of men into the hybrid between force and a service that has always been outstanding characteristic of the British Police (Stead 1977:82-83).

Van Heerden (1982:27) adamantly state that the way in which Rowan organised the force was strongly influenced by ideas of Sir John Moore, the army-philosopher, and consequently failed to incorporate the original notion that the police should be non-military in character and form, and should serve as a civilian unit. But although the functional organisation and the uniform were very military in character, the disposition of ranks was more civilian. The unit established itself in the world-famous premises at Scotland Yard. Peel's far-sightedness was the outcome of historical experience. The better image and the greater effectiveness of policing in England, as compared to other countries, may be ascribed to the fact that it was instituted, on the basis of the principles mentioned above, as a police service to be run by peace officers rather than as a police force to enforce law.

2.5 DEVELOPMENT OF POLICING IN SOUTH AFRICA

Van Heerden (1982:27) convincingly states that although the character, composition and functions of the South African Police (SAP) have been strongly influenced by the British system, this force does differ in certain respects from the British police, and does have a distinct character of its own. This difference does not concern the general principles of policing, but lies in the fact that in the South African Police command is centralised whereas in Britain it was decentralised in terms of its functions at a parochial level. In South Africa, the four provinces (Transvaal, Cape Province, Orange Free State and Natal) used to have separate systems for the maintenance of social order. In addition, units were sometimes

instituted to carry out a specific task, and were disbanded after having done so. The different provincial police units were eventually welded together to form the South African Police.

The centralisation of all the differentiated provincial police systems only became sentralised after unification in 1910. Two aspects which played an important role in the eventual centralization at provincial police level, were: (a) the repressive inclination of policing as a result of its para-military character, and (b) extended geographical division of labour which severely and negatively impacted on administrative and management processes. During August 1910, a conference of provincial commissioners got under way under chairmanship of E.F. Lonsdale. That meeting unanimously voted in favour of sentralisation of police authority throughout South Africa (Du Plessis 1963:39-40). The task to amalgamate the different provincial police forces into one unified police force was entrusted to Colonel (Sir) J.G. Truter, a former magistrate of Standerton in the Transvaal. The need for central control of police functions across the country became so urgent that a draft police act, which was based upon the Transvaal Politie Act (no. 5 of 1908), has been adopted in principle on 15 October 1912. However, amalgamation of all the different police organisations only took place on 1 April 1913 when the South African Police had been formally established (Van Heerden 1976:34; Potgieter 1982:98). The South African Police (SAP) had been instituted in terms of the South African Police Act, no. 7 of 1958.. In terms of section 5 of the afore-mentioned Act, the SAP were responsible for –

- The conservation of the internal safety of the Republic of South Africa.
- The maintenance of law and order.
- The investigation of crime or any alleged crime.
- The prevention of crime (Potgieter 1982:98-99).

2.5.1 Unorganised quasi–police systems

When Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape on 6 April 1652, a martial law was proclaimed to ensure the preservation of the social order, peace and tranquility. The garrison was entrusted with the maintenance of that kind of order. The principle of collective responsibility was operative as well because every citizen was responsible for protecting himself and, in addition, was required to perform certain duties directed towards ensuring collective security. By December 1652 the first police official, the *geweldiger* or *skout*, had already been appointed to deal with the growing crime rate and to curb contraband trading with the natives. This police official was later supported by felons from the East who had been banished to the Cape to serve their sentences. The number and nature of written laws together with increasing incidences of stock theft, arson and illicit trading with the natives, necessitated the appointment of the fiscal in 1689. The fiscal was given judicative powers and policing services were placed under his direct supervision. He was empowered to conscript, from among the ranks of the colony's ex-soldiers, a number of men for patrols, the guarding of residences, fire prevention, tavern inspection, the tracing of runaway slaves and the investigation of murders and assaults (Van Heerden 1982:28)

Until 1840, the police at the Cape were unorganised and to some degree incapable of combating crime effectively. This state of affairs was attributed to very largely by society's negative attitude towards the police. The need for a police service arose not so much from any disorder in White society as from the presence of an overwhelming number of Natives with primitive attitudes. Whether the root cause of the state of affairs was society's attitude towards the police or the primitive attitude of the natives is debatable. However, it became necessary to use organised military force against the native population, and to protect life, livestock and goods in times of ostensible peace. Since there was no regular police service, it was the duty of every Transvaal burgher to combat crime and to protect his own life and property. Specific police duties were performed by the *town field cornet* in rural areas (Van Heerden 1982:28-29).

2.5.2 Organised military–style police

Van Heerden (1982:29) indicates that the development of the four provinces, the growth of population, increasing antagonism on the borders, were all factors which affected the development of the South African Police (SAP), and much later (after 1994) known as the South African Police Service, (SAPS) in very definite ways. During this time the military function of the police was over-emphasised. In terms of Ordinance 2 of !840 the police system was organised along the lines of the Metropolitan Police to become the Cape Constabulary also known as the Executive Police of Cape Town. By 1882 this force was known as the Cape Police and the detectives and although regarded with suspicion at first, it

had been appointed and established in 1859. The first organised detective service was established in Kimberley on 4 May 1882. The main duty of this unit was to investigate illicit diamond dealing. Ordinance 2 of 1880 was invoked for the establishment of Griqualand-West or the Kimberley Police.

Sporadic organised police units developed as a result of the escalation of organised or serious crime. On the Eastern Frontier, for example, antagonisms and threats led to the formation of police units of a special kind. As early as 1806, Major John Graham formed a semi-military police force called the Cape Regiment, with the purpose of taking action against stock-thefts and guarding the borders. This unit consisting of Coloureds lacked proper discipline and troops were aggressive drunkards. In 1827 the unit was replaced by the Imperial Cape Mounted Riflemen. The need for a permanent police guard on the Eastern Frontier led to the emergence of the Frontier Armed and Mounted Police in 1855. On 1 August 1878 this unit changed its name and became Cape Mounted Riflemen. In 1904, the police operating in the country districts were thoroughly reorganised and the Cape Mounted Police Force was created with a view of securing greater unity and efficiency in the rural areas (Van Heerden 1982:32).

In Johannesburg and the goldfields the 'Zuid-Afrikaansche Republik Politie' (ZARP's) came into operation in 1881 and attained a legal status in 1895. A state of lawlessness had arisen in Johannesburg, mainly because the police were not capable of controlling the behaviour of numerous foreigners who had been attracted to the goldfields. The debauchery, corruption and undisciplined actions of the police merely served to aggravate the situation. The Rydende Dienst of the Orange River colony

was formed in 1862 along the same lines as the Z.A.R.P. After the annexation of the Transvaal by the British, the South African Constabulary was established in terms of proclamation 24 of 22 October 1900. This unit was essentially a mounted force, army-oriented and intended for service in the rural areas. The unit was organised by Major-General R.S.Baden-Powell. Police duties would be a full time occupation only in peace time. At the instance of Lieutenant-Cololonel R.S. Godley, this force was reorganised in 1902 along the lines of the Metropolitan Police and the Royal Irish Constabulary. Several police were set up in country towns and the emphasis moved from military function to the police function. The Transvaal town police was established in terms of Proclamation 15 of 1901, for service in Pretoria, Johannesburg and Witwatersrand. In 1902, this unit was later organised by Sir Edward Henry, known as the father of modern fingerprinting. After the self-government of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State, the Transvaal town Police Act was passed on 28 July 1908 providing for the establishment, organisation and control of the Transvaal Police. This unit incorporated the Transvaal Town Police and the South African Police Constabulary. The Orange Free State Police performed services in the Orange Free State. Both forces made provision for mounted, foot and detective branches (Van Heerden 1982:32-33).

2.5.3 Natal Mounted Police

The Natal Mounted Police was established to combat stock theft and dealings in firearms in Natal, and although the police performed some routine police duties, the unit was primarily a defensive patrol unit. John

George Dartnell, the first commander believed that it should combine military and police duties in order to serve as first line of defense. On 1 April 1883 the Reserve Territory Carbineers came into being. This unit was incorporated into the Natal Police in 1898. On the recommendation of the commission, the different forces namely: the Borough police, Local Board Police Force, Magisterial Native Police, Messengers and Convict guards, Magisterial Patrol Police and the Water Police were all amalgamated in 1804 into the Natal Police under Clarke's leadership. This force became the forerunner of the scientific era in South African policing activities. Colonel Sir J.G. Truter had been tasked to unite all these units together into a single force. In concept, the Police Act based on the Transvaal Police Act, no. 5 of 1908, was accepted in principle on 15 October 1912 (Van Heerden 1982:33).

However, Cawthra (1993:8) adamantly states that the SAP was (born) on the basis of the Act of the Union of 1910. It united several disparate forces. The new SAP retained many of the features of a colonial military force and a separate frontier unit, the South African Mounted Riflemen, was maintained to patrol the most densely populated black rural areas until 1920.

Amalgamating the different police units or 'forces' had been finally achieved on 1 April 1913 – the date when the South African Police (SAP) officially came into existence. Up to this stage the function of the police was predominantly preventive in character. The repressive function in the form of crime investigation had been increasingly prioritised. However, the approach was extremely unscientific. The training given to police officials

focused upon the fulfillment of a para-military function and the emphasis fell upon shooting and horse-riding. The amalgamation stimulated the scientific spirit and ensured uniform training (Van Heerden 1982:34).

The introduction of South African homeland policy gave rise to the establishment of several homeland police forces (viz. Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei), which ceased in 1994 when the Republic of South Africa was declared democratic. The homelands with their police forces were reincorporated and formed a South African Police Service (SAPS) in terms of the South African Police Act, no. 68 of 1995.

2.6 POLICE AND POLICING IN POST-DEMOCRATIC SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa finally achieved democracy on 27 April 1994 with the inauguration of the first democratic Government of National Unity (GNU). This major leap in the socio-historical development of the country was preceded by the courageous speech of former State President, F.W. de Klerk on 2 February 1990 which announced the dawn of dramatic and radical political reform in the form of socio-political changes in South Africa. Along with this announcement, several political liberation movements like the African National Congress (ANC), the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), etc., were unconditionally unbanned. In addition to this, De Klerk not only announced the immediate and unconditional release of Nelson Mandela from prison, including other political prisoners, but also committed himself to the abolishment of statutory discrimination and to enter into multi-lateral

political party negotiations. The shift in the direction of a democratic dispensation for South Africa impacted extensively on the role, functions and responsibilities of the existing South African Police (SAP) as well as police institutions of the tribal homelands and self-governing territories, viz. Transkei, Boputhatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC-countries) (Cf. Steenkamp 2002).

All these political events have shifted policing squarely into the central arena of democratic governance. More than ever before, policing in South Africa faced the mammoth challenge to uphold safety and security, while at the same time, show respect for human rights and dignity of all citizens. Not only have problems relating to crime, fear of crime and actual criminal victimisation escalated prior to and after the advent of democracy in the country, but also the internal problems within the police institution – many of which have been brewing for many years (Annual Policing Plan of the SAPS, 1995:1).

Prior to 1994, the South African Police were responsible for the enforcement of *apartheid legislation* (viz. Group Areas Act, Immorality Act, no. 23 of 1957, etc.) and the protecting the security of the state against political protest and rebellion. In their endeavours to uphold *law and order*, the S.A.P. were perceived as an 'intrument' of the ruling National Party (which ruled for almost 46 years) as well as a partisan institution, both feared and despised by large sections of the non-enfranchised (Cf. Nel & Bezuidenhout 1995). With widespread emphasis being placed on democratic principles within the framework of a 'community policing model' which would be more compatible to a democratic dispensation and

more acceptable to all walks of civil life, prospects of better police-community relations through greater community involvement in policing matters signaled the hope and affection for a more tangible police-public partnership. Likewise, a period emerged in which voices were raised to accept the newly introduced *police service* as a community property and police officers as *friends* and not as *enemies* (Cf. Van Rooyen 1995).

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Chapter 3 /...

CHAPTER 3

POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS AND COMMUNITY POLICING

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In an endeavour to bring together the community and the police, it is necessary to bridge the gap in the relationship between these two entities with the aim of building trust, confidence and co-operation in crime prevention and the reduction of fear of crime. It seems apparent that the weakness of police community relations in many parts of the country is the greatest obstacle to effective policing. An improvement in the relationship between the police and their respective communities is the most vital step towards the achievement of greater levels of affordable personal safety. Political factors may have been identified as playing a vital role in the way in which police-community relations have developed. This assumption is evident because the police are the most visible and powerful arm of the state (Cf. Marais 1992).

The 'common wisdom' of the police role, flowing from their daily interaction with members of the public, does not only entail the handling of crime-related issues. Bayley (1994:35) contends that "...when they do, it is with crimes that have already occurred ... they respond to crimes that have taken place". When police do engage in crime prevention, their efforts should be directed at the *deterrence* of real criminal victimisation, i.e. "... teaching would-be criminals that crime does not pay. Police actually devote only a minor portion of their resources [and time] to this function ... deterrence depends on the activities of the larger criminal justice system. Altogether, this deterrent effect appears to be weak". Goldstein (1990:11-12) states that it is important to consider that:

(a) Police officers also deal with other forms of behaviour which is not classifiable as 'criminal' (e.g. the mentally ill, suicide attempts, tracing missing people, etc.).

(b) Crime prevention and investigation are not the only functions of the police. Along with criminal victimisation comes fear of crime. Unfortunately, when government officials and politicians develop new crime prevention programmes, they mostly do so without consulting the public and without calculating the risks of fear of crime.

(c) Too much emphasis on reactive police measures (arrest, detention, etc.) may negatively influence proactive policing measures such as building proper relationships with the public and restraining the solving of neighbourhood problems. Too much criminal cases awaiting trial may lead to overloading the judicial system.

(d) Using too little discretion, police officers tend to resort to 'law enforcement' leading to incident-driven policing.

(e) Police officers are not autonomous; they still form part of the bureaucratic machinery and, given the often sensitive nature of their mandate, they need to be accountable to the law, the government and the community they serve.

3.2 DISCRETION AND THE POLICE ROLE

The central problem in the relationship between the police and the community is most apparently to be found in the *discretion* bestowed upon the police –

statutorily as well as organisationally. Relationship will depend on how and whether discretion is exercised. The function of a police officer in enforcing the law is prescribed by the statutes and court decisions. These statutes serve as control measures which may further be tightened by policy and supervision in the department (i.e. organisationally). However, the police are nevertheless left with considerable discretion in the performance of their official duties. Discretion is simply the *sine qua non* of the police job. It could be postulated that the nature and extent of the maintenance of the social order tend to determine the amount of discretion to be exercised by the police. The community feels that a police officer spends most of his/her time in the least defined, least controlled aspect of his/her work during patrols: police-community relations. It is during this time that discrepancies often arise; hence, the community calls for tighter control measures (Radelet 1973:81).

Peak and Glensor (1999:20-21) adamantly contend that the community policing model which originated in the very early 1990's in the United States provide ample impetus for the use of police discretion by line officers. Empirical testing of Goldstein's (Cf. 1990) *problem-oriented approach to policing* in Newport News, Virginia, Madison, Wisconsin and Baltimore County in Maryland, revealed interesting results: (a) police officers who were fulltime involved in practicing community policing enjoyed their capacity to successfully engage in problem-solving together with citizens, (b) police officers also appreciated working with other agencies to solve social problems and (c) citizens enjoyed working with police officers. Improved relationships between the police and the public have been 'boosted' by greater autonomy given to police officers to successfully handle social problems and more focused training in creative problem-solving issues made the task of line officers very much easier. But, says these two authors, there are two important drawbacks in this equation: (a) greater 'intimacy' with the public resulting from greater discretion may breed familiarity

which, in turn, may threaten police accountability and (b) there is a grave danger that important policing standards may stand to suffer.

3.3 DETERMINING FACTORS

Too often the idea of police-community relations is associated exclusively with human relations, public relations, press relations and person-to-person relations. Police community relations include all these different concepts, since they embrace actual opinions, perceptions and attitudes that make up the functional relationship between the police and the public (Van Heerden 1982:132).

Public relations are often exclusively associated with attempts at advertising the police by means of displays and improving the general image of the police. However, this is tantamount to a deceitful trick or falsification, in which truths are glossed over in an attempt to paint a better image of the police than they actually deserve, and to influence people to accept this image in the absence of services that ought to justify it. These efforts are often aimed exclusively at certain sections of the public, i.e. they are designed to soothe a particular social group or some other department temporarily. There is reason to believe that the 'public' is used inappropriately, since it is not sufficiently descriptive of all the people served by the police. 'Public' suggests homogeneity whereas the people concerned are actually form a variety of groups such as religious, socio-economic, colour, and minority groups. Moreover the public is not static, for the groups composing it may merge or re-group, and most people in any case belong to several sections of the public. This interpretation may seem naïve, but it does highlight the danger of consolidating relations with one section of the public but disturbing relations with another, by neglecting to give protection to all (Van Heerden 1982:132).

Community elements should not become much more articulate in their expectation of service from the police and assume a larger share in determining a police role and such associated considerations as police policy delineation, structural and functional organisation of police agencies, citizen complaint procedures, police recruitment standards, training content and methods, and the like. These matters should not be left solely to the discretion either of the police and public administrators, or police unions – by reason of community default. It would help the police greatly if a larger community consensus could be secured as to which of the two sometimes conflicting ends is to have priority: the protection of the individual rights or apprehension of criminals. The issue here is not the propaganda line 'soft on crime'. The issue is rather whether a free society is to become no more than a mere propaganda line (Radelet 1973:632-3).

Most individuals from the community are often quick to criticise police action when the action may not deserve criticism such as where a murder suspect opens fire on the police during an arrest and the police return the fire thereby subsequently inflicting a fatal wound on the suspect. The voices should just be as quick to commend police action when it deserves commendation. If the community- sensitive police behaviour helps to fortify credibility and trust in 'the system' then by the same token citizen assistance to a police officer helps to strengthen his or her belief in the integrity of civic responsibility, Community forces should influence police organizations to confine the functions of the police community relations units to identification of conflict, planning for conflict control and public information (Radelet 1973:633).

3.4 COMMUNITY DIVERSITY

The alternate view of policing is based on the realisation of the diversity of communities. As a starting point it is very important to note that society is made up of diverse communities with contrasting and often conflicting interest groups. This diversity of communities makes the nature of relationship between the police and society much more complex. There are, for instance, eleven official languages in South Africa. Although the police may be referred to as inherently impartial, these police forces generally reflect the dominant interest groups within the society. The centralised and exclusive nature of police accountability both within national forces and the so-called 'decentralied' police forces, as well as the important influence of the police culture means that the police forces have historically reflected the dominant interests within society. When the police act in the interests of dominant groups in the society, this will adversely affect their relations and credibility with minority groups of the society Marais (1992:15).

Strengthening community relations begins with assessment of community needs and problems. A general problem in the police-community relationship is to extend relationship to minority communities and neighbourhoods. The police manager must often take special, significant actions to address problems which tend to destroy relationships with the police by increasing communications with the police and citizens. Police must evaluate the impact that their presence and actions have on people in the minority communities and attempt to design and implement strategies to alleviate problems which are causing the negative perceptions. Efforts to improve public attitude must occur as part of the routine police function which will not be abandoned when positive results are not dramatic (Gaines, Sutherland & Angell 1991:66).

3.5 IMPROVING POLICE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

According to Lee (2008-05-26), community trust is at the core of law enforcement and has been an issue for many years. Every new incident where officers violate the rights of citizens, particularly when race seems to be a factor, only increases distrust within the community. This unfortunate and largely preventable occurrence can have measurable impact on how law enforcement is able to do its job of maintenance of social order.

3.5.1 Complaints and accusations

Niederhoffer and Smith (1974:36) identified some of the complaints that have been leveled at the police for many years. These complaints are to the effect that the police —

- Function like a military group. This perception is especially observed during strikes or even when thousands of illegal immigrants were beaten up during xenophobic attacks (The Mercury 2008:1).

- Are brusque, apathetic, insensitive, hostile, aggressive, incompetent, corrupt and racialists.

- Are not available when their services are required in the external environment, but are police officers are 'hanging around' in charge offices by their numbers, ready to certify documentation of members of the public – a function that could be done by staff members of the Department of Home Affairs (Potgieter 2005:12).

- Do not respond promptly to emergency calls. The usual excuse of 'no transport' available has become a classic example of inconsiderate policing.

- Violate the constitutional rights of individuals, especially when suspects are detained on late Friday afternoons when magistrates are no longer available to hear bail applications (Potgieter 2005:13).

- Discriminate against minority groups and persons belonging to colour groups other than their own; an indication of real differentiated police action in society when fulfilling their role.

- Show no regard for human dignity when carrying out arrests and interrogations. Harsh treatment of suspects who have been handcuffed and detained in police holding cells constantly come to the fore.

- Are unsympathetic about community needs, especially crime victims' fear of further criminal victimisation.

- Do not provide adequate protection against crime, because the police are not visible enough in the streets, shopping malls, etc. Some members of the public maintain that police officers are only visible at shops on 'pay-days' when they buy groceries, etc.

- Do not always set a good example in terms of their own obedience to the laws of the land. The mass media constantly report on police misconduct and in some instances, gross violations of the laws of the land.

Van Heerden (1982:136) is of the opinion that these complaints cannot be simply ascribed to the prejudices of certain groups or sectors of the public. It can,

however, be assumed that prejudice does play some part in these accusations, but it should be appreciated that these prejudices are supported and emotionalised by real experiences of *how* the police role in society is fulfilled.

3.6 THE POLICE IMAGE

Overseas as well as local research (Cf. Radelet 1973; Niederhoffer & Smith 1974; Van Heerden 1974; Du Preez 1978) has confirmed that the police image entails the public's reaction to the police when fulfilling their role as 'agents of the law' and reflects the degree of public confidence in and respect for policing. After observing the manner in which the police role is fulfilled, the public tend to form an opinion about policing in general. The nature of this image is determined by the relations established in the course of serving the public. This implies that the police role is evaluated in terms of a particular set of expectations, as well as direct knowledge of the manner in which the role is fulfilled. It is postulated that a favourable image promotes voluntary public compliance with the laws, while an unfavourable image has the opposite effect. In short, an unfavourable image is accompanied by negative perceptions against the police but a favourable or good image will result in positive outcomes about policing (Van Heerden 1982:136).

3.7 PUBLIC TRUST AND EFFECTIVE LAW ENFORCEMENT

The police must constantly find ways and means to have a renewed commitment to rebuilding public trust, particularly in communities where that trust is questionable or disturbed. The community must feel confident that those charged with the duty to protect others, that is, the police will do just that, by

protecting the community. The solutions lead to three key components: training, community policing principles and accountability (Lee 2008:1).

Only an officer who is adequately trained can be effective in his/her job. Officers must be well equipped to deal with any situation under all circumstances since officers must make split-second, life or death decisions daily. Proper training will ensure that police are comfortable in these situations and react appropriately. Training in racial sensitivity and ethics must be considered a core part of preparing police for the field. Community policing principles can go a long way towards improving trust between police and community. Police must become engaged with the community and maintain open dialogue. Police must be held accountable for their actions. If incidents occur they must be investigated by an impartial body to help ensure the public that appropriate due process is being followed. Accountability should not only be a lip service when an incident occurs. Police should be constantly reviewing their policies and ensure that their officers are following those policies to the letter. The bottom line is that, law enforcement is more effective when there is a partnership between the police and the community. This partnership can only exist if community trusts its police (Lee 2008:1).

Where the morale of the police is high, policing in general is very effective and according to the expectations of the society. Since the police are charged with the important task, it can be stated without any shadow of doubt that the primary duty of any government is to protect lives and property of its citizens. Not withstanding this assumption, for many South Africans, the rule of law only exists in theory. Poor law enforcement and ineffective judicial system exacerbates this problem and results in an increase in vigilantism, protection rackets and people taking the law into their own hands. It becomes worse when crime goes undetected and criminals go unpunished. The SAPS discarded large

number of police officers both whites and non-whites during merger of SAP and various homeland police forces. It is no wonder that the SAPS has not been able to achieve the drastic reductions in the crime rate (Democratic Alliance Party 2000 :1).

3.8 COMMUNITY POLICING IN THE UNITED STATES

The concept community policing did not emerge as a clearly expressed idea of any specific person, nor did it develop as an antipode to traditional policing. Instead, the concept as well as everything it stands for is "based on a solid foundation of police service-delivery research that has been conducted over the two decades" (Barker, Hunter & Rush 1994;302). It follows then, that community policing was not an instant discovery but rather the result of interactive research and social revolution. Community policing is also equated with: Problem-Oriented Policing (POP), Community Problem-Oriented Policing (CPOP), Neighbourhood-Oriented Policing (NOP), Target-Oriented Policing (TOP), Police Are Representatives (PAR), Citizen-Oriented Police Enforcement (COPE), etc. It was in fact the monumental contributions of two prominent pioneers in policing who paved the way for the "birth" of the concept within the ranks of law enforcement (Radelet and Carter 1994:60), representing the first major reform within the space of fifty years (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux 1990:ix). Professor Robert Trojanowicz of Michigan State University conducted landmark research in Flint, Michigan what was then known as the Flint Neighbourhood Foot Patrol project. Professor Herman Goldstein of the University of Wisconsin also embarked on research into Problem-Oriented Policing which he practically tested in Newport News, Virginia (Radelet and Carter 1994:77).

The following is a brief discussion of some early experimental applications of community policing concept:

3.8.1 Neighbourhood Foot Patrol: The Flint Experiment

Up to 1976, the Flint police department only employed motorised patrols as a means of preventing crime, addressing fear of crime and eradicating other forms of social order. Initially funded by the Charles Mott Foundation and eventually supported by a special tax levy approved by voters, the Neighbourhood Foot Patrol experiment (NFP) commenced in 1979 with the assistance of the Flint police department in Michigan (Goldstein, 1990;57). Professor Robert Trojanowicz divided Michigan City into 64 beat areas with a police officer assigned to each area. The Flint NFP differed from traditional patrol operations in at least one significant way: police officers were allowed flexibility as far as their duty as beat officer was concerned. In this way, they acted independently as community organizers, community leaders and problem solvers. Flint's NFP experiment was unique in several ways: (a) it developed as an initiative which involved members of the public (community) in the planning and implementation phases, following countrywide neighbourhood meetings conducted in 1977 and 1978 and (b) it attempted to address three distinct problems or issues:

- "the absence of comprehensive neighbourhood organizations and services;
- The lack of citizen involvement in crime prevention; and
- The depersonalisation of interactions between [police] officers and residents" (Samaha 1988:203).

The Flint experiment afforded officers the opportunity of "taking ownership" of their patrol areas. Their responsibilities included control of crime and the overall safety and security of their respective neighbourhoods, while stimulating public cooperation (Radelet and Carter 1994:78). The most prominent features of the Flint experiment were:

- A radical departure from both preventive patrol and traditional foot patrol methods. Beat areas also extended beyond business areas to include all types of socio-economic neighbourhoods;
- Patrol officers acted as catalysts (agents of social change) in the formation of neighbourhood watch systems which allowed citizens to openly express their needs and expectations about policing and prioritise foot patrol and related community programs;
- Established a partnership (alliance) between the police and the public and community organizations through which services such as referrals, interventions and close cooperation with government social agencies could be undertaken;
- Although tough on crime, patrol officers approached law enforcement through repressive measures (arrest, detention, etc.) as a secondary function and service delivery as a primary function;
- Patrol officers created an environment within which neighbourhoods could handle their own social problems in appropriate ways; and
- Routine patrolling in the same areas stimulated interaction with residents which resulted in developing some degree of intimacy with community members which further led to an effective and cooperative police-community relationship (Samaha 1988:203).

What were the effects of Flint's NFP ? After three years in operation, it was found that –

- Crime had been reduced by 8,7 percent;

- Service calls reduced by 42 percent;
- Citizens themselves started to handle minor problems in appropriate ways or otherwise, patrol officers acted as mediators on an informal basis;
- Citizens showed an overall satisfaction with the program which was evident in improved reciprocal relationships through direct, closer interactions with police officers (over 33 percent of the residents knew their foot patrol officers by their names, while 50 percent could accurately describe them); and
- Crime reporting showed an increase; citizen involvement in neighbourhood crime prevention was established; citizens got more involved in working with juveniles; and their sense of self-protection increased (Samaha 1988:203).

The Flint NFP experiment could be regarded as a landmark in the development of community policing. Greater citizen involvement in policing emphasized alternative police management and operations procedures which deviated from traditional, conservative methods (Radelet and Carter 1994:78).This observation translates into one of the most important principles underlying community policing, especially where community patrol officers have the responsibility of creating sustained, informed contact with law-abiding citizens to jointly solve neighbourhood problems in creative ways (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux 1990:xiii). By doing so, police patrol officers would find themselves in a favourable position to convert the passivity on the part of the public into a full active partnership (Van Heerden 1982:132) and restore confidence in and respect for policing in society. Public involvement in every-day poling supports the notion that a community, which distances itself from its basic duty to police itself through a professional police service, "will soon find that the police can hope to provide no more than a bare modicum of public order and security... only through repressive measures" (Cf. Murphy 1965), which not only endangers individual rights and freedom, but the very fabric of democracy.

3.8.2 Problem-Oriented Policing (POP): Newport News, Virginia (USA)

Funded by the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), Professor Herman Goldstein of the Wisconsin Law School in Madison in 1979 proposed a new policing model inclined to identify, analyse and resolve community problems. Whereas policing assumed a reactive character, POP emerged as a proactive traditional strategy, backed by analysing community problems, community involvement and creativity and initiative on the part of police officers. These qualities would require line officers being delegated more authority to act independently as well as increased flexibility in the decision-making process. Thus, in some significant ways, POP resembled the features of the Flint Neighbourhood Patrol experiment. In the evaluation process conducted by the National Institute of Justice, two premises with regard to anticipated success of POP were put to the test, namely –

- That for any assignment, police officers could implement the technique of problem-identification (screening), problem analysis, implementation of the appropriate action or response and assessment (problem solving); and

- That problem-solving efforts would prove to be effective. Both these premises were proved to be true. The success of POP led to the extension of the program, concentrating specifically on the drug problem in San Diego, Tulsa, Atlanta and Philadelphia (Radelet and Carter 1994:78-79).

In chapter 6 of his book: Problem Oriented Policing (1990), Goldstein carefully examines the meaning of a problem within the context of problem-identification. In the course of daily police work, officers are often confronted with a variety of incidents which call for attention. Numerous examples of such problems exist: a domestic quarrel, motor vehicle accident, disturbance of the peace, drunkenness in a public place, illegal selling of liquor, etc. Identifying of the problem requires

of the police officer to look beyond the mere handling of such incidents as it may often be an observable symptom of a more deep-rooted problem. For this reason, the police will necessarily be required to (a) take note of the existing relationships between incidents such as similarities of behaviour, location, persons involved, frequency, etc., and (b) to adopt a more in-depth interest in incidents by getting familiar with the underlying conditions and factors of such incidents. Questions such as: 'are the incidents isolated or localized?' or 'are they of a general nature (i.e. endemic in a specific community?)' may give an indication of the scope and ultimate solvability of the problem(s) (Goldstein 1990:33).

Problem-oriented policing encompasses a four-fold approach of what is called the S.A.R.A. model (Cf. Peak and Glensor 1996):

- Scanning of the problem, also known as the assessment phase;
- Analyzing the problem by means of studying the causes (etiology) as well as the nature and effects of such problem on the well-being of a community;
- Response (action) taken to solve the problem; and
- Assessment or evaluation of the outcome in order to determine the success of the total approach. Goldstein (1990:66) defines a problem as:

- "A cluster of similar, related, or recurring incidents rather than single incident consisting of -
  - A substantive community concern; [and]
  - A unit of police business".

But who are the identifiers of social problems? Goldstein (1990:70 ff.) is adamant that the identification of social problems is not the sole task of the individual police officer or the police institution. Instead, the community should be

empowered and encouraged to take the initiative to identify problems of community concern along with the willingness and ability of the police to listen to the public and utilize their knowledge and expertise (while acting as catalysts) to solve such concerns. Police officers should then search for the underlying dynamics behind a series of incidents, rather than concentrating on individual occurrences as isolated events (Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, 1990:8).

- Skogan (1987:135-154), discusses the challenges in sustaining community involvement in community policing and more specifically their role in identifying and solving social problems. It is usually taken for granted that members of a community will come forward to work with the police. It is also frequently assumed that the public will engage in joint and coordinated efforts to solve community problems. The police are also pressurized to involve non-governmental organizations(NGO's) in problem solving. Even with crime prevention, the police have an ancillary role to play and should therefore be more "custom orientated". However getting the community directly involved in community policing efforts, appears to be problematic. The ideal should be to create a sound community infrastructure on which to build their community policing programs. This would enable the police to "win" the public and convert their passivity into a full and active partnership.

Skogan (1987:135-154) highlights the following problems as being obstacles in the way of sound police-citizen cooperation with regard to community policing:

- Police-citizen cooperation. It might be true that historical events played a major role in keeping the police and public apart from each other. This might be especially true for disadvantaged communities where mistrust and a "vote" of no confidence in the police, followed by a record of antagonistic relationships based on perceptions of the police being

arrogant, brutal, uncaring persists. Perceptions may also prevail that "more intensive policing could generate new conflicts between them, including indiscriminate searches" (Skogan, 1987:135-154).

- Organisational involvement. Skogan (1987:135-154) opines that: "Organisations representing the interests of the community members also may not have a track record of cooperating with police". This is especially true for low-income communities residing in high-crime areas where no such infrastructure (necessary to get people involved in community policing) prevails. The existence of fear of the police, coupled with perceptions of police brutality and corruption, may also contribute towards citizens' reluctance to work together with the police. A high crime rate and fear of crime contribute towards withdrawal from rather than involvement in community life. In crime-ridden neighbourhoods, mutual distrust and hostility may be rampant between residents themselves-often leading to mutual suspicion which may negatively influence collective actions to local community problems. Fear of retaliation by drug dealers (as has been experienced on the Cape Flats recently) may also hamper organized efforts to cooperate productively with the police.

- Understanding community policing. It doubtful whether community members are really aware of the fact that a community policing style is in place or being practiced by the police. It also doubtful whether communities have been "prepared" for this new mission by means of informing them about the police's mission statement as well as the goals and tactics of community policing. Proper training and education of community members appears to be unavoidable if any success with community policing is to be expected. Persistent police stereotypes of differential treatment of communities in low-income areas may seriously hamper any efforts by the police to restore credibility and to eradicate

skepticism among community residents who might think of community policing as being "here to-day, gone tomorrow" Skogan 1987:135-154).

- Victim's experience. It is safe to accept that people who have had negative experiences with crime to be more dissatisfied with police services. Experiences with the criminal justice system, often referred to as the "second wounds" call for improved police services to victims-sometimes in the form of specialized treatment.

- Community diversity. The present political view regarding community in South Africa is representive of a deeply-rooted political division which especially manifests itself "... in residence patterns which present a stark dichotomy in the life-styles and perceptions of policing in the different South African communities" (Cf. Van Rooyen 1995:51). Skogan contends that: "Suspicion may divide [people] along race, class, and lifestyle lines, leaving residents and organizations that represent them at odds with one another". Racial accusations with regard to who are responsible for crime, might pressure the police to choose sides. For this reason, police impartiality should be prioritized to ensure a neutral stand on prevailing social problems. Community policing may also be threatened to become politicized. In Houston, Texas, for instance researchers found that community policing favoured the interests of racially dominant groups as well as established interests in the community (Skogan 1987:135-141). According to this author, the Houston experience has shown that policing by consent appears to be difficult in places where racial, class and lifestyle differences prevail. Often, the police are reluctant to find and support common interests in areas consisting of cultural diversities which, in turn, make it easier for them to choose sides. Likewise, it becomes more easy for the police to focus their community policing efforts on those with whom they get along and share a similar outlook. This form of favouritism

may lead to police familiarity with certain sections of the community which, in turn, may seriously encroach upon police professionalism and their commitment to the rule of law (Skogan 1987:135-154).

Can community policing work and live up to the expectations of its supporters? To answer these questions, Skogan (1996:33) proposes the following steps:

- Public support should be won, not assumed. To adhere to this aim, the police should be responsive to citizens' concerns through constructive problem-identification and solving. Also, communication channels should be created to allow for the articulation of public concerns (problems). In South Africa, regular Community Policing Forums (CPF's) have been instituted in terms of the new Police Act (act 68 of 1995) to ensure that the public and the police meet regularly to discuss crime-related issues of mutual concern. The advantages of Community Policing Forums will be discussed further on in this document.

- Citizens should be trained (educated). It is important that the public should be educated in terms of their role and obligations as far as policing are concerned. They should know how and when to assist the police, and through constructive "marketing" of the new police mission they should be informed about "their new powers as consumers of the wide range of products now being offered by customer-oriented agencies" (police and other social organizations). Moreover, they should be informed about their new role as not being only the "passive receivers" in the police-community partnership" context. This will allow them to make informed judgments about their priorities.

- Involve organisations. The police should take the responsibility of identifying those social organizations who are capable of assisting in

> problem solving. Organisations that provide important social benefits to participants, may be useful to lend supporters of community policing the necessary political capacity if the program deviates from its original aims or when protection is needed against opponents (Skogan 1987:135-154).

From the onset, it appears that citizens might be in a favourable position to provide a storeroom of knowledge and information regarding prevailing community problems. However, police officers may not regard such problems as representative of the most important problems in the community. Any discord that may arise from individual perceptions with regard to the seriousness of community problems, could be ascribed to "...[c]ommunities often lack the kinds of information necessary to make informed decisions in regards to policing priorities" (Murphy and Muir, 1984:160). These authors point out that problems identified or prioritised by the police (based on their daily experience), may often not be a good indicator of general community concerns. During Community Policing Forums held at Richards Bay in KwaZulu-Natal, the public often experienced some imbalance (discord) between public and police perceptions about which problems identified as community concerns are important on the priority list and needed urgent solutions. For example, theft of motor vehicles from the Boardwalk's parking lot – a large shopping complex - elicited general agreement that it was the most important issue, while the illegal trading on sidewalks aroused disagreement. Armed robbery, burglary and rape are likely to be identified as "quality-of-life offences". Often, the public will rely on the police as their only source of information concerning problems they were not aware of. Likewise, some communities will require from the police to act against certain types of behaviour, e.g. illegal trading on sidewalks. Although this kind of behaviour may create a serious problem for the local business community, the police might rather elect to make independent judgments such as protecting the Constitutional rights of those involved and also, rather decide to engage in wider

consultation with the local authority (as was the case in Richards Bay). The move towards mutual interaction between the community and the police requires transparency and a clear and open agenda. Liaison between these two entities will further require from the police to listen to community concerns and show real interest in an attempt to solve the problems. The police should guard against shrugging off "...matters that are of real concern to the community and appropriately the business of the police (Goldstein 1990:71).

3.8.3 Theoretical bases of Community Policing

Whisenand and Rush (1998:4; 333) believe that a *partnership* begins "...with the willingness to be responsible for some larger body than ourselves – an organization, a community. Partnering springs from a set of beliefs about reforming organizations that affirms our choice for service over the pursuit of self-interest". Mere involvement of the public (passive partner) is not enough or acceptable. The responsibility of making decisions should be sensitive towards sharing such responsibility by the police with the community – after a *valid partnership* has been established; one that encourages and promotes citizen The involvement in policing efforts. In this fashion, *power sharing* creates venues for the public to actively participate in decision –making process.

Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1994:9; 36-37) report that Trojanowicz (Cf. 1992) proposed two social science theories on which community policing is based –

(1) The *Normative Sponsorship Theory,* proffered by Sower (1957) and

(2) *Critical Social Theory,* developed by Fay (1984)

3.8.3.1 Normative Sponsorship theory

Normative Sponsorship Theory proffers that most people in society are of good will, which could mean that they are or would be willing to work together and cooperate with others to facilitate the building of consensus. The more people share common values, beliefs and collective goals, the more likely it is that they will agree on the acceptance of common goals when, for instance, they engage in mutual interaction for the purpose of improving their respective neighbourhoods. This theory proposes that a community effort will be "sponsored" (accepted and supported) by other people only if it is normative (i.e. within the limits of the established standards of a particular community) to all role-players and interest groups involved in a specific program or activity of significance.

Furthermore, any initiatives to introduce or implement any form of community development program (such as the implementation of community policing) would, according to this theory, require adequate understanding of how two or more groups (e.g. Blacks, Whites, Indians and Coloureds) can have sufficient convergence (agreement) of interest or consensus on common goals necessary to bring about implementation of such community program (i.e. community policing). Before implementation of a community development program such as community policing could be facilitated, each group involved and interested in such process (e.g. implementing community policing) must be able to *justify (legitimize the common group goal within its own pattern of attitudes, values, norms, and goals.* In other words, whatever community development program is to be introduced and implemented, it must be "cleared against the backdrop of each group's own cultural inclination or setting in an effort to establish whether such program would be acceptable to the particular group and/or whether the

proposed community development program is really what is needed to the benefit of all involved in it.

The more congruous the attitudes, values, norms and goals of all participating groups, the easier it would be for them to reach consensus on common goals. In this regard, do not necessarily have to justify their "involvement" in or acceptance of a group goal.

To this end this theory proposes that –

(1) For a community to begin a new effort (implementing community policing), with a view of reducing fear of crime in a specific community, it must be in line with (reflect) the particular community's basic standards (everybody needs and is entitled to decent safety and security in terms of the Constitution) for survival.

(2) For the community to (come together) to decide on the introduction and the implementation of such development program (community policing or fear reduction strategies), at least two of the major groups must agree that the proposed project (implementation of community policing) is a worthwhile endeavour that will benefit all people and that it is consistent with their attitudes, values, beliefs, norms, and goals (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux 1994:36).

Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1994:36-37) are adamant about the important role to be played by the Community Policing Officer (CPO) within the scope of the Normative Sponsorship Theory. (In the case of South African Police Service this role may perhaps be delegated to a sector commander). It may happen that local leaders do not often (emerge) to take it upon themselves to solve their identified community problems. The CPO who acts as a catalyst (somebody who

brings about change or stimulus-and-leader) will make members of a community become *aware of the available resources* and learn how to get involved in the problem-solving process. Once this condition has been achieved, CPO's may find that (a) public request for police service decrease, and (b) citizens not only begin doing more for themselves, but because the philosophy of community policing gets institutionalised in the police department, more and more police officers will become inclined towards adopting community policing as their (new style of policing) (Potgieter & Mersham 2002:58-60).

3.8.3.2 Critical Social theory

Developed by Fay in 1984, Critical Social Theory is concerned about *how* and *why* people unite (or merge/coalesce) "...to correct and overcome the socio-economic and political obstacles that prevent them from having their needs as members of the community met" (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux 1994:9). "This theory involves critically analyzing the problems of the community so that the citizens and community policing officers can be *enlightened,* and then *empowered, and* ultimately *emancipated* to become fully functional in working together to solve problems" (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux 1994:40) – (italics added). The three elements of this theory are –

(1) *Enlightenment.* Members of the community must become educated in the dynamics underlying community policing before a full-fledged transformation from the traditional to a democratic model of policing can be facilitated. The present study is concerned about educating the public (especially those in the remote areas) about community policing as a new, democratic policing model. The mass media have all the potential to convey information about crime and crime control, the dynamics of community policing, etc. to all citizens of South Africa

which will ultimately foster an understanding of democratic policing (Cf. Potgieter & Mersham 2002:58-60).

(2) *Empowerment.* People must take action to improve their condition, for example, installing electronic alarm, sensor lights, burglar proofing, concrete walls and valuables to be engraved. To this end, they should be empowered. In this regard, Whisenand and Rush (1998:169) briefly define *empowerment* as "... enabling decision making in others," which actually entails the input of other peoples' ideas and aspirations into policing. Empowerment also means power sharing through delegation of authority. The South African Police Service Act, no. 68 of 1995 (South Africa 1995, sec. 18-23) adequately provides for the institution of Community Police Forums (CPF's) in terms of Section 215 of the Constitution, Act 108 of 1996, which regulate active public participation and involvement in policing matters at community level. Victim empowerment aims to address the harmful effects of criminal victimization through policy and programs – especially women who are vulnerable to assault, rape and other sexual abuses.

(3) *Emancipation.* People can achieve liberation through reflection and social action. People need to be emancipated to become fully functional and knowledgeable to identify and solve social problems at community level. To this end, people should be educated in the application of the so-called S.A.R.A. model of problem identification and solving, proffered by Herman Goldstein (1990).

Critical Social theory creates the opportunity of critically analysing community concerns and problems. Through this core function, both community members and the police are *enlightened,* then *empowered* and ultimately *emancipated* (to be free from bureaucratic constraints) in order to become fully functional in their

endeavours in working together to identify and solve community problems and concerns of mutual interest. It is, however, questionable whether *an outsider* should be entrusted with the task of organising a community to address the issue of crime, fear of crime, disorder and general neighbourhood deterioration (Trojanowicz & Bucqueroux 1994:40). Knowledge and a particular community's history, demographic 'make-up', its past conflict and current politics and prevailing problems would become a necessary requirement before the implementation of community policing could become a necessary requirement and reality, as all these factors may influence people's attitudes as far as the acceptability of various problem-solving techniques are concerned (Potgieter & Mersham 2002:58-60).

3.8.4 Consultative Committees

From the crime prevention point of view, and within the framework of a community policing approach, police organizations are constantly trying to improve their relations with the people they serve. The very first principle of community policing advocated by Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990:xiii) implies that policing should adopt a new philosophy and organisational strategy in which community residents should be allowed greater involvement in policing matters if problems of crime, fear of crime, physical and social disorder and neighbourhood deterioration are to be addressed successfully. Community-driven policing implies, therefore, a greater and more tangible input into the policing process by law abiding members of the community. This kind of involvement simply means "... creating entirely new councils and committees..." such as the community consultative committees established in Britain and New South Wales, citizen's advisory councils created by The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, police department advisory panel by the Seattle police, neighbourhood police posts (koban system) in Japan, etc. (Bayley 1994:105).

We are informed by Bayley (1994:104-107) that consultative committees serve four important functions:

- Advisory. While communities often have different concerns and perceptions about their own safety and well-being, consultative committees afford them the opportunity to personally advise the police about prevailing problems and needs which are often low profile incidents of apparent non-serious nature to the police. Understandably, the police are more concerned about serious law violations such as murder, armed robbery, rape, vehicle hijackings, burglary and theft, etc. These crimes often contribute towards bad publicity which negatively reflects on police abilities to effectively reduce these crime rates and subsequent fear of it. Through consultative meetings with community members, the police quickly discover that communities also attach meaning to local problems and that they are willing to assist the police in identifying and solving these problems.

- Education. Community consultative meetings afford the police the opportunity to educate the public in regard to crime and social disorder, while simultaneous inspiring and motivating them to assist the police as partners and co-producers of public safety and security.

- Grievance ventilation. Community members are in a position to informally air their grievances and complaints against the police on a face-to-face basis without having to follow rigid bureaucratic rules of communicating these to higher authorities. Likewise, the police are also afforded the opportunity to present their "case" whether it be in the form of relieving themselves from the frustrations with regard to increasing crime figures or non-cooperation (aloofness) on the part of the public they serve.In both

instances, consultative committees provide for psychological satisfaction by means of "letting off steam".

- Information center. Finally, consultative committees serve to provide information to the police about their efforts to reduce crime and solving community problems and to evaluate the impact of their crime prevention initiatives from the police which may reflect on their (police) successes and failures.

Against this backdrop, it becomes necessary to "take inventory" of the South African scene as far as the establishment of Community Policing Forums (CPF's) are concerned.

3.8.5 Community Policing Forums (CPF's)

Briefly, the following statutory provisions of the South African Police Service Act (no. 68 of 1995), are applicable:

The community policing approach is entrenched in the constitution. Section 221 (i) of the constitution Act 200 of 1993 provides for the establishment of community police forums in respect of each police station.

Section 18 – 23 of the South African police service Act 68 of 1995 deal with the establishment and functions of community forums and boards. Section 18 prescribes the objects of community police forums and boards which revolve around the establishment of partnership between the community and police; promoting communication and cooperation. Improving the rendering of police service and transparency is also included in this section. Roelofse (2007:77) specifically rec

all the provisions of section 18(1) of the SAPS Act as clearly stating the objectives of CPF's in that: "CPF's together with the police should establish and maintain a partnership with the community, promote cooperation and ensure that police fulfill the needs of the community in respect of policing, improve the service of the police to the community, improve transparency and accountability of the SAPS and promote joint problem identification and problem solving."

Section 19 – Provides for the establishment of community police forums at police stations by the provincial commissioner designating members of the community police forum.

Section 20 – describes the role of the provincial commissioner as being responsible for the establishment of area community police boards which will consist of representatives of community police forums in the area concerned, the area commissioner and the members designated by him.

Section 21 – The provincial commissioner is also responsible for the establishment of a provincial community police board including some members of area community police boards designated by the area community police boards in the province concerned.

Section 22 - deals with the functions of community police forums and boards subject to the regulations made by the Minister of Safe and Security'

Section 23 - emphasises the procedural matters in the establishment of community police forums and boards such as the election of office bearers and determining the number of members to be designated by the provincial, area, or station commissioner.

3.9 SUMMARY

This chapter briefly highlights the status of the relationship issue between the public and the police and eventually culminates into a brief discussion of the concept *community policing* as it originated in the United States of America as a result of interactive research undertaken by two prominent criminal justice academics: Robert Trojanovicz and Herman Goldstein. A brief exposition of the objectives of consultative committees and its culmination into Community Policing Forums in South Africa is also given. In Chapters 4 and 5 that follow, attention will be devoted to the statistical analysis of data (which forms the gist of this empirical inquiry), specifically to reveal the respondents' levels of fear of crime as well as their opinions about their local police as fear of crime reduction centers.

3.10 CHAPTER REFERENCES /...

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CHAPTER 4

POLICING AND THE FEAR OF CRIME

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Mark Moore and Robert Trajanowicz (Cf. 1988) have written an insightful monograph on policing and fear of crime for the National Institute of Justice (NIJ), United States Department of Justice in: *Perspectives on policing*, in collaboration with the Program in Criminal Justice Policy and Management, John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. These authors contend that, whenever crime occurs, it doesn't take place in isolation. People always tend to sympathise with victims' families because their "...wounds, bruises, lost property, and inconvenience can be seen, touched and counted" (Moore & Trojanovicz 1988:1). It is also true in respect of families who lost love ones when friends or colleagues would show their feelings of symphathy and sentiments. Recent xenophobic attacks on foreigners from neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Kenya, etc. reverberated throughout South Africa and also drew attention from the people in overseas countries who, of course, vehemently condemned such behaviour (The Mercury 2008:1). More than fifty innocent people, believed to be foreigners, were either set alight and burnt to death or killed with knobsticks and other dangerous weapons (kangaroo court-style). Some fearful crowds of people were forced to take refuge in a Johannesburg Methodist Church (The Star 2008:3) and several police stations. Crime does not, however, only affect the immediate families of the victims of crime; it expands and become an even bigger problem to other people who

suffer from the direct or indirect effects of their fear of also being harmed. Fear of crime actually becomes contagious because of its capacity to spread wider and wider. Fear of crime is, however, not totally unproductive. Its positive effects have been carefully listed by Moore and Trojanowicz (1988:1-2):

- Fear of crime prompts citizens to become more cautious and to reduce criminal opportunities (precipitating factors) or to eliminate it totally.

- Fear of crime motivates people to share in the mechanical prevention of crime by acquiring precautionary measures such as locks, alarms, electronic lighting, concrete walls, etc., which will certainly enhance the deterrent value of their property and/or well-being.

- Fear of crime kindles enthusiasm to support public police crime control and prevention measures such as attending Community Police Forums (see par. 3.8.5) and interacting with police officials.

Criminal activities have far reaching consequences for human beings, whether it entails the killing of a fellow citizen, depriving another person of his or her movable property, stabbing to death somebody with a sharp instrument, vandalising property or raping women, etc., there is always a hue and cry and society's attention is naturally focused on victims and their material losses. Their wounds and bruises, lost property and inconvenience can be seen and counted as proof of criminal victimisation. Behind these concrete and tangible losses, there is a more abstract crime problem, called *fear of crime*. "For victims, fear is often the largest and the most enduring legacy of their victimization. A rape victim will feel vulnerable long after her cuts and bruises heal while the harassed family suffers far more from the fear of the neighborhood hostility than the inconvenience of repairing their property" (Moore & Trojanowicz 1988:1). A loud and clear message of fear of crime will even reach those who have not yet been

victimised, forcing them to take whatever precautions become necessary to avert the future recurrence of crime. In such circumstances fear of crime may not be seen as counter-productive since fear reduces criminal opportunities while motivating citizens to shoulder the responsibility of crime prevention. Fear of crime prepares the society to develop some strategies of dealing with crime such as buying of locks and acquiring watchdogs (Cf. Moore & Trojanowicz 1988).

4.2 FEAR OF CRIME

Looking at the problems of fear of crime in the United States, it becomes clear that it is not only widespread among victims who already suffered from criminal victimisation, but also among those people who have not yet been physically or otherwise harmed as a result of criminal attacks. As far back as 1980, when *The Figgie Report on the Fear of Crime* was released, it showed that two-fifths Americans who participated in the self-report survey, reported that they were extremely fearful of becoming victims of serious crimes, especially violent crimes. An earlier survey, called the Harris Poll of 1975 discovered that 55 percent of all adults indicated their fear to walk alone in their streets after dark. The Gallup Poll of 1977 showed that altogether 61 percent of the women and 28 percent of the men reported to be fearful of walking alone at night in their neighbourhoods. Also in 1977, a victimisation survey conducted by James Garfalo (Cf. 1978) in eight cities revealed that 45 percent of all the respondents have limited their activities because of fear of crime. A state-wide Market Opinion Research study in Michigan revealed that 66 percent of the respondents avoided certain places because of fear of crime (Moore & Trojanowicz 1988:2).

Fear of crime happens not to be evenly distributed across the nation in the United States. People who feel most vulnerable to crime and criminal victimisation, are indeed the most fearful. Elderly women in South Africa are not

only the most vulnerable to victimisation, but also the most fearful (Cf. Van Velzen 1998:107-108). The least fearful, appears to be young men (Moore & Trojanowicz 1988:2).

Writing about the causes of fear of crime, Moore and Trojanowicz (1988:3) point out that criminal victimisation has been traditionally viewed as the main source of fear crime. However, the relationship between these two variables has not been so prominent anymore than is the case with people who live in areas where crime rates are very high and cause them to become more fearful of possible victimisation. By just being afraid of being harmed by criminals, cause people to take more preventive actions than is ostensibly the case with people who have indeed been victimised. To sum up: people who are most fearful of crime are not necessarily those who have been harmed. Elderly women, for example, who show high levels of fear of crime, are usually the least victimised. People that are most fearful do not usually indicate their fear for robbery, rape, murder, etc. In fact, they would rather single out other aspects causing them to become fearful and are even irritated about 'things' that go wrong in the area where they live, such as neighbourhood decay and signs of social disorganisation in the form of trash and car wrecks lying around, gangs meeting in groups at street corners, prostitutes who are waiting in public places to attract 'business', drinking and gambling in the public, etc., signifying a typical (broken windows) scenario proffered by Wilson and Kelling (1982:29-38).

Wesley Skogan (1986:210-215) went along and divided the *causes of fear of crime* into five broad categories or areas:

- Actual criminal victimisation, such as rape, assault, armed robbery, mugging, theft, etc.

- Secondary information about criminal victimisation disseminated through social (informal) networks (almost like gossiping).

- Physical deterioration and social disorganisation (e.g. the *Broken-Windows*-concept).

- Characteristics of the built environment (presence of alleys, dark corners, poor street lighting).

- Group conflict (e.g. the recent xenophobic attacks on foreigners in South Africa in which almost 60 people were killed).

Skogan (Cf. 1986:222) discovered that the last three factors apparently exert the strongest influence on the development of fear of crime; not so much real or actual victimisation. Fear might be reduced even if the levels of victimisation do not change by utilising communication within social (or informal) networks to provide accurate information about victimisation risks as well as constructive reactions to such risks of crime. This could be done (1) by removing or eliminating any existing external signs of physical decay (such as 'clean-up' operations of vacant land or beaches), (2) by more effectively regulating group conflict between certain groups of people (e.g. young and old, foreigners and permanent residents by providing, for example, job opportunities for those born in their own country, rich and poor, etc.), and (3) to rationalise and constructively delay fear of crime in an attempt to ameliorate fear as such and its negative consequences. This could be done simply by managing fear of crime by controlling victimisation through exploring the consequences fear - not as ends in themselves, but as means of helping to assist members of society in dealing with crime by participating in police crime prevention activities and by being

knowledgeable about laws, especially Section 49 of the Criminal Procedure Act, no. 55 of 1977, as amended, etc.

Cordner (1986:223) believes that fear has come to be seen as a personal and social problem in its own right, partially independent of the problem of crime. According to him, levels of fear seem to vary over time and among different subgroups of the population. Thus, fear of crime represents an emotional and attitudinal phenomenon. Previous crime victimisation surveys do not seem to be correlating with fear and some groups that express the greatest fear are in fact least victimised by crime. The personal and social effects of fear of crime may lead individuals to change their habits, avoid certain areas, curtail their movements, avoid going outside at night time and adopt some extreme protective measures to reduce the risk of victimisation such as the installation of burglar alarms and purchasing of firearms. They even become more suspicious of others, move their residence or even refuse to leave the sanctuary of their homes. Fear may manifest itself in different ways depending on the person involved and the basis for his or her anxiety. Some individuals fear walking on the streets in their neighbourhood while others fear physical attacks within their own homes or apartments. This may affect physical functioning such as high blood pressure, and the like.

Russell (1995:53) believes that separating the myths from the facts is the best way to understand the current mood of the public, since, when taking a close look, it becomes clear that every organisation should position itself for a future in which fear of crime is likely to play a major role.

Bayley and Shearing (2001:22) believe that crime sharply increased all over the world during the past forty years. And along with this increase in crime, fear of crime also took its toll. However, in some countries around the globe, fear of

crime is usually fomented by what is really perceived by people as new criminal threats, example international terrorism (United States), kidnapping and beheading (Iraq), raping toddlers as a means of cleaning oneself from HIV/AIDS, murder, school violence, xenophobic attacks, etc (South Africa), new-Nazi brutality (Germany), and soccer hooligans (UK), etc. All these occurrences have been perceived as 'new millennium' crimes, threatening the public safety, security and the general well-being of people, and have virtually caused some moral panic about crime. The upsurge in crime is often exacerbated and even inflated by media reports. For instance, a recent report in a northern Kwazulu-Natal newspaper on: "Brazen thieves torment residents of Empangeni" (Erasmus 2005:4), did nothing more but to instill further fear of crime amongst residents of this rural coastal town by reporting that: "A spate of criminal activity in Empangeni has left victims traumatised and convinced that crime has reached uncontrollable levels in town. Armed robberies, housebreakings and hijacking of motor vehicles are becoming a daily occurrence, and what is more, the criminals are becoming more and more brazen". One burglar simply entered a private residence and later escaped by jumping over a concrete wall and strolled casually down the road (as if nothing happened). Also, when someone's car is hijacked in the driveway, alarms go off (and police do not respond but only private security), or when garage doors are forced open, cars are broken into and valuables stolen and removed, or when thieves cut their way open through security doors, then surely, it could be argued that it is no longer just an inflation of crime, but real facts.

The media has a duty to inform the public about what the police are doing in terms of the role they fulfill in society, to what extent police officers are involved in detecting and solving serious crimes such as syndicate crimes, corruption, etc., to what extent the crime rate increases or decreases (Cf. Manning 1996; Potgieter & Mersham 2002:107), or about displacement of police goals or priorities by means of certifying the authenticity of documents brought to task

inside the four walls of a police station (Potgieter 2005:13). It would also appear that reactive policing (through law enforcement) has become more important than proactive measures to prevent crime (Bayley & Shearing 2001:22). Whether South Africans are doing enough to combat corruption in government, a phone-in TV program, *Interface*, resulted in a 28.0% "yes" and a 72.0% "no" listeners' vote. The African National Congress (ANC) announced on 30 May 2005 that MP's who were involved in, and found guilty of fraud in the so-called "Travelgate scandal" (i.e. having misused parliamentary travel coupons, and ultimately defrauded Parliament), would also be removed from their posts. Fear of crime is also precipitated by sub-optimal service delivery in terms of police successes in the investigation of crimes (law enforcement). An apparent low rate in solving crimes may directly and indirectly increase fear among law-abiding citizens. Ainsworth (1995:206-207) compares the 'crime and fear of crime-pandemic' with a vicious cycle. Usually, the public expect the police to solve serious (priority) crimes e.g. murder, rape, brutal car hijacking, armed robbery, etc. (see Table 4). In their crime prevention endeavours, the police expect to rely on the support and assistance of members of the public, whether by means of providing the police with information about crime or the whereabouts of criminals, volunteer work as police reservists, etc. When media reports about new crime waves profoundly displayed on banner headlines, the public easily believes those crimes are to be out of control, which then translate into their perceptions of police ineffectiveness in successfully addressing the crime problem in general. A feeling of unsafe streets and neighbourhoods sets in, followed by a sense of greater shopping risks etc. When this all happen, society may demand more drastic measures in terms of legislation and, in most cases, people may lodge outcries for the reinstatement of the death penalty, simply because of a belief that the human rights-culture in the country is too overwhelming.

The degree to which selected *priority crimes* have been rated a social problem by the respondents (N=300) are portrayed in Tables 4.1 (personal contact crimes)

and 4.2 (property crimes). For the sake of convenient reporting of data, the researcher arbitrarily decided to collapse the response categories as follows: (a) No problem at all / Less of a problem = Not serious (b) More of a problem / Very problematic = Very serious.

TABLE 4.1 RATING OF PERSONAL CONTACT CRIMES AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM IN MTHATHA AND BUTTERWORTH (N=300)

Key: No problem at all / Less of a problem = Not serious
More of a problem / Very problematic = Very serious

Personal (contact crimes	Not serious		Very serious		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Murder	51	17.0	249	83.0	300	100.0
Attempted murder	65	21.7	235	78.3	300	100.0
Assault (serious)	76	25.3	224	74.7	300	100.0
Assault (common)	123	41.0	177	59.0	300	100.0
Rape/Attempted rape	110	36.7	190	63.3	300	100.0
Armed robbery-firearm	69	23.0	231	77.0	300	100.0
Armed robbery-other	64	21.3	236	78.7	300	100.0

TABLE 4.2 RATING OF PROPERTY CRIMES AS A SOCIAL PROBLEM IN MTHATHA AND BUTTERWORTH (N=300)

Key: No problem at all / Less of a problem = Not serious
More of a problem / Very problematic = Very serious

Property crimes	Not serious		Very serious		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Arson	151	50.3	149	49.7	300	100.0
Burglary (residences)	47	15.7	252	84.3	300	100.0
Burglary (businesses)	67	22.3	233	77.7	300	100.0
Fraud	89	29.7	211	70.3	300	100.0
Damage to property	115	38.3	185	61.7	300	100.0
Theft of stock	121	40.3	179	59.7	300	100.0
Theft-motor vehicle	62	20.7	238	79.3	300	100.0

Table 4.1 contains the response rate by respondents relating to personal contact crimes as a serious or not so serious social problem. The table confirms that murder to the respondents (83.0%) is, like murder for any citizen living in South Africa, a very serious problem. Although armed robbery, using a firearm (77.0%) has been rated a very serious problem by the respondents, using another type of instrument like a knife for instance, seems to be an even more serious problem (78.7%). Common assault (41.0%) and rape (36.7%) have both been rated by respondents as not such a serious social problem.

Table 4.2 reveals the response rate of property crimes by the respondents. Burglary at private residences (84.3%) is a serious social problem to respondents, following closely by theft of motor vehicles (79.3%). Arson has been rated the least serious social problem, followed by the theft (59.7%) of live stock (sheep, cattle, etc.) and malicious damage to property (61.7%).

The public often view government as being unable to provide adequate protection against real criminal victimisation, most probably because police officers who are not visibly engaged in proactive policing initiatives such as positive prevention strategies. The public want to see (observe with the naked eye) that the police are really engaged in 'police business' (i.e. crime prevention) (Cf. Goldstein 1990). Fear of crime appears not be a bad thing at all. Moore and Trojanowicz (Cf.1988) are convinced that, against all expectations, there appears to be some benefits attached to fear of crime. Apart from trauma associated with serious crime (e.g. over-powering a woman in her apartment, etc.) it nevertheless tends to promote cautiousness among citizens. Citizens often have to face dangerous situations, or they simply have to deal with predicted dangers attached to serious crimes, such as: murder, rape, abduction, armed robbery, violent car hijacking, etc., thereby reducing opportunities that could have otherwise been a real threat (Moore & Trojanowicz 1988:1).

Maguire & Pointing (1988:171-172) are of the opinion that the problem of the fear of crime is usually formulated as the relationship between high crime rates (an objective fact) and fear of crime (a subjective attitude). Based on this equation, women and the elderly are seen to have, objectively, a comparatively low rate of victimisation and, subjectively, a high incidence of fear of crime. Young men, in contrast, may have very high risks and lower fear levels. Any meaningful concept of the crime rate must include the notion of human evaluation; what seems trivial to some, may be serious to others. Men and women in particular may have different evaluations of what is serious and what is trivial. According to Moore and Trojanowicz (1988), although fear of crime may seem to be declining in other parts of the United States, the truth remains that this trend has not yet reached America's ghetto and slum areas where fear of crime is the order of the day. It follows, therefore, that in American society, wealth and status will reduce fear of crime; hence the irony that criminals walk the city streets, while fear virtually imprisons groups likes women and the elderly in their homes. Thus, Moore and Trajanowicz (1988) conclude that the most fundamental purpose of civil government is to maintain order and protect citizens from fear of crime. High levels of fear of crime among the citizens indicate an important government failure of upholding the provisions of section 12 (1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 108 of 1996) which ensures the freedom and security of every person.

Glanz (1989:81) also confirms that "...the consequences of fear may be in the form of increased anxiety, suspicion and general mistrust of strangers. In addition, fearful members of the community may alter their behaviour in order to reduce the risk of victimisation to the extent that it interferes with their normally daily living (such as using ill-afforded private rather than public transport and avoiding certain areas at certain times)". Although the high crime rate may lead

to fear, by comparison, it does not mean that a decrease in the rate will not result in a decrease of fear levels (Glanz 1989:82).

Spinks (Cf. 2001) adamantly states that, despite South Africa's long history of violent crime, its increasing visibility in previously protected (white) areas has fuelled modern anxieties. Although growth in fear is predominantly concentrated amongst whites, fear of crime *per se* is not confined solely to wealthy white suburbs and the settlements with predominantly poor residents because these areas are equally permeated by fear.

4.3 THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIETAL CONSEQUENCES OF FEAR OF CRIME

While fear is actually a rational response to crime, it also brings about far reaching social consequences (Cf. Moore & Trojanovicz 1988). These consequences make people emotionally very uncomfortable. Fear deprives people of peace, safety and security in their homes and they are not free to enjoy the opportunities such as transporting children to school, visiting convenient stores, go unhindered to work, etc. Fear of crime creates constant feelings of anxiety and tends to produce unhappy conditions instead of feelings of being safe and secure and the enjoyment of a real quality life situation. More time and money is used in mechanical defensive measures to make themselves less vulnerable (e.g. acquiring firearms, installing alarm systems, etc.). Contrary to their wishes, people spend more time indoors, avoid perceived places of danger, arrange special protection measures for bank deposits, etc. Indeed, fear of crime hold most people to ransom, because the expenditure on safety and security costs become social costs that would otherwise be incurred to create happy moments. It is postulated that about two fifths of the population is living in perpetual fear of crime. "And if 45 percent of the population restricts its daily behaviour to minimise vulnerability, and the nation spends more than US$20

billion on private security protection, then private expenditure on reducing fear constitute a significant component of the national economy" (Cf. Moore and Trojanowicz 1988).

To briefly summarise, it could be postulated that:

- People nowadays live behind concrete walls and picket fences made of steel and iron, and locked doors. Their homes are secured by electronic alarm systems (at least those who can afford it). Instead of relaxing and "...luxuriating in the peace and safety of their homes, they feel vulnerable and isolated" (Moore & Trojanowicz 1988:3). Also, instead of enjoying the feeling of camaraderie with friends making trips to tea gardens, doing shopping or practicing one or other of a list of hobbies, they feel anxious and afraid. In this sense, fear of crime produces an immediate loss of personal well-being and quality of life, because even anglers are now becoming 'criminal bait' at angling spots alongside the north coast.

- Instead of investing money in their well-being and enjoying life, people who are very fearful of crime and criminal victimisation: (1) are motivated to invest money in protective and precautionary security measures, such as alarm systems, concrete walls, acquiring dogs or firearms, installing perimeter electronic lighting, etc., (2) they also opt to rather stay indoors (i.e. at home) after sunset and avoid places they normally would visit in times when they did not encounter any fear of crime, (3) buy and install extra door locks, (4) arrange to make bank deposits through cell phones rather than visiting commercial banks personally. Rating crime as the most monstrous destroyer of the moral and social fabric of society simply means that people are less secured, less happy with their current living conditions and have to curtail their movements, just to stay out of the hands of thugs and criminals, or even emigrate to other countries. But

what a surprise if South African citizens have to stump up in the vicinity of R50 milliard per year to protect their families, business enterprises and related properties by the security industry when one out of every ten security guards has a criminal record. Former National Minister of Safety and Security, Charles Nqakula, announced this shocking information and added that real criminals have now managed to infiltrate the private security industry, and thereby exacerbating peoples' fear of crime. Coupled with this state of affairs, is the suspension of the chief executive of the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSIRA), Seth Mogapi, for alleged sub-optimal work performance as well as alleged mismanagement (Rapport 2008:1). In the early 1980's, U.S. citizens spent $20 billion on private security protection and $40 billion on public crime control measures – constituting a vast economic component of the national economy, claiming "...a noticeable share of the Nation's welfare and resources" (Cf. National Institute of Justice 1985).

- Individual reaction to criminal victimisation and fear of crime compounds in such a way that it erodes the quality of community life (Cf. Jacobs 1961) and, sad enough, society's incapacity to effectively deal with crime; as if crime exerts a paralysing effect on citizens who tend to become powerless against the devastating effects of crime and the criminal onslaught. Instead of 'standing up' against crime, people who can afford it, rather revert to private instead of public (police) security for their overall protection, thereby creating a shift in responsibility as far as crime prevention is concerned (Skogan 1986:215). This author continued to indicate that fear of crime can work together with other factors to further influence the deterioration of community neighbourhoods and by doing so, stimulate: (1) physical and psychological withdrawal from community life, (2) weakening of informal social control processes that inhibit crime and disorder, (3) a decline in organisational life and the mobilisation

capacities of a neighbourhood, (4) deteriorating business conditions, (5) the importation and facilitation of juvenile delinquency, and (6) a change in demographics of the population,

If fear of crime does not manage to destroy neighbourhood life, it can do so by forcing citizens to adopt alternative responses calculated to protect some citizens at the expense of others. Widening the social disparities between rich and poor or resourceful (haves) and the dependent (have not's) or well organised and communities where anomic (or deviant) conditions prevail usually result when a dual system of protection takes its course: private security for the rich and public policing for the not so fortunate. Retreating behind locked doors and avoiding social life, making their homes safer and investing in security measures instead of financially supporting the police for protection, may lead to financially capable individuals shifting their responsibilities and deflecting crime onto other people. Whether fear of crime produces these kinds of outcomes will, to a great extent, depend on how citizens respond to their individual fears. There's a choice of two routes to achieve this:

- *If citizens adopt individualistic solutions (i.e. where everyone does what is best for his or her own safety and forget about the rest) the situation may run the risk of turning the neighbourhood into the hands of 'injustice' (i.e. allowing thugs and criminals to take over) which, of course, may lead to a total collapse of such a neighbourhood.*

- *If citizens adopt constructive, community based responses, such communities are likely to be strengthened, not only in terms of claiming back its turf from criminals, but also in terms of displaying an image of a law-abiding, civilized and orderly society* (Moore & Trojanowicz 1988:4).

Although it appears that a society adopting a communal approach to crime prevention efforts would display a greater extent of internal order, justice and freedom (in terms of the Constitution, for example), it should be appreciated that such an assumption is like a double-edged sword, especially in the case of South Africa:

- Since the change of governance in 1994, the police institution was changed from a police force to a police service. Since then, several complaints have been lodged against public policing which have been investigated and dealt with by the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD). Apart from these departmental and internal complaints, numerous external accusations against the police of a more general nature were also leveled by the public on the one hand, some of which are: incompetence, passive bribery, police case dockets containing the vital evidence against perpetrators are getting lost or are being sold by police officers to active bribers, abuse of police power, use of unethical tactics to gather crime intelligence, corruptive behavior and involvement in crime syndicates, etc. (to mention a few). On the other hand, the police are also complaining about public apathy, in that they do not come forward with vital information about crime and neglect their role in crime prevention (Bezuidenhout 2007: i-vii).

An Eastern Cape newspaper speculated that white citizens were leaving South Africa because of fear of crime and that there were better opportunities overseas because "... they are afraid of the high crime rate and that they are afraid of affirmative action" (Daily Dispatch 2006:1).

Moore & Trojanowicz (Cf. 1988) adamantly state that: "Fear has a further effect. Individual responses to fear aggregate in a way that erode the overall quality of community life and paradoxically, the overall capacity of society to deal with

crime." This occurs when the defensive reactions of individuals essentially compromise community life, or when they exacerbate the disparities between rich and poor by relying too much on private rather than public security.

A prominent South African newspaper, *Sunday Times*, reported that, while anxiety relating to crime is growing, more and more people revert to private security companies for protection and to keep criminals off their premises. Currently, the private security industry is regarded the biggest private employer in South Africa, boasting approximately R40-billion. Of this estimated amount, R14-billion is annually spent by private households and businesses on guarding services alone. Private security is perceived by the less fortunate in Soweto, Umlazi and shopping complexes in most large townships as a middle-class luxury. Financial constraints make it virtually impossible for the poor to afford the protection offered by private security (Sunday Times 2006:5). Although not disclosing any amount, it has been revealed that KwaZulu-Natal local government spends *hundred of thousands of rands* on body guards for personal protection of its politicians (Sunday Times 2006:5).

Brandon Hamber (1999:1) in his opening address at a seminar in 1999 pondered: "Have no doubt it is fear in the land; an exploration of continuing cycles of violence in South Africa" and then referred to a passage by Alan Paton in his book: *Cry, the beloved country,* 1949): "Have no doubt it is fear in the land. For what can a man do when so many have grown lawless? Who can enjoy the lovely land, who can enjoy seventy years, and the sun that pours down on earth? Who can walk quietly in the shadow of the jacarandas, when their beauty is grown in danger? Who can lie peacefully abed, while the darkness holds some secret? What lovers can lie sweetly under the stars, when the menace grows with the measure of their seclusion? There are voices crying what must be done, a hundred, a thousand voices. But what do they help if one seeks counsel, for

one cries this, and one cries that, and another cries something that is neither this nor that."

It is true now, as it was true then that people are paralysed by fear of crime whether they admit it openly or not. People depend on the police to allay their fears. The big question is what are the police doing about crime that seems to turn the lives of the people upside down? Moore and Trojanowicz (Cf.1988) are adamant that even if fear does not destroy neighbourhood life it can damage it by prompting responses which protect some citizens at the expense of others, thereby leading to greater social disparities between rich and the poor, resourceful and dependent well-organised, and anomic communities. By remaining behind well-secured doors and windows that make their homes safer, 'deserted streets' become more dangerous because there are fewer people watching or intervening. Investing in burglar alarms and private security guards may be advantageous to some but costly to others. Crime is, therefore deflected on others.

4.4 ROLE OF THE POLICE IN FEAR OF CRIME REDUCTION

As far back as 1985, Carl Klockars asked two very important questions: 'Why do we have police'? Why should an institution be created with all the power and authority to use force and curtail peoples' freedom? Klockars (1985:12) defines *police* as "... institutions or individuals given the general right to use coercive force by the state within the state's domestic territory". This definition enables us to answer Klockar's questions by stating that there is no other institution that can adequately provide in the safety and security needs of law-abiding citizens in a democratic society, prevent and control crime and enforce the law. In his recent textbook, Roelofse (2007:15-16) addressed the issue of defining *police role* and in this endeavour, he refers to the definitional attempts by Evans (1993:15) who

defines it as "...something that someone does in a particular situation" and that of Armstrong (1985:88) who indicated that: "An individual at work and elsewhere occupies a role in relation to other people". From these definitions, it could be stated that the police are occupying a specific role in society that is tied to the maintenance of the social order and the eradication of crime and fear of crime (Cf. Van Heerden 1982).

If it is accepted that fear of crime is a social problem, then it becomes necessary to evaluate police efficiency and effectiveness of police crime prevention strategies in terms of (1) their capacity to control and prevent crime and, (2) in terms of their capacity to reduce fear of crime. *Together, these two aspects form the gist of the present study.*

Like the United States and elsewhere, the crime prevention role of the police in a South African context has emphasised three operational components (Moore & Trojanowicz 1988:4):

- Foot (or beat) and motorised patrol (which point to the elimination of the precipitating factors in crime commission).
- Rapid response to emergency calls for police services (usually lodged by complainants who have been criminally victimised).
- Investigation of crimes.

In their approach to achieve the abovementioned 'aims', the police emphasise the capturing of perpetrators (criminals) and lodging their cases before the criminal courts *rather than reduce the fear of crime.* Three traditional types of patrol have been distinguished and meticulously applied: (1) *routine or general patrol* (Whisenand & Cline 1971:15), (2) *planned or selective patrol* (Sutherland & Cressey 1955:157) and *called-for patrol* (Wilson & McLaren 1977:352). These patrol tactics were aimed at reducing criminal victimisation or, at least,

eliminating it before a crime could be committed. Reducing real criminal acts, it has been argued, would reduce the fear of crime, simply because motorised patrol and rapid response to calls for police service would provide necessary reassurance of police omnipresence to the public. Van Heerden (1982:173) informs us that the mere sight of a police officer (i.e. on street, at a crime scene, at a motor vehicle accident scene) "...makes citizens feel safe and secure symbolises social order, gives citizens that peace of mind, which is so essential for harmonious co-existence".

It is often said that in the 'good old days' when almost all the police engaged in police work on the streets like: patrolling, attending to citizen complaints, interacting with citizens for one or other reason, investigating incidences of a criminal nature, etc., police work was indeed police work, and citizens knew each and every police officer by the name. It had been characterised by a personal 'touch of class'. The advent of motorised patrol enabled the police to act more swiftly and to be more 'ready' to respond to emergency calls for assistance by the public. The *professional era of policing,* which originated in the United States and echoed across many other countries' police organisations including the erstwhile South African Police, with a commitment to attend (or respond) to each and every call for police service. Police were, proverbially, only a phone call away – primarily to increase their efficiency and effectiveness in crime control and crime prevention (Goldstein 1990:19:33). Unfortunately, all these good intentions were directed at *incident-driven* instead of *problem-solving* policing. Police 'business' had been characterised by a reactive characteristic which was exacerbated by the fact that police were not regarded to be *part of the solutions* to the problems they were supposed to handle. Response time to calls for service had been rated more important than the actual problem itself to which they were called out to attend to. 'Getting there quickly' and 'getting back' even more quickly to the charge office or back 'in service' as well as making cross-reference entries in the Occurrence Book (OB) to show the problem received the necessary

police attention, actually confirm the incident-driven (reactive) nature of police work during that era (Goldstein 1990:20; Cf. Roelofse 2007: 90-96).

Moore and Trojanowicz (1988:4) are adamant that, instead of assuming a true proactive role in dealing with crime and fear of crime, the police went on to imagine a relationship with the public in which citizens were expected detect crime and identify the perpetrators and, where possible, to deliver them to the police to be charged criminally. The police also visualised citizens as the complainants in criminal cases; to get the police to react and investigate their cases without having given it a thought that the public are actually partners in the day-to-day policing of crime. The police (in the United States, for example,) further initiated a program in which they advised shopkeepers and citizens about self-defense techniques to be followed in cases of physical attacks by criminals; they created the U.S. 911 and Computer-Aided Dispatch (CAD) systems; they motivated people to mark or engrave their property with a view of easy identification when detected after a crime has been committed, etc., but unfortunately, the police never viewed individual members of the public as important kingpins in crime prevention and crime control, but only as auxiliaries.

An emerging new *common wisdom* relating to policing regard the following aspects as extremely important components of the so-called 'enlightened era' (Goldstein 1990:10-11):

- The police do not only deal with crime in their daily time schedule; they do also engage in many other forms of behaviour that are not regarded as criminal.
- The wide range of police functions, include dealing with *fear of crime;* the police are regarded as a fear of crime reduction agent in society.
- Too much police work of the past had a retributive character; with too much emphasis placed on criminal law: detection, arrest, detention,

interrogation of suspects, presenting physical evidence to criminal courts, etc, which typified a true repressive (or reactive) character of policing, while so much police work requires problem-solving techniques within a context of shared responsibilities with the affected communities.

- Law enforcement is only one method the police can use to address the problem of crime and crime control. Law execution should be accorded an equal chance in order to avoid the vicious cycle of crime commission, crime detection, etc. The police have the responsibility and they are, in fact, held accountable by their respective communities to *penetrate to the gist of social problems* for because they are paid to perform such a duty.

The police must use discretion when performing their role and duty; even if it means exercising discretion in deciding whether or not the criminal justice process through an arrest or prosecution should be instituted or 'kick-started'.

The police are not autonomous (i.e. they cannot do what they want to do or see fit). They perform a delicate and sensitive role (mindful of the cultural diversities and human rights culture present in society) and for that reason they should always be prepared to "...be accountable, through the political process, to the community" (Goldstein 1990:11).

The aims of pursuing motorised patrol, improvement of rapid responses to calls for service and the investigation of crimes was initially not designed to reduce fear of crime among law-abiding citizens. It did indeed reduce the crime rates. While the primary objective revolved around the reduction of crime, and members of the public were regarded as auxiliaries (supplementary) to the police role, the police could (but not always did) inform the public of the risks of being victimised. As far as fear of crime was concerned, they tend to assume that mere role visibility through motorised patrol would be adequate in reducing fear of crime (Moore & Trojanowicz 1988:4).

The role of the police entails the maintenance of social order in a manner compatible with the constitutional rights of every individual. It is clear that the fundamental task of the police is the creation and upholding of laws and active participation in their operation. The role can never be performed in isolation because it involves constant interaction with members of society, which delegated the role in the first instance. It is in this area of reciprocal expectations and obligations that perceptions arise (Van Heerden 1982:40-43).

The operation of the criminal justice system and process depends on the efficient and effective operation of the police particularly in the areas of preventing, and detecting crime as well as apprehending or arresting criminal offenders. The police learn about crime from citizens, through investigation and intelligence efforts. If crime escalates unabated, the community loses confidence in the police which may result in fear of crime. Enforcing the law makes the police a unique occupational group representing one of the most important protectors of individuals and group liberties in our society (Barker, Hunter & Rush 1994:22-24).

Reporting crime to the police **should not** be a daunting task, as Savides, the Editor of The Zululand Observer (2005:9) proposes. Instead, it should be as easy as A B C. Whenever a crime has occurred, the victim is not supposed, and cannot be expected, to make calculations into the availability of police resources such as manpower, patrol vehicles, literacy of police officers, availability of computers, etc., prior to the reporting of a crime to the nearest police station. Why? Simply because they are not supposed to keep abreast with what the police have or do not have to prevent crime. The police, as a statutory organisation in terms of the Police Service Act (no. 68 of 1995) are responsible for the prevention of crime (proactive policing) as well as crime investigation (reactive policing), 24-hours per day, seven days a week (24/7). This mandate

spells out their order maintenance task. They cannot be exonerated or excused from it in whatever way they wish. The Constitution (Act 106 of 1996) tacitly expects of each citizen to form and to institutionalise the generally-accepted norms and prescribed behaviour of society, live up to it and to be a loyal citizen. In exchange for that, the Constitution (1996) guarantees each citizen's safety and security.

Famega, Frank and Mazerolle (Cf.2005) argue that police officers nowadays (in the US) have lots of unassigned time available to them. Instead of hanging around in offices and not engaging in constructive patrol, they should be looking at the new paradigm shifts (transformation that also came to the police role): COMPSTAT, etc. (listed below). These authors argue that every police officer should engage in studying the everyday crime statistics, keep crime mapping up to date and establish where the crime in a specific police jurisdiction are localised and when necessary, hit those crime hots-pots. Patrol is costly and time consuming, but it cannot be denied or rejected out of hand as a major fear-reduction strategy. It may be costly in terms of equipment and manpower; especially ensuring additional officers who can act as supervisors and discipline maintainers.

4.1 Police role visibility/preventive (proactive) policing

Referring to the deployment of police officers in areas known for its drug activities, Lawton,Taylor and Luongo (2005:429-430) concur with Wilson and Kelling (Cf. 1982) who suggested that, if police officers' tasks are more *place-specific* (e.g. focused on crime hot-spots), they would in all probability, be more effective as a crime deterrent. Early ecological studies and, more specifically, protagonists of *Routine Activities Theory* (Cf. Cohen & Felson 1979; Sherman, Gartin & Buerger 1989; Ratcliffe 2002), clearly indicate that, because prospective criminals are usually attracted to places or areas where there are large numbers

of potential victims and/or vulnerable crime targets are present, crime would be unevenly distributed across time and space. Would-be offenders usually select their targets on a cost-benefit analysis basis and police visibility might just be a deterrent factor to be considered by motivated criminals.

Acknowledging the contribution by Gary Cordner (1979), Famega, Frank and Mazerolle (2005:541) agree that: *"The notion underlying preventive patrol has remained the same, i.e. that the presence of uniformed police officers will deter citizens from committing offences, and will increase the probability that officers will interrupt offences in progress"* (Cf. Scott 2000) (italics added). Crime prevention has undergone many changes and reforms in the past few decades. The emergence of the new paradigm shifts such as community policing, problem-oriented policing, the broken windows-concept, zero-crime tolerance approach, sector policing, 'hot-spot' policing; etc. (Famega *et al* 2005:542), have been introduced to enhance the efficiency and the effectiveness of police agencies, especially those in the United States and some European countries. South Africa, however, also moved away from its paramilitary police model after the advent of democracy in 1994 and opted for a more democratic style of policing in the form of a police *service* instead of a police *force*. Whether all these variations of proactive policing are suitable for South African conditions or not, remains unknown, because virtually no empirical research have been undertaken to confirm this observation. While it could be postulated that patrol forms the cornerstone of the aforementioned approaches to the police preventing crime, it does seem that patrol is gradually losing its status as a number one police deterrent activity, mainly because 'around-the-clock' police role visibility apparently does not deter prospective criminals anymore (Cf. Goldstein 1990). Shortage of police patrol vehicles, police officer involvement in gang-related crime, police corruption in South Africa, and dishonest law enforcement officers (Cf. Klockars 1985), etc., are only a few of the factors negatively impacting on police effectiveness and efficiency.

It does appear that new strategies or paradigm shifts are needed to better address police competence (especially the utilisation of their time) in relation to crime control and crime prevention. Instead of engaging in traditional random patrol activities, Famega *et al.* (2005:545) focus attention to various alternatives to traditional patrol activities such as: community policing, broken windows-concept in crime prevention, zero-tolerance approaches, drug crackdowns, Problem-Oriented Policing (POP), COMPSTAT (the ongoing use of current crime incident data and subsequent police focused intervention), Crime Incident Mapping (CRIMESTAC), CAPS (a program implementing the application of resources in a targeted manner in Chicago, United States), which has been successfully implemented in Baltimore in the United States of America). All these activities are capable of improving police officer efficiency and effectiveness in addressing the crime rate in an acceptable manner, because there is an assumption that these reforms afford "...officers [have] sufficient available time to engage in [real] proactive policing" (Famega *et al.* (2005:542). It would appear that traditional police patrolling in the United States have been 'supplanted' by all aforementioned police paradigm shifts that are more time and area (place) focused.

The South African government has implemented some useful techniques to ensure safe environments for its citizens. Although all techniques (or models) have been "borrowed" from overseas countries (e.g. community policing - United States; Sector Policing - Britain), there is no clear evidence that these paradigm shifts are indeed working optimally to reduce crime and fear of crime. In fact, police statistics released in 2008 show an increase in various crime categories, and where decreases do occur, the impact on fear of crime among law-abiding citizens still appear to be present.

4.5. GENDER AND FEAR OF PERSONAL VICTIMISATION

American researchers (Garofalo 1979; Toseland 1982; Stafford and Galle 1984; Box, Hale and Andrews 1988; La Grange and Ferraro 1989; Parker and Ray 1990 and at least one South African researcher, Van Velzen 1998), have acquainted themselves of the fact that a three-pronged measuring instrument to empirically test for fear of crime, accurately indicate that female respondents in such social surveys over and over again figured as being more unsafe when walking alone in their respective neighbourhoods at night, when they're alone in their homes or apartments and when visiting shopping malls alone. All three measures generated significant differences in terms of Pearson's Chi-square test when cross-correlated with *gender*. The following factors could be highlighted as being responsible for this state of affairs: (a) women's passiveness inculcated in their minds during their socialisation process at their homes, (b) their physical and (c) emotional attributes which leave the more vulnerable to criminal victimisation.

4.5.1 Gender and fear of crime

Fear of crime has been measured by means of three statements. Respondents had to report on their feelings of being (a) safe when walking alone at night in their neighbourhood (b) alone at home or apartment at night and (c) visiting shopping areas. Researchers (Box *et al.* 1988; Toseland 1988) have previously pointed out that females are more fearful of personal crimes than males. To this effect, Table 4.3 clearly indicates that women have indeed significant concerns about their safety at night both indoors and outdoors. The table confirms significant differences at the .05% level between the gender attributes according the above-mentioned three measures, with females being constantly more fearful than the male respondents. Cross-correlations show that -

(a) walking alone at night in the neighbourhood: males are significantly less fearful (34.3%) than female (50.3%) respondents who feel more unsafe;

(b) being alone at home or apartment at night: female respondents (48.0%) feel significantly more unsafe compared to their male counterparts (31.7%);

(c) visiting shopping areas: males (32.3%) and females (47.0%) are significantly more unsafe (fearful).

TABLE 4.3 GENDER AND FEAR OF CRIME (N=300)

Fear of crime measures	Feel Safe				Feel Unsafe				Total	
	Male		Female		Male		Female		n	%
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Walk alone n/hood at at night	30	10.0	16	5.3	103	34.3	151[1)]	50.3	300	100.0
Home alone at night	38	12.7	23	7.7	95	31.7	144[2)]	48.0	300	100.0
Visiting	36	12.0	26	8.7	97	32.2	142[3)]	47.0	300	100.0

1) Significant: χ^2= 14.918; 3df; p=.002
2) Significant: χ^2=13.413; 3df; p=.004
3) Significant: χ^2=10.780; 3df; p=.013

4.5.2 Fear of personal victimisation

Table 4.4 contains a list of personal and property crimes calculated to pose a personal threat to people and which have, individually, been rated by the respondents (N=300) as a social problem. All these serious crimes, which assist

in defining or operationalising the dependent variable *fear of crime,* have been cross-correlated with the independent variable *gender.*

TABLE 4.4 FEAR OF PERSONAL VICTIMISATION, BY GENDER (N=300)

KEY: M=Male; F=Female

Possible type of victimisation	Not/little fearful				Quite/Very fearful			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	N	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Murdered at home	31	12.0	29	9.7	97	32.3	146	48.7
Being raped	106	35.3	28	9.3	27	9.0	139	46.3[1)]
Assaulted	48	16.0	23	7.7	85	28.3	144	48.0[2)]
Robbed/mugged	33	11.0	17	5.7	90	30.0	150	50.0[3)]
Vehicle hijacked	30	10.0	26	8.7	103	34.3	141	47.0
Vehicle stolen	39	13.0	27	9.0	94	31.3	140	46.7[4)]
Property stolen	49	16.3	34	11.3	83	27.7	133	44.3[5)]
Damage to property	47	15.7	34	11.3	88	29.3	134	44.7[6)]
Shot whilst driving	35	11.7	23	7.7	97	32.3	144	48.0[7)]
Stoned while driving a vehicle	33	11.0	32	10.7	90	30.0	135	45.0[8)]
Burglary	23	7.7	20	6.7	110	36.7	137	45.7

1) χ^2=152.890; 3df; p=.000
2) χ^2=22.316; 3df; p=.000
3) χ^2=27.147; 3df; p=.000
4) χ^2=8.029; 3df; p=.045
5) χ^2=11.944; 3df; p=.018
6) χ^2=10.367; 3df; p=.035
7) χ^2=19.307; 3df; p=.001
8) χ^2=7.695; 3df; p=.053 (approaching significance)

For more convenient interpretation and explanation of the raw scores and percentages, the researcher arbitrarily decided to collapse certain measuring scale attributes as follows: (1) not fearful and (2) a little fearful into: *not/little*

fearful, meaning these response categories reveal that the crimes listed in Table 4.4 are actually not posing a real or serious threat to the respondents. Also, the scale attributes of (3) quite fearful and (4) very fearful were collapsed together into *quite fearful/very fearful,* indicating that those crimes indeed pose a serious social threat/problem to the respondents.

When studying Table 4.4, it clearly transpires that male and female respondents differ significantly as far as the eleven selected serious crimes are concerned. Van Velzen's (1998:107-108) study generated very high F-values for fear of being raped at home (F=432.61) and being raped while away from home (F=347.15). The present data also indicate that females in general significantly appear to be much more vulnerable of being raped (46.3%) than their male counterparts and are, consequently, more fearful ($p \leq .05$).

Significant differences are also observed between male and female respondents' scores in respect of assault (48.0%), being robbed or mugged on street (50.0%), have vehicle (46.7%) and property (44.3%) stolen, malicious damage to property 44.7%) and shot (48.0%) or stoned (45.0%) whilst driving a motor vehicle which inculcate a high degree of fear in the respondents ($p \leq .05$).

Male respondents are *quite fearful* of being hijacked in their vehicles (34.3%), their vehicles being stolen (31.3%), shot while driving a motor vehicle (32.3%), murdered while at home (32.3%), etc. Crimes in which citizens have lately been surprised, attacked and brutally killed with 9mm pistols happened virtually all over the country, mostly between midnight and before daybreak after entry into dwellings have been obtained through windows being broken, and in certain cases guard dogs were poisoned. Having been referred to as *house robberies* (with intent to steal and/or commit murder/rape), these crimes in almost all cases resulted in the death of either a husband or a wife or if alone, the death of a young child of mostly white people. Some of the victims are usually in their late

sixties or seventies or even in their early eighties. Cases of younger victims have also been recorded. In almost all cases of house robberies, small items such as cell phones, purses, jewelry, etc. are stolen after a victim was shot in the head or face and the other partner traumatised and severely assaulted. Police statistics issued from 1 April 2007 till 31 March 2008 showed that altogether, a total of 14 481 house robberies were committed countrywide – an average of 39.6% per day. Altogether 36 190 cases of rape were recorded for the same period countrywide with an average of 99.0% rape cases being reported daily. During the 2007-08 statistical year altogether 18 487 people were brutally murdered countrywide in South Africa, representing *a daily average human being slaughtering rate of 50.64* (Beeld 2008:2). Armed robberies at business premises showed an increase of 47.4% countrywide compared to the statistics for the same period during 2006-07. Vehicle hijacking showed a slight decrease of 7.9% compared to the statistics of the previous year (2006-07) (Beeld 2008:2). In virtually all the cases recorded above, criminals were more actively at work.

TABLE 4.5 ACQUIRED SELF-PROTECTION MEASURES, BY GENDER (N=300)

Protective Measures	Yes				No				F-value
	Male		Female		Male		Female		
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	
Guard dog	74	24.7	73	24.3	59	19.7	91	30.3	0.26
Alarm	39	13.0	43	14.3	94	31.3	124	41.3	0.29
Sensor lights	50	16.7	60	20.0	83	27.7	107	35.7	0.43
Burglar proof	83	27.7	92	30.7	50	16.7	75	25.0	0.12
Engraving	25	8.3	27	9.0	108	36.0	140	46.7	0.33
Concrete walls	51	17.0	61	20.3	82	27.3	106	53.3	0.42
Firearm	36	12.0	25	8.3	97	32.3	142	47.3	0.007[1)]
Radio/TV	76	25.3	98	32.7	57	19.0	69	23.0	0.79
Peephole	31	10.3	26	8.7	102	34.0	141	47.0	0.09
Stay home	100	33.3	134	44.7	33	11.0	33	11.0	0.29

1) Fischer's Exact Test (one-sided); p=.014.

Table 4.5 reveals *how* the respondents have reacted to their fear of crime by means of taking offensive responses to protect themselves or their families as

well as their property against possible criminal attacks. Van Velzen (1998:203) suggests these reactions have been labeled as *mobilisation measures* by authors like Conklin (Cf. 1975) and Furstenberg (Cf. 1972). Usually, these mobilisation measures are acquired when there is an immediate and real threat of criminal victimisation. Mass media reporting on the seriousness of, for instance, violent crime often contribute to the acquisition of such protective measures. Conklin (1975:119), for instance, proffers that law-abiding citizen become the willing buyers of security devices or sign security protection contracts when the criminal threat is at a high tide and public police role visibility appears to be low or even non-existent. People would acquire such mechanical protection even if they know such items do not offer complete protection against brazen criminals who tend to pull out any security doors that come in their way; analogously to armed robbers who are using explosives to blast open Auto Transmission Machines (ATM's) and cash-in-transit vans. Mechanical security protection tends to be very expensive in the new millennium, which means that only those people who can afford such kind of protection, would opt for it. Financially, the not so fortunate people have to contend with the services delivered by public police – whether optimally, sub-optimally or just bad. As a result, many people who cannot afford expensive security measures rather adopt avoidance behavior patterns.

Table 4.5 further shows that female respondents slightly outnumber the males with regard to the acquisition of some or all of the mobilisation measures. But it also transpires that female respondents also take the lead in having *not acquired* those measures, compared to their male counterparts. Closer inspection of the table reveals that both female (44.7%) and male (33.3%) respondents have opted to rather stay at home at night. Female respondents (30.7%) also believed that burglar proofing would be the answer to personal protection while males (27.7%) did so to a slightly lesser extent. Leaving a radio, television or lights on when absent from the homes or apartment at night seems to be a more popular protection aid for female (32.7%) than for male (25.3%) respondents.

The less-popular measures are: (a) erecting concrete walls to keep out unwanted intruders (females 53.3%; males 27.3%), (b) acquiring a firearm for self-protection (females 47.3%; males 32.3%), installing door peepholes (females 47.0%; males 34.0%), engraving their valuables which does also not seem to in the taste of female (46.7%) and male (36.0%) respondents, etc. In all probability, expensive electricity also forced female (41.3%) and male (31.3%) not to install sensor lights around their properties, etc.

Decker (1981:84) is of the opinion that an important determinant of attitudes towards police may be found in the effect of victimisation. It may be assumed that citizens who have been victims of crime or live in the neighbourhood where the crime rate is high are more inclined to have negative perceptions of the police than those in less crime prone areas. Continual victimisation or knowledge of victimisation adversely affects confidence in the ability of the police to fulfill their crime prevention role. It seems apparent that the danger which the police have to face and the corresponding perception of it by the public served to isolate the police from the public. Decentralisation of the police to meet the needs of the communities would be ideal, thereby developing meaningful two-way feedback systems between the public and the police. Such feedback mechanism, both formal and informal, would improve police-community relations though face-to-face interaction.

The issue of police-citizen relationship is complex, affected by both structural and individual level variables. These relations directly affect attitudes towards the police and ultimately the cooperation of the public with the police. By recognising elements closely related to negative attitudes towards the police (i.e. perceptions) more rational policies, may be formulated (Decker 1981:86).

4.6 SUMMARY

Fear of crime should be recognised as an important social problem in its own right. "Although the levels of fear of crime are related to the levels of criminal victimisation, fear is influenced by other factors, such as a general sense of vulnerability, signs of physical and social decay, and inter-group conflict" (Moore & Trojanowicz 1988:6). The professional model of policing proffered, *inter alia*, in the scientific work of August Vollmer (1971), Bruce Smith (1940), Raymond Fosdick (1969), etc., placed a high premium on the police to be apolitical, to be subjected to central control, tight (bureaucratic) organisation principles, strict responsibility and discipline, efficient utilisation of personnel and technology, and subscribing to higher standards of recruitment and training. In addition, this model of policing also subscribed to maintaining a higher level of efficiency in service delivery, efficient use of time, organised administration, as well as clean and modern facilities (Goldstein 1990:7). The professional model of policing has come and is gone now. The community policing model has taken over towards the end of the 1990's (Cf. Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux 1990; 1991). Moore and Trojanowicz (1988:6) rightly assert that if police programs, calculated to decrease the crime rate, do not consider lowering of fear of crime levels, such programs may, in all probability, not produce the desired results. Community policing in the new millennium may just succeed in achieving this aim, given the fact that the police and the public in South Africa are moving closer to each other, police refrain from involving themselves in serous crime and crime syndicates, refrain from getting involved in corrupt practices, etc., and rather instill public confidence in and respect for policing and stimulate active participation among law-abiding citizens in policing matters that concern them.

4.7 CHAPTER REFERENCES

Chapter references for this chapter have been combined with that of Chapter 5. This was necessitated by the fact that the original Chapter 4 had to be divided into two chapters as a result of its length.

Chapter 5/ ...

CHAPTER 5

THE ROLE OF THE POLICE AND REDUCING FEAR OF CRIME
(Continued)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The role of the police in the maintenance of social order (since 1994: safety and security), is for the purpose of the present study, viewed as an important factor influencing the fear of crime. More specifically, one of the subsidiary aims of the present study revolves around the police as a fear of crime reduction agency. To this end, experiences of previous victimisation and the different types of contact the respondents have had with the police are of utmost important to determine the basis of the respondents' opinions and attitudes towards the police in the fulfillment of their safety and security mandate.

Scott Decker (1981:81) specifies several variables that contribute to the explanation of citizen attitudes toward the police. Two kinds of explanatory variables are examined, namely individual and contextual levels. Individual-level variables of importance include race, age, sex, socio-economic status, and personal experience with the police. The contextual variables include crime rates, community beliefs regarding the police, likelihood of victimisation and several programmatic innovations designed to improve citizen attitudes. Prior to 1994, South Africa had no Bill of Rights and Black people perceived inequities in the provision of police services in terms of racial disparities. Despite the promulgation of the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996), Blacks, but also other population groups like Whites, Indians and Coloureds, were still skeptical of the services of the police and their perceptions can be compared to those of typical

black ghetto-residents in the United States. Inadequate and inferior police protection is perceived in terms of the racial composition of the neighbourhood. Justice can be seen when there is a link between the expectations and the actual behaviour of the police and injustice as a gap between the two. If the expectations of the society are not met, there are perceptions of miscarriage of justice, i.e. injustice.

The perception of quality of police service has been examined by several investigators (Goldstein 1990; Bayley 1994) in the past and determined to be of significance to the formulation of racial attitudes towards the police in the United States. It was also determined that, although a majority of citizens who called the police for services were satisfied, Blacks were more critical of police service delivery than whites. Even among the group of respondents which reported about service they received from the police, the ratings among black respondents were lower than that of whites. The link between *attitude* toward police and *crime reporting* has negative consequences for the abilities of police to deal with crime. For instance, Blacks rated response time as significantly slower than did Whites and although the majority of citizens who called the police for services were satisfied, Black respondents were more critical of the police role than Whites. Even among the group of respondents that reported poor services from the police, the ratings by Black respondent were lower than that of Whites. On the whole, the public is modestly positive in its perceptions of the police. There is a considerable variation between black and white citizens, though the former group is more likely to render negative ratings to the police. There are two other important variables i.e. the nature of police citizen contacts and neighbourhood culture which have an influence on the perceptions of the police role (Decker 1981:81) – also see par. 4, Chapter 4. It could be postulated that the degree to which the respondents are free from fear of crime of personal victimisation, would be indicative whether the police succeed in their task to protect and secure the people in terms of their constitutional obligations. This

observation suggests the existence of a relationship between two variables: *previous victimisation* and *fear of crime.* Whether such relationship would be real or false will squarely depend on the data obtained from the total sample.

5.2 PREVIOUS VICTIMISATION

In her doctoral thesis into fear of crime, Van Velzen (1998:122) subjected the above-mentioned two variables to empirical testing. The relationship between previous victimisation and fear of crime proved inconsistent. Although the present study does not explicitly aim at testing such relationship, it would nevertheless appear that the data show higher scores for female respondents of being quite fearful and very fearful as a result of previous victimisation than is the case with the males – see Table 4.2.

TABLE 5.1 GENDER AND PREVIOUS VICTIMISATION (N=300)

Type of crime	Victimised				Not victimised			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Sexually molested	20	6.7	29	9.7	113	37.7	138	46.0
Assaulted	30	10.0	47	15.7	103	34.3	120	40.0
Vehicle hijacked	37	12.3	45	15.0	96	32.0	122	40.0
Burglary	53	17.7	60	20.0	80	26.7	107	35.7
Damage property	29	9.7	38	12.7	104	34.7	129	43.0
Abducted	15	5.0	17	5.7	118	39.3	150	50.0
Mugged or robbed	45	15.0	66	22.0	88	29.3	101	33.7

$p \geq .05$

Table 5.1 reflects the results of a self-report survey of previous victimisation among the respondents which occurred during 2004 and 2005 (see Annexure A).

Respondents were asked to react either positively (Yes) or negatively (No) to the arbitrarily selected crimes included in the table.

Respondents who reported *no previous* victimisation for the two-year period clearly outnumbered those who have been previously victimised. On average, only 33 (14.4%) male, compared to 43 (14.2%) female respondents, were victimised through the crimes listed in the table. Slightly more female respondents (20.0%) were previously victimised through housebreaking, compared to males (17.7%). Street mugging or robbery played a dominant role in the case of 66 (22.0%) female, compared to 45 (15.0%) male respondents. As could be expected, 29 (9.7%) female respondents and only 20 (6.7%) males were sexually molested (either through rape, attempted rape, sexual harassment, sodomy, and the like). Altogether 223 (74.3%) of the total sample were physically assaulted, female respondents being in the majority (40.0%). Altogether 233 (77.7%) respondents experienced previous victimisation in the form of malicious damage to their property.

5.3 CONTACT WITH THE POLICE

The nature of previous experience with the police ostensibly has an impact on public attitudes towards the police. There are several kinds of experiences or contacts that a person can have about the police, whether as an accused, a suspect, a witness, or an informant. Having had *no* contact with the police is also a possibility. A distinction can be drawn between the two categories of contact: *voluntary* (positive) and *involuntary* (negative) contacts. Voluntary contact with the police refer situations where the police are generally sought out by a member of the public in need of the service, while involuntary contact include: being accused of a crime or law violation, being a suspect in a criminal case, crime victims, witnesses of suspicious activity, etc. It is worth noting that the

majority of the respondents had no previous contact whatsoever with the police (186 or 62.0%) – Table 5.2. Female respondents (20.4%) came slightly more into contact with the police than is the case with males (17.7%). The largest number respondents that involuntary came into contact with the police, are those who acted as state witnesses (59 or 19.7%) – 12.7% being female and 7.0% male respondents.

TABLE 5.2 CONTACT WITH THE POLICE, BY GENDER (N=300)

Type of contact	Male		Female		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Accused and convicted	5	1.7	3	1.0	8	2.7
Accused but acquitted	13	4.3	5	1.7	18	6.0
Suspected and detained	11	3.7	8	2.7	19	6.3
Witness in a criminal case	21	7.0	38	12.7	59	19.7
Informant to the police	3	1.0	7	2.3	10	3.3
No contact	80	26.7	106	35.3	186	62.0
Total	133	44.4	167	55.6	300	100.0

$p \geq .05$

It also appears that being a witness in a criminal case, played a more significant role in the contact situation between respondents and the police (19.7%). Also, more male respondents (9.7%) had contact with the police of a 'criminal' nature (involuntary contact), compared to their female counterparts (5.4%). It also transpires that more female respondents (35.3%) had no contact with the police, compared to the male respondents (26.7%).

Likewise, the role of the police in the maintenance of safety and security in society is also viewed as an important facet that may influence people's fear of

crime. This could become known through the behaviour of both the public (as crime victims) and the police as joint role players. In this regard, the following aspects, reported through frequency distributions in Tables 5.3 – 5.8 are becoming important issues.

Table 5.2 (above) confirms that both female (50.3%) and male (34.7%) respondents had positive contact with the police through being witnesses and/or informants or had even no contact with the police. It may, therefore, be anticipated that they maintained good relations with the police and, as such, would be willing to report any crime or misconduct to the police, should they fall prey to criminal victimisation and even those they may have knowledge of.

TABLE 5.3 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTING CRIMES BY RESPONDENTS AS VICTIMS, BY GENDER (N=300)

Response category	Male n	%	Female n	%	Total n	%
Always	33	11.0	41	13.6	74	24.7
Often	14	4.7	20	6.7	34	11.3
Sometimes	48	16.0	41	13.6	89	29.7
Never	38	12.7	65	21.7	103	34.3
Total	133	44.4	167	55.6	300	100.0

$p \geq .05$

Table 5.3 reveals that one-third of the respondents (103 or 34.3%) indicated they will *never* report crimes and/or related law violations to the police where they have been personally or directly victimised or harmed. Close to two-thirds of the respondents (197 or 65.7%) report would report such transgressions either always (24.7%), often (11.3%) or sometimes (29.7%) to the police if they are

directly involved as victims. When cross-correlated with *gender*, female respondents seem to be slightly more cooperative with the police in reporting crimes to the police (33.9%) where they were the victims that have been directly harmed or victimised, than their male counterparts (31.7%). Gender differences in perceptions/attitudes are not significant.

TABLE 5.4 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF REPORTING CRIMES BY RESPONDENTS BASED ON KNOWLEDGE, BY GENDER (N=300

Response category	Male n	%	Female n	%	Total n	%
Always	22	7.3	32	10.7	54	18.0
Often	24	8.0	26	8.7	50	16.7
Sometimes	47	15.7	49	16.3	96	32.0
Never	40	13.3	60	20.0	100	33.3
Total	133	44.3	167	55.7	300	100.0

$p \geq .05$

Table 5.4 convincingly shows that exactly 100 (33.3%) respondents indicated they will never report crimes the police about which *they only have knowledge of*. Altogether 107 (35.7%) female respondents have indicated they will report such crimes they only have knowledge of, always, often or sometimes to the police. Male respondents reveal a slightly lesser willingness in this regard. Tere are no significant differences.

TABLE 5.5 RESPONDENTS FEEL AT LIBERTY TO CALL UPON THE POLICE WHEN VICITMISED, BY GENDER (N=300)

GENDER	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	83	27.7	50	16.7	133	44.3
Female	106	35.3	61	20.3	167	55.7
Total	189	63.0	111	37.0	300	100.0

$p \geq .05$

TABLE 5.6 RESPONDENTS FEEL AT LIBERTY TO GREET A POLICE OFFICER, BY GENDER (N=300)

GENDER	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	5	17.7	80	26.3	133	44.3
Female	68	22.7	99	33.0	167	55.7
Total	121	40.4	179	59.3	300	100.0

$p \geq .05$

TABLE 5.7 RESPONDENTS FEEL AT LIBERTY TO LODGE A COMPLAINT AT A POLICE STATION (N=300)

GENDER	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	78	26.0	54	18.0	133	44.3
Female	92	30.7	75	25.0	176	55.7
Total	170	56.7	130	43.3	300	100.0

$p \geq .05$

TABLE 5.8 EVALUATION WHETHER RESPONDENTS FEAR A POLICEMAN IN UNIFORM, BY GENDER (N=300)

GENDER	YES		NO		TOTAL	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Male	40	13.3	92	30.6	133	44.3
Female	36	12.0	131	43.7	167	55.7
Total	76	25.3	224	74.7	300	100.0

$p \geq .05$

It has already been emphasised that personal experience with the police in the form of personal contact and police officer behaviour, perhaps form the most important basis of public opinions regarding police performance and the ultimate police image. Radelet and Carter (1994:205) opine that (a) the reason for the contact with the police and (b) the characteristics of police officers' behaviour are two fundamental premises which will have an impact on the image the public have of the police. Tables 5.5 and 5.7 shows to which degree respondents would be willing to interact with a police officer, i.e. (a) when they have been victimised and needed police assistance and (b) when there was a need to lodge a complaint about a criminal incident to the police. Such contacts between the respondents and the police were formal in nature. However, when informal interaction, viz. feeling at liberty to greet a police officer (59.3%) and showing fear for a policeman in uniform (74.7%) became apparent, the respondents did not hesitate to show their openness in regard to having good relations with the police as well as their willingness to accept the police role as being a necessity in society – see Tables 5.6 and 5.8.

The reason for contact with the police constitutes and refers to the extent to which interaction between a citizen and the police is being facilitated. The question of whether the contact –

- was initiated by a member of the public or by a police officer;
- related to a crime incident or to a request for police service (emergency call);
- has been formal (arrest, traffic citation, warning, etc.) or simply informal (e.g. requesting information or direction).

The above are only few examples of factors which might focus on the public's image of the police. It could be hypothesised that if the environment in which the contact takes place is of a hostile nature and one of conflict (such as an arrest, seizure of property as exhibits, receiving a traffic citation, etc.), the contact is likely to generate a negative image. On the other hand, if the circumstances are of a cooperative and friendly nature (such as participation in a Neighbourhood Watch System or Community Policing Forum), the image is likely to be positive (favourable). The interpersonal dynamics involved in the contact situation may become more complex when intertwined with psychological dynamics experienced by members of the public at the time of the contact, e.g. stress, grief, trauma, etc. All these intervening variables may exert a strong influence on the public's perceptions of the police – especially when citizens are vulnerable and emotionally unstable (Radelet & Carter 1994:205).

5.4 ASSISTING THE POLICE IN CRIME PREVENTION

Much has been said so far about public involvement as 'partners' in crime prevention. Van Heerden (Cf. 1982) clearly underlines the role of the public as the passive partners or co-producers in peacemaking efforts. The public are morally and physically obliged to take up their duty to combat crime and to assist the police in whatever ways they can to ensure that crime does not take place. Being vigilant about their own safety and security, providing information

(intelligence) about criminal activities to the police, becoming involved as a link in the criminal justice system by giving evidence when requested to do so are but a few of the efforts the public can be involved in to assist the police in their task to prevent crime.

Van Velzen (1998:189) went along to subject the three measures of formless fear (walk alone, home alone and arriving/leaving home) to a Spearman Rank Order Correlation (rho) to statistically establish the nature of the relationships with three variables (Tables 5.9 – 5.11) relating to the opinion the respondents have of their obligation to practically assist the police to prevent crime: (1) duty to prevent crime (2) willing to assist police and (3) important link. The following results were obtained:

- Correlating *duty to prevent crime* with *walking alone* produced a slight negative relationship (rho: -0.06629), *being home alone* registered a slight positive relationship (rho: 0.02826) and *leaving/arriving home* accounted for a slight negative relationship (rho: -0.04231), not significant at the 0.05 percentage level.

- Having correlated *willingness to assist police* with *walking alone* produced a weak positive relationship (rho 0.00861), *being home alone* registered a very weak positive relationship (rho 0.00192) and *leaving/arriving home* accounted for a weak negative relationship (rho: -0.00962), not significant at the 0,05 percentage level.

- Correlating *important link* with *walking alone* produced a weak negative relationship (rho: -0.04789), *being home alone* registered a weak positive relationship (rho: 0.03413) and *leaving/arriving home* accounted for weak negative relationship (rho: -0.02514), not significant at the 0.05 percentage level.

The data contained in Table 5.9 generally reflects a positive respondent-orientation towards their obligation (duty) to prevent crime. Both male and female respondents reveal more or less equal positive intention to get always (male=22.7% and female=20.7%), often (male=7.0, female=6.3%) and sometimes (male=8.7%, female=13.7%) involved in this task. The differences are not significant.

Table 5.10 reports positive results of a frequency distribution of data pertaining to the respondents' attitudes towards assisting the police in crime prevention. Female (29.3%) and to a lesser extent, male respondents (27.0%) have indicated that they are *always* willing to assist the police, and although both male and female respondents (4.3%) *often* regard it their duty to do so, females (14.0%) are *sometimes* much more inclined to assist, than is the case with male respondents (7.0%). The differences in scores are not significant ($p \geq .05$).

Table 5.11 reveals that just over two-thirds of the respondents (227 or 75.7%) have indicated viewed themselves as being an important link in the criminal justice system, while 73 (24.5%) indicated no such responsibility. This difference is significant (F=.031).

Table 5.9 /...

TABLE 5.9 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR DUTY TO PREVENT CRIME, BY GENDER (N=300)

Response or attitude	Male n	%	Female n	%	Total n	%
Always	68	22.7	62	20.7	130	43.3
Often	21	7.0	19	6.3	40	13.3
Sometimes	26	8.7	41	13.7	67	22.3
Never	12	4.0	29[1)]	9.7	41	13.7
Total	127	42.3	151	50.3	278[2)]	92.7

1) $\chi^{2)}=11.625$; 4df; $p=.020$.
2) Uncertain/undecided score not calculated
$p \geq .05$

TABLE 5.10 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS ASSISTING THE POLICE IN CRIME PREVENTION, BY GENDER (N=300)

Response or attitude	Male n	%	Female n	%	Total n	%
Always	81	27.0	88	29.3	169	56.3
Often	13	4.3	13	4.3	26	8.6
Sometimes	21	7.0	42	14.0	63	21.0
Never	8	2.7	16	5.3	24	8.0
Total	123	41.0	155	51.7	282[1)]	94.0

1) Uncertain/undecided score not calculated
$p \geq .05$

TABLE 5.11 FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF BEING AN IMPORTANT LINK IN CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM, BY GENDER (N=300)

Gender Attributes	Male n	%	Female n	%	Total n	%
Yes	108	36.0	119	39.7	227[1)]	75.7
No	25	8.3	48	16.0	73	24.3
Total	133	44.3	167	55.7	300	100.0

1) F-test = .031 (one-sided; .058 (two-sided)

Van Velzen (1998:176) have subjected respondents (N=385), living within the confines of the uMhlathuze City Council in northern Zululand, to various reasons why they would not report crime to their local police. The main reasons have been indicated as: (a) the police did not react promptly when called out to emergencies, example armed robberies, vehicle hijackings, etc. (56.1%), (b) improper communication with the public (c) the police would not give the case the proper attention it deserves (54.5%), (d) the police were viewed as being unable to solve the crime(s) reported to them (53.8%) and (d) the cases were viewed as being actually unsolvable (51.4%). In the present study the frequency distribution of responses to the feelings of respondents have toward contact with the police in Mthatha and Butterworth (Eastern Cape) are revealed. Tables 5.3 – 5.10 report results of various contact situations that may ensue between the two entities but, moreover, whether the public would be willing to work with the police amidst prevailing negative perceptions towards them.

5.5 CHARACTERISTICS OF POLICE OFFICER BEHAVIOUR

Characteristics of police officer behaviour such as body language, attitude, verbal comment, appearance, etc., play an equally important role in forming or (shaping) the public's image of the police. Even factors relating to police officer's personality and general communication skills may either have a negative or positive image. An authoritarian police personality, i.e. acting undemocratically without considering without considering other people's circumstances or interests, abuse of power and authority, use of insulting language, etc., are only few examples of police behaviour which may negatively influence sound police-community relations. Equally important are the actions taken by police officers to resolve a specific situation. Bayley (1994:90-91) opines that police services are normally regarded by the public as a public good, i.e. something that is provided by government for the good of all, but something that is taken for granted.

Jerome Skolnick first described what he called the working personality of police officers in his landmark book: *Justice without trial: law enforcement in a democratic society* (1975). Job characteristics such as danger, authority, isolation, suspicion etc., cause police officers to develop a particular approach to their jobs which could make them to be suspicious, authoritarian, cynical, secretive, etc. Police officers tend not to share their concerns and actions with the public for fear of criticism (the typical 'bureaucratic personality'). In this sense, secrecy further isolates the police from the public, and consequently, the police will expect obedience and tend to dominate the public (Langworthy and Travis 1994:210-211).

Police actions often require from officers to be detached and unemotional when dealing with particular social issues. This may create the impression that the police are uncaring and not empathic to citizen's problems. Routinisation of many

police actions (e.g. responding to emergency calls, e.g. burglaries, handling cases of car theft, car hijacking) may cause officers to adopt an attitude that such problems are not serious ("no big deal"). Radelet and Carter (1994:205) remark that: "When the officer forgets the trauma these incidents cause the citizen, it gets the appearance of indifference, perhaps even that the citizen is bothersome".

Other specific types of experiences with police officers and the police organisation which may have a particular impact on the public image of the police are the following: response time, traffic control, victimisation, asking police officers information, and going into a police station.

5.6 CRIME PREVENTION: MYTHS ABOUT A TRUE FUNCTION

Bayley (1994:119; 123-142) argues that, while policing does not always appear to be on par with public expectations as far as crime prevention is concerned, societies will have to make critical decisions about policing and their own safety and security and, of course, their fear of crime. The public should realise that there are no instant solutions (or 'silver bullets') to crime prevention. In most cases of crime increases, law-abiding citizens are expecting the police to show a visible presence in an attempt to deter prospective criminals and lower people's fear of crime. Police officers tend to agree with this viewpoint. However, this kind of exercise appears to have become too expensive because of shrinking police budgets or, otherwise, expensive equipment, training, dwindling manpower with the necessary skills, etc. This author is adamant that "...this strategy (visible presence of police officers through patrols) is no longer affordable" (Bayley 1994:52). Informed and thoughtful people would be quick to argue that foot patrol is cheaper, more feasible, more effective and rewarding than motorised patrol as a historical means of blocking potential criminality. It cannot be argued

away that police presence through patrol is the cornerstone of every police institution because it creates the illusion in the minds of prospective criminals that the police are everywhere (omnipresent). The public wants to see the police actively pursuing their mandate delegated to them: protecting life and property. The police, on the other hand, are constantly complaining about 'being overworked and underpaid' due to manpower shortage. Bayley (Cf. 1994) author proceeds to offer two explanations for this apparent inconsistency.

First, the police and often the public too, would argue that communities deserve the crime rate prevailing in particular police jurisdictions, simply because there are not enough police officers who could be engaged in constructive crime prevention activities such as police patrolling and the subsequent elimination of opportunities (precipitants) in crime commission. If more officers are appointed and trained, the police would be capable of honouring their police mandate: protecting people and their property against crime and criminals. But it could equally also be argued that the police will never be in a position to honour this mandate *if police officers are 'hiding' inside police stations and do not perform their task out on the streets where they could be seen by a great number of citizens.*

Although no South African study has been undertaken in the past to pertinently show whether a correlation exists between the appointment of more police and the incidence (increase or decrease) of crime, research in Canada confirmed a 16.0% police per capita expansion but a 34% increase in that country's crime rate between 1970 and 1990. Australia showed a 115.0% increase in the crime rate compared to 25.0% rise in police manpower during the same period, while Britain also experienced a disproportionate increase in police per capita (12.0%) compared to a crime rate of 67.0% between 1977 and 1990. The United States also showed a somewhat similar trend between 1970 and 1990: appointment of full-time policemen increased by 70.7%, but serious crimes increased by 78.8%

and violent crimes by 147.0%. It also transpires that appointing more police officers would not necessarily lead to a reduction of the crime rate. Bayley (1994:4-5) concludes: "...differences in crime rates cannot be attributed to variations in the number of police". Appointment of more police, therefore, seems not to be a successful predictor of the increase or decrease in crime rates (Bayley 1994:4). What does appear to alleviate this problem is to strengthen relationships between citizens and the police. Greater involvement of citizens in their own protection, managed by *ad hoc* trained the police, seems to be the obvious outcome. In the past, community members looked to the police to solve their problems. The police were too willing to take that responsibility out of the hands of the public and, in the process they actually 'divorced' themselves from the people they were supposed to police. This aspect further isolated the two entities; the public regarded the police too easily as 'an occupation army' simply because some policing methods and techniques did not satisfy public taste. Greater involvement of all citizens, increased concern among members of the community about the way the police role is fulfilled (e.g. 'soft approach to criminality') and the prevailing fear of crime are indicative of the need for a more prominent role of the police if it is hoped that the current crime wave will subside (Goldstein 1990:22-23).

Second, having been delegated the authority by the statutory law to control crime and, by implication, the behaviour of people in most free and democratic societies across the world through *coercive force, authority, power and persuasion* (Klockars 1985:15;45), the police are more than ever before, criticised on three distinct levels when it comes to their effectiveness and efficiency when called upon to prevent crime and, by doing so, to show (1) their competence and expertise in protecting people against criminal victimisation and (2) *diminishing their fear of crime* (Bayley 1994:5-12):

- Street patrolling
- Responses to emergency call (public complaints).
- Expert crime investigation by detectives.

These police functions are believed to be crucial elements of social order maintenance and, more particularly, to prevent crime. "Unfortunately..." says Bayley (1994:5), "... there is no evidence that they do".

5.6.1 Street patrolling

Past research has been unable to show a positive relationship between motorised patrolling and a reduction in the crime rate, criminal victimisation or even satisfaction on the part of the public. Much has been written on *police patrolling,* academically and otherwise (Van Heerden 1982:170-179). Leonard (1970:221) describes *patrol* as the basis of any institution. Patrol in policing context gained momentum with the advent of the advent of the *Professional Model* of policing advocated by Leonard Fuld (1909), Raymond Fosdick (1915) and, more recently by, August Vollmer (1936), Bruce Smith (1940) and Orlando W. Wilson (1950) (Sheehan & Cordner 1995:6-7; Goldstein 1990:6-8). Almost half a century ago, Myren (1960:602) postulated that the preventive value of motorised patrol is doubtful, simply because its deterrent value is difficult to measure in statistical terms. This seems to be a valid observation because most crimes are committed indoors or in areas that are inaccessible to patrol vehicles (e.g. in buildings, vehicles, alleys, etc.). Whenever a decrease in the crime rate is observed as a result of increased patrol activities, especially, *saturation patrol,* it may be ascribed to the *displacement of crime* rather than the deterrent effects of such patrol activities. In view of manpower shortage, and given the displacement of the crime-phenomenon, it would seem that police patrol amounts to a waste of time and energy (Van Heerden 1982:170).

What is important though, is the fact that constructive and purposeful police patrol activities are invaluable when it comes to the actual pursuance of the primary objective of police patrol: the minimisation or total elimination of crime *precipitating conditions or opportunities* underlying the initial planning and commission of crime. Patrol in policing terms is, therefore, geared towards achieving the principle of police *omnipresence* or the creation of the illusion in the minds of prospective criminals that the police are everywhere and available to those people who stand to be victimised through unlawful actions or deviant behaviour (Van Heerden 1982:171).

Whisenand and Cline (1971:8) are convinced that police patrol is an *important* police technique, because it provides protection to people, serves as a deterrent to prospective criminals and makes certain social work services possible. It is a *complex* task because it represents the sum-total of all other police activities. It is *conspicuous* because it is transparent in the sense that it is being executed under the general "public eye", and is a *delicate undertaking* in that it symbolises democratic policing that subscribes to the constitutional principles of individual freedom, equality and justice in multicultural societies.

5.6.2 Police response to emergency calls

Following the requirements of the professional model, the commitment to respond to every call for police service received from the public, became one of the distinctive standards of high quality police service."Calls for police service" served as an extremely valid measure of police efficiency and often served as an attractive referent object of scientific social research (Goldstein 1990:19;33). Quick police response to emergency calls by members of the public has always been regarded an all important aspect in tracking down criminals at a scene of crime, thereby enhancing the image and capacity of the whole criminal justice

system in the successful dealing with criminality. Unfortunately, says Bayley (1994:6), there is no extensive scientific proof that reducing the response time of the police will increase the chance that criminals will be caught. This author adamantly qualifies his observation by stating that if "...the police can arrive within one minute of the commission of an offence, they are more likely to catch the suspect. Any later and the chances of capture are very small, probably less than one in ten" Bayley 1994:6). However, according to this author, rapid response is possible in cases where the police stage a " stake out" based on information received from an "informant " about a planned bank robbery, for instance, or where a police patrol unit appears to be in the vicinity of a possible crime scene. Klocklars (1985:56-57) confirmed this observation. "Patrol offered some assurance that patrol officers could be found at least somewhere near the area to which they were assigned".

It often happens that police would respond to after-hours telephone calls for service by indicating they encounter a manpower shortage or that no police vehicles are available to attend to public complaints, while, in the same breath, police vehicles are allocated to other units are being "stored" at the private homes of police officers for their own official use (own observation). Police departments are dependent on consuming all available resources to react to calls for service. The professional model also placed a high premium on "speed" with which emergency calls were handled by patrol officers, i.e. how quick they could "get to" (the scene) and how quick they could "get back" (to the police station) after they have attended to public concerns about social problems Goldstein (1990:20) observes:

> "Officers frequently judge one another by the speed with which they handle a call. This is so ingrained in police thinking that it has been astutely observed that police routinely describe the time they spend handling calls as 'being out of service' [the 'stand-off'] and under constant pressure to dispose of calls quickly so that they can 'get back in service' [or 'on the air']"

How, exactly the problem or concern was handled and the crime victim treated at the scene, obviously did not have any significant impact. Except in cases where a crime is in progress and where police presence is urgently required, Bieck & Kessler (Cf. 1977) and Percey (Cf. 1980) found "speed" not to be a factor or key element in satisfying crime victims. Such rapid responses to public calls where patrol officers attend the scene quickly, but "pull out" even quicker, amounts to nothing more than, what has been termed: *incident-driven policing* (Eck, Spelman, Hill, Stephens, Stedman & Murphy 1987:1-2). Such actions resemble a reactive policing approach that leaves little or no room for real service delivery. Further on the negative side, the police stand to suffer a "positive image" in the eyes of the public and to be criticized for being too powerful and having too much autonomy (Goldstein 1990:20). Building up a "poor" police image could be directly linked to the influence of the professional model.

Continuous responses to calls for services, often to the same addresses, may quickly frustrate police officers who feel it may interfere with their real crime prevention activities. Cynical (negative) attitudes and a loss of interest in their work, may develop among the police officers which could leave the public unsatisfied as far as police service delivery is concerned. In an attempt to restore the balance between proactive and reactive policing, Goldstein (1990:20-21) suggests "...a well-informed, pleasant, helpful clerk on the telephone..." be deployed in the control room or charge office, who would be capable of

determining and assessing the *nature* and *importance* of a call for police assistance, and whether it warrants physical police or not. Often, public calls may be of a petty nature about some insignificant problem that could have been handled or treated by another organization or government department. "Screening" or analysing calls to the police by an experienced officer in the charge office (or control room) prior to dispatching officers to attend to calls could enhance police effectiveness in an attempt to better addressing the *problems* that gave rise to them. According to Goldstein (1990:21), this initial "sifting process" has three major advantages:

- A reduction in the amount of calls telephonically received by the 'control point' (charge office) could save valuable police time and energy that could otherwise been utilized for other, real crime prevention activities.
- Attending only to those calls that really warrant police attention, could lead to real problem-solving instead of repeatedly attend to the symptoms of such problems.
- Avoidance of incident-driven policing.

5.6.3 Expert crime investigation

Contrary to Bayle's (1994:7) observation that successful criminal investigation (mostly by detectives) "...has no appreciable effect on public security", South African law-abiding citizens do appreciate the tireless efforts of dedicated detectives to bring perpetrators of serious crimes to book; especially within the parameters of a fairly young democracy where criminals are accorded their fair share of human rights. Criminal investigation relates to the reactive function of policing that includes the recognition that a breach of one or other law has taken place, attendance of the crime scene, the investigation of the circumstances under which the crime has been executed, the detention, arrest and detention of the culprit (perpetrator), collection of the evidence at the scene of crime or

elsewhere to prove guilt or innocence, interrogation of the detained suspect, questioning of witnesses who may have information available about the crime so committed, referring the case to a criminal court, etc. Successes of the police in solving crimes in the course of their normal, official duties is determined (or could be measured) in terms of *clearance rates* , i.e. the *ratio* (relationship between two entities) of those crimes that have been really solved (i.e. successfully investigated, prosecuted and sentenced in a court of law), in relation to those crimes that were reported to (and recorded by) the police (a matter of a *quotient* of two quantities to be divided: cases reported versus cases solved). Clearance rates, stipulates Bayley (1994:7), should not be confused or mixed up with *arrest rates*, because not all cases in which an arrest is effected is successfully discharged in a criminal court. What seems important though, is to note the fact that "...the crime rate is not affected by the rate successes the police have in solving crimes..." and even when "...criminals noticed the increased efficiency of the police [in solving crimes successfully], they certainly didn't seem to care" (Bayley 1994:7).

The successful solving of most crimes, are dependent upon the provision of useful information about the identification of culprits to the police by crime victims, eyewitnesses, bystanders, etc. (Cf. Greenwood, Petersilia, & Chaiken 1977; Eck 1982). Bayley (1994:7-8) is adamant that real criminal investigations differ from those pictured in the movies, television programmes and detective stories where the identification of suspects is usually determined by Sherlock Holmes-type collection of the smallest types of physical clues. In most cases, real criminal investigation usually start with the " known identity" of suspects that usually dictates what kind of evidence will be needed to successfully solve such cases. "On their own, police are relatively helpless, regardless of the resources they devote to criminal investigation" (Bayley 1994:8). Carl Klockars in his book: *The Idea of Police (1985)* devotes a full chapter to the origin of the idea of *detective.* With the introduction of the first organised police force by Sir Robert

Peel round about 1829 in London (the so-called Bow-Street Runners), the word detective did not appear as part of that police unit. It was only in the mid-1950s that the word *detective* became a noun as the shortened version for "detective policeman". What should, however, be noted, is the fact that long before the establishment of the London Metropolitan Police in 1829, the English people were used to the avocational operations of the *Thief Taker* (the so-called paid informant) which started in 1692 with the adoption of the Highwaymen Act. This act contained three distinctive provisions: firstly, anyone who captured and successfully prosecuted a thief in a court of law had been remunerated with a £40 reward. Secondly, following such conviction and in addition the financial reward, the Thief Taker could keep the thief's horse, guns, money and other legally owned possessions. Thirdly, a convicted felon who provided information on at least two thieves was entitled to amnesty for his own crimes. "By paying one felon to convict two, the state was getting a bargain" (Klockars 1985:34-35).

The mere fact that police actions apparently do not appear to have appreciable effect on a decline of crime rate should not be squarely put on the shoulders of the police. The police are but one component in the system that deals with crime, criminals, victims and the criminal justice. The police rightly argue that their efforts to prevent crime, whether by means of short-term or long-term strategies, are often barricaded by other role players in the criminal justice chain, such as public prosecutors, judges, correctional supervision officers, etc., that are beyond their control. Unfortunately for this police argument, Bayley (1994:8) maintains that the police would be wrong in their perceptions if they believe *the remainder of the criminal justice system would support them more discretely, less crime would prevail and public would be safer,* simply because the positive effects of legal sanctions such as deterrence, fear producing prison sentences, incapacitation and detention in correctional centres (so-called "criminal removing" effect) have not yet been proven beyond any doubt (Cf. Walker 1977; Bayley 1994). Other factors hampering police crime prevention efforts are:

offender amnesty, corruption (especially disappearance of police case dockets) among criminal justice officials and the like. Recently, South African Corrections have released 17 356 sentenced offenders, of which 1 000 were children and 8 707 were youth aged between 18 and 25 years, after presidential amnesty had been granted to them. This move came as a result of pressure caused by overcrowding in South African prisons (Daily News 2005:3). However, shortly after that release, thirteen were arrested for minor offences (The Witness 2005:3). In summary, Bayley (1994:34-35) opines that the contemporary police officer fulfill two major functions in relation to safety and security and the subsequent reduction of fear of crime:

- *Authoritative intervention:* an activity primarily undertaken by the police patrol and traffic fraternities. Although patrolling has been claimed since its earliest practicing to be a proactive, crime prevention strategy, it nowadays appears to be almost totally reactive in posture. Crime elimination or, at least, *removal* of crime precipitants or opportunities by means of police omnipresence as deterrent has been a traditional aim of patrolling. Patrol officers are legally authorized to intervene in matters that may pose a threat to social order and tranquillity. However, it appears that this is no longer happening, because virtually *no attempt* is made to *correct* those conditions or factors responsible for such threats of order disruption.

- *Symbolic justice which* is an exclusive domain of police detectives and traffic police officers; a function that is totally reactive in character because it resembles *law enforcement* in its broadest meaning. Its purpose is to emphasise the existence of laws through which order maintenance could be facilitated. Police effectiveness in rendering symbolic justice is dependent upon public support and the provision of information about the commission of crime.

On the surface, it appears that the police do not prevent crime, apparently because they do not spend enough time dealing with crime; they rather tend to get involved in crime that have already been committed, otherwise they seem to be too busy with irrelevant tasks, such as excessive paper work in charge offices. For crime prevention to be successful, the short-term and long-term *deterrent effects* of crime should become a reality and prospective criminals be taught that "crime doesn't pay". This, of course, will only be possible if the total criminal justice system and its processes work hand-in-hand to deter crime (Bayley 1994:35).

5.7 CONCLUSION

Since fear of crime creates feelings of helplessness, one may gain control by becoming actively involved in crime prevention (Naude & Stevens 1988:23). Because violent crime generates community-wide concern and fear, the police are under constant pressure to provide protection of a kind that will relieve public anxieties. But since general concern about crime may differ from actual fear of being victimised to actual victimisation and while both may be unrelated to the actual incidence of crime and the likelihood of criminal attack, it is extremely important for the police to know the specific nature of the problem they have to deal with. It seems apparent that the only effective way the police can deal with fear of crime is to reduce the actual incidence of crime. But in the day-to-day operations of a police agency, it is frequently helpful to make a distinction between fear of crime and actual victimisation. When it is clear there is little or no relationship between the actual incidence of crime and fear of crime, the two problems i.e. fear and actual crime are easily separated (Goldstein 1977:47). For instance, a rapist on the loose, may subject a community to fear

of crime. The police are obliged to identify and arrest. In this way, anxiety is allayed.

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CHAPTER 6 / ...

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The present study is typical explorative and descriptive in nature and extent and, as such, an ideal inquiry into perceptions of the role of the police in reducing fear of crime among residents of two arbitrarily selected rural communities. The research design created for the study entails a non-probability sampling approach in respect of a social phenomenon that has, to the knowledge of the researcher, not previously been explored in the Eastern Cape. In a certain sense, it does not lay claim on accuracy, in spite of the fact that the researcher attempted to maintain a general scientific approach throughout the study. This deficiency is especially exacerbated by the fact that the non-probability sampling technique implemented in this study, such as purposive or judgmental sampling, does not always link-up with the requirements of scientific positivism. However, this shortcoming does not distract from the data based upon bivariate cross-correlations provided by living human beings or respondents (N=300) on a long overdue research aspect.

The present study views the concepts *crime* and *fear of crime* as social phenomena which could be solved only within society itself. The *quantitative inclination* that has been followed for this purpose, potently succeeds in exposing crucial factors relating to these concepts which would not have been brought to light otherwise, had a qualitative methodological approach been adopted.

6.2. FINDINGS

The findings emanating from the present study will be based solely on cross-correlated data between the independent variable *gender* and dependent variables included in the measuring instrument (Annexure A) to operationalise *fear of crime* and the *role of the police as a fear of crime reduction institution* in Mthatha and Butterworth in the Eastern Cape. The findings will be presented and discussed in two phases; (1) perceptions of the respondents about fear of crime and (2) the role and function of the police.

6.2.1 Respondents' perceptions of fear of crime

It seems apparent that the public has lost confidence in the police as an agent that can allay their fears of crime and personal victimisation. Firstly, this observation could best be ascribed to former president Mbeki's "...legacy of *not* engendering a culture of accountability in state organs..." which has apparently "...much to do with the lawless climate" and, secondly, the "...renewal of police chief Jackie Selebi's contract while criminal charges are pending..." (The Times 2008:20) equally contributed to a negative public image of the South African Police Service. And should the gun-battle between public and metro police officers in June 2008 just be forgotten when innocent motorists had to dive for cover during the violent clash between these two entities after metro police officers went on a (violent) salary strike in Johannesburg? (The Times 2008:1; The Star 2008:1; The Times 2008:4). An Eastern Cape newspaper speculated that white people were leaving South Africa because of fear of crime and that there were better opportunities overseas because "... they were afraid of the crime rate and that they were afraid of affirmative action" (Daily Dispatch 2006:1). Figure 6.1 depicts former national minister of Safety and Security,

FIGURE 6.1 IN REACTION TO CRITICISM ABOUT THE HIGH CRIME RATE, MR. CHARLES NQAKULA, MINISTER OF SAFETY AND SECURITY (PICTURED IN A BLACK SUIT), TWO YEARS AGO OPENLY DECLARED IN PARLIAMENT THAT THOSE COMPLAINING (WHINGE) ABOUT CRIME SHOULD PACK UP AND LEAVE THE COUNTRY. MINISTER NQAKULA IS NOW SYMBOLICALLY DEPICTED AS LEAVING THE COUNTRY HIMSELF TO ESCAPE THE HIGH CRIME RATE AND GOVERNMENT'S DECLARED INABILITY TO SUCCESSFULLY ADDRESS THE CRIME PROBLEM.

Source: Beeld, 12 August 2008, p. 10.

Charles Nqakula himself leaving for Perth, Australia to avoid being criticised for the prevailing high crime rate and government's apparent inability to successfully and effectively contain the crime problem and people's fear of crime, following his earlier remarks in Parliament that people who are complaining (whinge) about crime should pack up and leave South Africa.

But what if eight out of ten crimes in South Africa are committed by the so-called 'younger generation', i.e. criminals who are under 40 years of age and at least 15% of all the crimes committed by young criminal entrepreneurs under 18 years? (Rapport 2008:13) – destined to become the 'future leaders' of the coyntry? In his weekly *Letter from the President* (available on the website of the ANC), former president Thabo Mbeki also referred to white Afrikaners' *fear of crime* and then remarked they (white people) are just upset about the prevailing high crime rate because of their primitive racial fear of black people. But still, a spokesperson of the Institute of Security Studies (ISS) pointed out that recent research revealed that most black Africans, mostly ANC members, are more concerned about crime than is the case with Whites, Indians and Coloured citizens (Rapport 2007:1). Meanwhile, approximately 1000 police stations benefited during 2008 from the services of fifteen private security firms to keep them safe from criminal attacks to the amount of R121 million. Indeed, crime has been perceived to have increased to such a level that the police were no longer capable of providing protection and that citizens must be prepared to defend their homes against crime and violence. See Figure 6.1.

Fear of crime creates constant feelings of anxiety and tends to produce unhappy conditions. The change of the former South African Police institution from a police force to a police service after 1994 created many discrepancies in the upholding of safety and security in the country, partially because South Africans

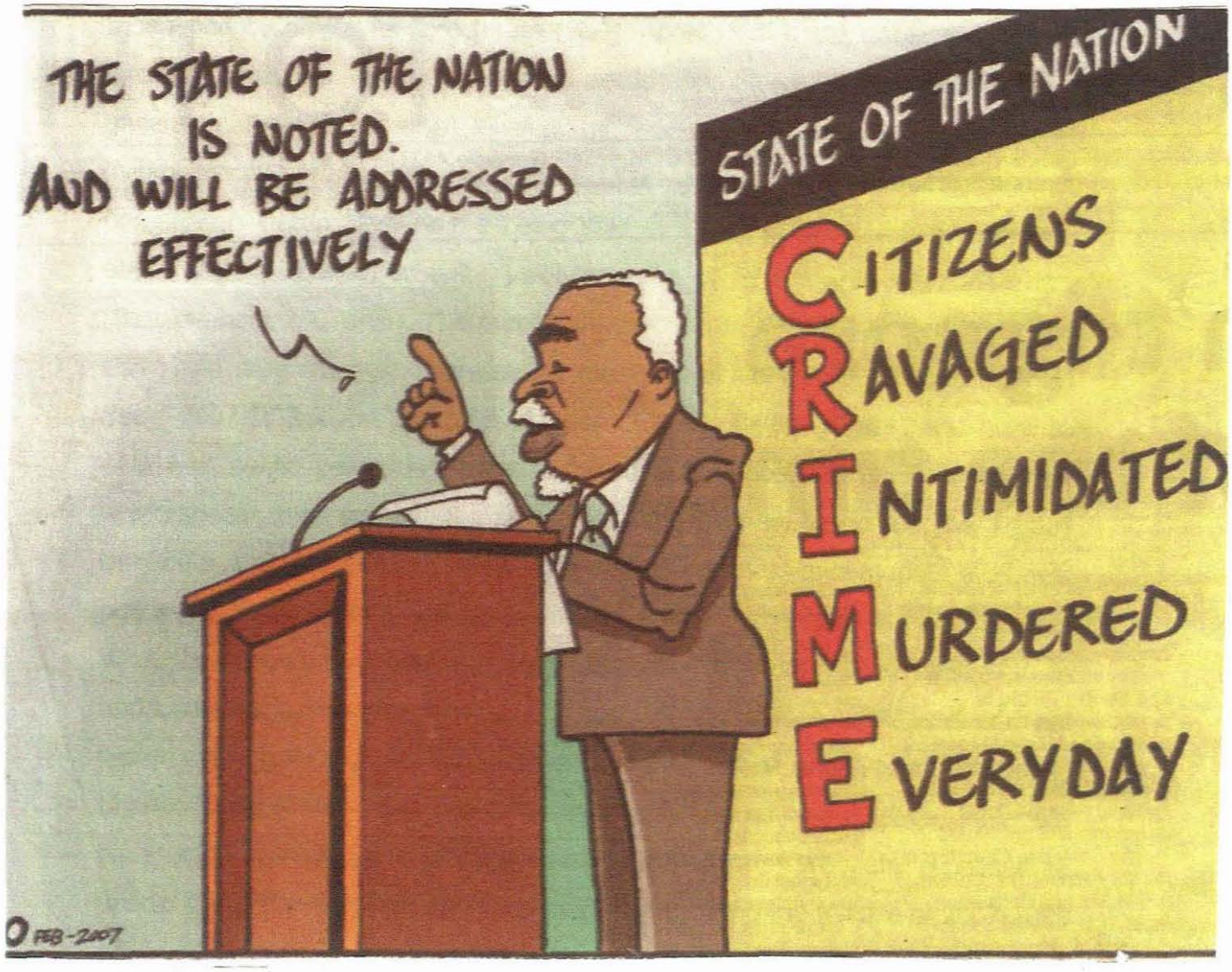

FIGURE 6.2 MEDIA DEPICTION OF PRESIDENT MBEKI'S *STATE OF THE NATION ADDRESS* ON 9 FEBRUARY 2006 IN PARLIAMENT, CAPE TOWN IN ANTICIPATION OF MORE STRINGENT CONTROL OVER THE CRIME PROBLEM BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN COVERNMENT, AND A MORE POSITIVE STANCE ABOUT THE PRIORITISATION OF CRIME PREVENTION, PROTECTION OF LIFE AND PROPERTY

SOURCE: *Sunday Tribune*, 11 February 2007, p. 23

believed that the newly transformed police institution would suffer internal discipline, respect and acceptance. Several complaints have been lodged against public police and policing which have been investigated and dealt with by the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD). Apart from these departmental and internal complaints, numerous external accusations against the police of a more general nature were also leveled by the public, some of which are: incompetence, passive bribery, police dockets containing vital evidence against perpetrators getting lost or are being sold by police officers to active bribers, abuse of police power, brutality, involvement in crime and drug syndicates, etc. (Bezuidenhout 2007:i-vii). The perception that the police are engaged in serious crime and drug smuggling, brutalising members of the public (Rapport 2006:4; Beeld 2007:1; Rapport 2007:15; Rapport 2009:3; Beeld 2009:4) and have to deal with public perceptions relating to suspicion, hostility, and lack of trust which appear to be present in many communities, cannot be denied. Day by day the South African public is being bombarded by the mass media about dishonest police practices. South Africa can ill-afford criminal elements in its police service. What is needed to counteracting public fear of crime successfully is an undaunted attitude among the police with which to face crime and criminal victimisation head-on. In fact, former national Safety and Security minister, Charles Nqakula has been quoted as saying that, if he was a judge, he would have acted relentlessly against people (police officers) who are supposed to uphold law and order. This announcement came during the release of 2007-2008 police statistics on crime when Nqakula also revealed the large number of police officers who got involved in criminal activities (Beeld 2008:2).

The present study has exposed the existence of fear of crime among the respondents (N=300) in terms *gender.* Although it has not been the aim of this study to determine and establish good or excellent predictors of fear of crime, the data nevertheless indicate certain trends which could be indicative of the presence of this condition. The exploratory nature of the study allows the

researcher to highlight the most important outcomes of the statistical analysis and more specifically, it confirms the findings of various authors, viz. Clemente and Kleiman (Cf. 1977), Conklin (Cf. 1975), Garofalo (Cf. 1979), Van Velzen (Cf. 1998), etc., that *gender* indeed emerged "...as the most powerful predictor of fear of crime.

6.2.1.1 Crime as a social problem and fear of crime

The extent which respondents rated crime as a social problem in the area where they live, was measured in two stages: (a) personal or contact crimes and (b) property crimes. In both cases, Tables 4.1 and 4.2 respectively indicate that the respondents perceive all fourteen crimes as social problems in their residential areas. As could be expected, *murder* (83.0%) and *residential burglary* (84.3%) were singled out on both sides of the spectrum as being very serious and very problematic. Both murder and residential (house) robberies have still remained very problematic in the rest of the country too. Police statistics released for 2007-08 confirmed that although murder decreased by 4.7%, the number of people murdered over this one year period (18 487) is still too high. House robberies (burglaries increased countrywide by 13.5% from 12 761 during 2006-2007 to 14 481 during 2007-2008. It transpires from the two statistical tables that serious crime is indeed a social problem (for example, next to HIV/Aids, the energy crisis, xenophobia, and the like). While former president Mbeki insisted that crime in South Africa is not way too high (The Witness 2007:6), The Star (2008:6) suggested that '[g]overnment is still failing to protect its citizens'. The media, academics, other thoughtful people and critics continued to question government's intentions to keep South Africans in the dark as far as many aspects (among other, the alarming increase in armed robberies) of the previous crime statistics (i.e. for 2006-2007) were concerned. Although not it was not

meant to be malicious critics agreed that perhaps government did so out of fear of criticism.

6.2.1.2 Gender and fear of crime

The present analysis indicates that women have significant concerns about their personal safety at night, both indoors and outdoors. Table 4.3 confirms the presence of fear of crime among the respondents (N=300), as well as significant differences at the .05% level between males and females according to three distinctive measures: Walking alone at night in the neighbourhood: Male (34.3%) and female (50.3%), being alone at home or apartment at night: Male (31.7%) and female (48.0%), and visiting shopping areas: Male (32.3%) and female (47.0%). The percentage scores of all three measures clearly indicate that female respondents are more fearful than male counterparts. Referring to previous research (Garofalo 1979; Toseland 1982; Stafford and Galle 1984; Box, Hale and Andrews 1988; La Grange and Ferraro 1989, Parker and Ray 1990), Van Velzen (1998:107) highlights three possible reasons for this state of affairs: (a) Women's passive as a result of socialisation, (b) physical and (c) emotional vulnerability. Another contributing factor perhaps, may be that males are reluctant to say that they are fearful because of their pride of being women, especially in the rural areas.

6.2.1.3 Gender and previous victimisation

In all probability, people who are surrounded by other individuals experience a sense of safety, security and feelings of protection by being not alone. In the absence of people in the immediate environment, an isolated individual may become an easy target for criminal victimisation and, further, a sense of loneliness may create an awareness that nobody is available to come to the rescue of such individual should he or she be attacked. In addition, previous

victimisation contributed to people being substantially more fearful of criminal harm than people who have never been attacked before. Each monistic crime has its own individual elements (e.g. *mens rea*, unlawfulness, illegality, violent action, absence of consent, etc.) and is committed differently by criminals. Put otherwise, each crime requires its own *modus operandi* from criminals to be successfully committed. Henceforth, each victim experiences the crime committed against him or her differently in terms of psychological impact or otherwise. Table 5.1 reports the data showing that females were slightly more victimised than male respondents over a two-year period. Armed robbery (22.0%), burglary (20.0%), assault and vehicle hijacking (15.7% and 15.0% respectively) are the most prominent crimes through which respondents were previously victimised.

Table 4.4 confirms that respondents (N=300) are quite to very fearful of the crimes listed in that table – to such an extent that eight of the eleven crimes generated significant differences between male and female respondents in terms of Pearson's Chi-square ($p \leq .05$). Armed robbery, including street mugging (50.0%), being murdered at home (48.7%), shot at whilst driving a motor vehicle (48.0%), which often is politically motivated, assault (48.0%), vehicle hijacked (47.0%), being raped (46.3%), etc. are only some of the more serious crimes which instill fear in the minds of law-abiding citizens.

6.2.1.4 Acquisition of self-protection measures

Table 4.5 provides a clear view of precautionary taken by respondents to allay their fear of crime. Most of the precautionary measures *have not* been acquired by the total sample (N=300). The least acquired measures are: engraving of personal property (83.0%), installation of peeping holes in front doors (81.0%),

acquiring a firearm (81.0%), installation of electronic alarms (73.0%) and erection of sensor lights outside home (63.0%).

Cross-correlations with *gender* show that female respondents were more inclined to acquire self-protective measures. The more popular measures acquired by female respondents are: implementing avoidance behaviour (44.7%), leaving radio/TV/lights on (32.5%), putting up burglar proofing at windows and doors (30.7%), etc. Females have been *significantly* less interested in acquiring a firearm for personal protection (47.3%) compared to the males (32.3%). Although male respondents also acquired some or all of the listed protection measures, they have acquired them in smaller numbers than the females. These mechanical measures are costly; consequently, not all the respondents could afford installing it.

6.2.2 The role of the police

The nature and extent of proactive policing measures, like crime prevention through police role visibility, plays an important role in the reduction of fear among the respondents of this study. Since the introduction of Police Science as an independent bachelor's course at the University of South Africa (UNISA) in 1976, several studies into the role of the police have been completed. It should, however, be borne in mind that all those studies were done in the pre-democratic era, i.e. before or just after 1994 and refer to the erstwhile South African Police (SAP) only. Briefly, these studies are:

Before 1994

Van Heerden, T.J. 1974. The role and image of the police in society with special reference to the South African Police in Johannesburg. Unpublished research report. Pretoria: UNISA.

Du Preez, G.T. 1978. The image of the police from the viewpoint of two rural communities. Unpublished MA-dissertation. Pretoria: UNISA.

Van Heerden, T.J., Smit, B.F. & Potgieter, P.J. 1983. Image of traffic policing in South Africa. Unpublished research report. Pretoria: UNISA.

Du Preez, G.T. 1991. The image of the South African Police from the viewpoint of a group African university students. Unpublished research report. Pretoria: UNISA.

After 1994

Makibelo, M. 1995. The role and image of the Venda police. Unpublished MA-dissertation. Kwadlangezwa: University of Zululand.

Kabingesi, M.G. 1995. The role and image of traffic policing in Transkei. Unpublished MA-dissertation. Kwadlangezwa: University of Zululand.

Chapter 3 contains information about the issues surrounding the role of the police, police-community relations and community policing. Reference was also made of sector policing. All these initiatives are important when assessing the role and image of the police in society and especially when it comes to public policing as a fear reduction undertaking. In this regard, also refer to Chapter 2 for an exposition of the historical development of the police and, by implication, their role in historical society.

6.2.2.1 Contact with the police

Virtually all previous studies on the role and image of the police (see above) in South Africa have shown that the number of contact situations between the police and the public are not limited to a single encounter. Such contact situations usually reflect three distinct levels (Cf. Van Heerden 1974):

- Negative contact, also referred to as *direct contact* with the police, e.g. as an accused charged for one or other criminal activity, detained, interrogated and convicted in a criminal court of law.

- Positive contact, example as witnesses in criminal cases, questioned and statements taken down in writing.

- No contact of whatever nature.

The above-mentioned classification could be an indication of the extent to which male and female respondents came into contact with the police. It could also reveal the degree of police role fulfillment which, in turn, should give an idea whether there is a possibility that the police may succeed in reducing fear of crime among the respondents. Table 5.2 shows that female respondents had more positive contact with the police; males were more in negative contact with the 'long arm of the law'.

The relationship between police and the community determines to a significant degree just how effective policing will be in maintaining their goal by protecting the society. The police do not exist in isolation and cannot operate on their own. Police officers – especially line functionaries - must work in partnership with the community to realise their goal. In so doing, the cohesive power of the police

must be brought into play. The law provides the basis upon which the police operate should not be disregarded since law determines precisely what police should do. The enormous powers of the police combined with the discretionary nature of policing, mean that actions of the police are easily seen as threatening and unjustified, especially when people do not perceive them to be fair and acting in the interests of the community.

6.2.2.2 Obligation to report crime to the police

If the public is regarded as an indispensable part of the crime prevention equation, it is only reasonable to accept that they have to honour their obligation and commitment to report crime to the police. This kind of assistance could be offered, either (a) as a victim (i.e. having been harmed through criminal victimisation, and (b) as a citizen who has knowledge of crime which has been committed.

- Reporting as a victim of crime

Altogether 24.7% respondents of the total sample (Table 5.3) have indicated they would *always* report crime to the police when they have been victimised; 11.3% would do so *often*, 29.7% only *sometimes* and 34.3% *never*. This state of affairs confirm the possibility of cooperation between the two entities.

- Reporting based on knowledge of crime

Table 5.4 pictures a gloomy situation as far as the reporting of crime is concerned of which the respondents have only knowledge of. In this case, respondents are not that eager to assist the police: only 18.0% of the research

group (sample) is always willing to report crime; 16.7% are prepared to it *often*, while 32.0% would only *sometimes* do it. No less than 33.3% would never report crime they have only knowledge of to the police. Female respondents (10.7%) are more willing than males (7.3%) to report crime based on knowledge to the police. Data obtained in this study indicates that, at least, crime reporting is not adequately on par as would be expected.

6.2.2.3 Respondents feel at liberty to call upon emergency police assistance when criminally victimised

Table 5.5 shows that almost two-thirds of the total sample (63.0%) feel at liberty to call upon the police to report crime when harmed. Female respondents (35.3%) are more at liberty to do so than their male counterparts (27.7%). The difference in score is not significant at $p \geq .05$.

6.2.2.4 Respondents feel at liberty to greet a policeman in uniform

Unfortunately, the data contained in Table 5.6 show that close to two-thirds of the sample (59.3%) are not keen to greet a policeman in uniform, compared to only 40.4% who indicated they would take the opportunity to greet a policeman Male respondents (26.3%) do not feel at liberty to do so, and although females (33.0%) are slightly more **un**willing to greet a policeman, they (22.7%) also outnumber the males (17.7%) in not feeling at liberty to show their good manners when greeting. The frequency differences are not significant.

6.2.2.5 Respondents feel at liberty to lodge a complaint at police station

Judging from the data reported in Table 5.7, it could be deducted that almost two-thirds of the sample (N=300) would feel themselves free to approach a police station and lodge a complaint (56.7%), if they have been unlawfully victimized. Just over one-third (43.3%) hinted they would not feel free to do that. Again, female respondents (30.7%) are slightly more at liberty to than the 26.0 percent males who would be also willing to lodge complaints at a police station. The differences are statistically not significant.

6.2.2.6 Respondents fear a policeman in uniform

Over two-thirds of the sample (74.7%) has indicated they do not fear a policeman in uniform – Table 5.8. The police uniform personifies the symbol of police authority which translates into a prescribed uniform, weapons and other equipment (e.g. baton) (CF. Van Heerden 1982) destined to uphold law and order or ensure safety and security. Female respondents (43.7%) by far outnumbered the males (30.6%) by indicating they *do not* fear a policeman in uniform, simply because he is being regarded as a friend and not as an enemy. These signs of good relations may well be translated into positive policing which is also ready to allay person's fear of crime. The difference in scores is not significant.

6.2.2.7 Duty to prevent crime and to assist the police

Just over one-third of the respondents (43.3%) have indicated their willingness to prevent crime. Male respondents (22.7%) are slightly more incline than females (20.7%) to take up this duty – Table 5.9. Although it is widely echoed in textbooks, newspapers and other related media outlets that the police are not able to prevent crime, it should be appreciated that "...social conditions outside the control of the police as well as outside the control of the criminal justice system as a whole, determine the crime levels in communities" (Bayley 1994:10). In most countries around the globe, the police realise they cannot completely stand up to the challenge of criminal behaviour. Community involvement in crime prevention has become the order of the day; South Africa is no exception to the rule. During the late 1970s, a Neighbourhood Watch System (NWS) was introduced in this country, but again abandoned towards the early 1990s because of a lack of public interest in becoming involved in 'street policing'. Since the advent of democracy in early 1994, Community Police Forums (CPFs) have been statutorily introduced in terms of the South African Police Service Act, no. 68 of 1995. The beginning of the new millennium witnessed a rapid increase in especially serious crimes in South Africa. Too often, the blame for this upsurge in crime has been squarely placed on the presence of a *human rights culture* which encompasses a 'soft approach' to the handling of and dealing with law violators. Apart from CPFs, the police service also makes use of *police reservists*, whose services as private persons are put to good use to assist the police in their crime prevention endeavours. Police reservists are rendering their services in their free time at no cost to the public. Whether other members of the public would also be willing to assist the police in crime prevention can be observed from the data reflected in Table 5.10.

Well over half of the sample (N=300) have indicated they are *always* willing to assist the police (56.3%), while small percentages show they would do it *often* (8.6%) or *sometimes* (21.0%). Female respondents show a slightly greater willingness to assist the police (29.3%), compared to the males (27.0%), apparently because of their greater vulnerability in respect of criminal victimization.

6.2.2.8 Important link in criminal justice system

Interestingly, a large contingent of the sample has declared themselves as being an important link (75.7%) in the criminal justice system – see Table 5.11. In this regard, male (36.0%) and female respondents (39.7%) are more or less equally convinced about this observation. However, of those respondents who feel they are *not* important in the criminal justice system of the country, female respondents (16.0) significantly outnumbered their male counterparts (8.3%) – F=.031.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS

Fear of crime is rampant among the respondents who participated in the present study. And, like previous studies, it becomes clear that women (female respondents) are more fearful of crime and criminal victimization than is the case with the male respondents.

Although exploratory in nature and extent, the study has highlighted a very important aspect of contemporary social life: the role of the police in reducing fear of crime among residents of rural communities. Although the police are often regarded as an enemy of the society by some, it is clear that the police has an impact in reducing the fear of crime among the members of the society.

Reducing real criminal acts, it has been argued, would mean reducing fear of crime, simply because motorised patrol and rapid response to calls for police service would provide necessary reassurance of police omnipresence to the public, thus confirming the sentiments expressed by van Heerden (1982:173) that the mere sight of a police officer makes citizens feel safe.

6.4 ACHIEVEMENT OF AIMS

The researcher is confident that the aims set for the present study – see Chapter 1, par.1.2 - have been achieved through the statistical analysis of the data or otherwise.

AIM 1

To render a statistical description of the fear of crime in two rural communities in the Eastern Cape. This aim revolves around establishing whether respondents would positively evaluate the nature and extent of fear of crime. Table 2 presents a frequency distribution of demographic particulars of respondents who participated in this research inquiry. This table mostly contains independent variables necessary to effect cross-correlation of data operationalised as the dependent variable: fear of crime and the role of the police in reducing such fear. Tables 4.3, 4.4 and 5.1 render satisfactory proof of the presence of fear of crime among the respondents.

AIM 2

To empirically account for the influence of selected priority crimes on respondents fear of crime. Table 4.4 renders an analysis of such priority crimes and confirms the presence of fear of crime among respondents as well as significant differences at the .05% level between males and females.

AIM 3

To statistically establish any significant differences in previous victimisation among respondents according gender attributes. Table 5.1 reveals no significant differences between male and female respondents.

AIM 4

To statistically account for the differences and variations in gender and fear of crime, the rating of certain crimes as a social problem and the role of the police as a fear reduction agency. Table 4.3 cogently confirms the variations in fear of crime in terms of gender, while Tables 4.1 and 4.2 provides a frequency distribution reflecting the rating of personal (contact) crimes as well as property crimes being a social problem in the areas where the investigation took place.

6.5 RECOMMENDATIONS

The following recommendations which may have policy implications are briefly discussed below:

6.5.1 Mission statements

Shortly after the former South African Police (SAP) changed from a *police force* to a *police service* in the form of the South African Police Service (SAPS) in 1995 and in terms of the provisions of the South African Police Service Act, no. 68 of 1995, *mission* and *values statements* based on *ethical considerations* were quickly designed, printed and displayed against the walls of charge offices of police stations, etc. Those mission and values statements were conspicuously displayed to convincingly draw the attention of members of the public who would visit police stations to announce what the police stood for in terms of purpose, aims, strategies, responsibilities, and the like. Gradually, these written philosophies started to be displaced or, at least, are not regularly revisited in terms of educating staff members. It is, therefore, recommended that these statements be reconsidered as important cornerstones of police stations, especially as far as crime prevention and the reduction of fear of crime are concerned. Police officers (like other people) should be constantly reminded of the 'ten commandments' of everyday policing as far as honesty, dedication, perseverance, respect for other people, etc. are concerned. Those values should be duly internalised, institutionalized, inculcated and applied in the workplace.

6.5.2 Training in police-public relations

It is recommended that members of the police service should be provided with training at tertiary level, followed-up with continuous in-service training to equip them with the latest skills of dealing with the public and how to respond to crime in order to allay some or all the fears of citizens. Recruiting new human material may also need, apart from basic training modules, ongoing training and education in, especially ethical behaviour to become fully conversant with the standard procedure in policing. Chapter 3 provides information relating to police-

public relations which in theoretical terms are directed at creating an ideal climate for these two entities to work closely together in an effort to prevent crime and allay possible fear of crime. Unfortunately, from time to time, apathetic attitudes on the part of the police in the form of a so-called *new type of behaviour* when they answer official telephone calls, or when they react to public emergency calls and the time it takes them to arrive at a scene of crime as well as poor reaction and attendance to crime scenes are, according to a spokesperson of the Institute of Security Studies, frequently becoming more of a problem and stumbling block in the maintenance of sound relationships (The Mercury 2007:8). In one other incident, a vehicle hijacking in KwaZulu-Natal turned sour when a hijacked male person's trauma had been worsened by police officers' attitudes at the police station where he reported the hijacking. "There was a policewoman seated behind the counter...[who]...did not say anything or take down my statement...he then saw police had scolded him to go into a room and play cards with other police..." (The Witness 2007:1).

Almost three years ago, Beeld (2006:17) reported on the poor quality of police training, especially the so-called *one-day survival training course* which could be seen as the reason why so many police officers are instantly shot and killed while executing their functional duties. Apparently, this 'instant' training course is totally inadequate to equip police officers with the necessary skills to become *streetwise* and to simultaneously realise they need the support and assistance of the public. This predicament could just be the reason why policemen in August 2008, after they have been called out to an armed robbery incident in the East Rand, started shooting erroneously at the owners of the premise after they were mistakenly identified as armed robbers by the police. The police have fired altogether 43 bullets into the motor vehicle of the white couple (owners of the premise) who were hiding and lying flat in their vehicle dodging flying bullets. They were not wounded (Rapport 2008:9). Unfortunately, this one-day training

course actually has a 4-month duration but being only a 'street survival' course which does not teach police officers to think tactically about their operational function, exacerbate the risk of losing public confidence in their capabilities and good intentions to serve and protect. Serious theft cases taking place inside police stations in order to steal or remove a drunk driver's blood sample, or thieves trying to get to a cache of drugs seized by the police which had been kept safely in the exhibit room (Daily News 2007:1), clearly do not vouch for respect-demanding behaviour by the police themselves. In Durban, KwaZulu-Natal, police "...don't seem to think rape is a problem in Melville, but still girls continue to be attacked ..." (Saturday Star 2006:6) – to mention a few examples of counter-productive police actions and/or behaviour.

6.5.3 Training the Community Police Officer (CPO)

Community policing means different things to different people. In a sense, it is a manipulative concept. Perhaps community policing is *not any action* that is capable of generating public trust or confidence. The concept *community policing is often imprecisely used and put into practice* and, as a result, it has been degraded to such an extent that it ostensibly does not exist anymore in the daily vocabulary of police officers. Instead, it seems if this concept which has been so carefully developed and carved in the United States through interactive research by the late Professor Robert Trojanowicz in Flint, Michigan and Professor Herman Goldstein in Newport News, Virginia, supported by two competent theoretical orientations, viz. *the normative sponsorship theory* and the *critical social theory*, has lost its glitter. It has been surpassed by the implementation of a perhaps *easier way out-solution* in the form of Sector Policing – a British invention which could hardly be applied in South Africa because of manpower and skills shortages. Although a vast difference is observable between community policing and sector policing, both subscribe to the all-important aspect of capacity

building between the police and the public. On the surface, both orientations require active, informed and knowledgeable police leadership necessary to assist and guide the public in the dynamics underlying both. Without proper training of police officers, carefully selected for the task of dealing with the implementation and management of these orientations, the anticipated outcomes would not be forthcoming. *It is, therefore, as a matter of urgency, recommended that suitable police officers be selected and properly trained at station level as community policing officers (CPO's) and/or to lead and guide the public in these ventures for the sake of preventing crime and reducing fear of crime among law-abiding citizens.* It is of no use to implement and practice both community policing and sector policing through *dumping* this responsibility on the public. The police are shareholders in safety and security.

6.5.4 Community Police Forums (CPF's)

It is accepted that priorities in respect of policing would be decided upon when the public and the police come together during CPF meetings. It is also accepted that the execution of any policing plan, based on the priorities on which consensus has been reached, remains the joint function of these two entities. This is how it should be, because police performance and subsequent successes in eradicating crime and fear of crime will depend on their functional and operational actions. Bayley (1994:105-114) suggested the following *elements of improved crime prevention*: (a) consultation through *supervisory committees* or as it is known in South Africa, *community police forums (CPF's)*, (b) adaptation, especially through creating manageable territorial commands in the form of neighbourhood police stations (c) sector policing, which originated in London in 1991 and each 'sector' requiring at least one inspector (as commander) and four sergeants to manage the different shifts with an additional sector working group for community consultation, (c) mobilisation, through which the assistance of

public inputs is enlisted, exclusively to prevent crime and (d) problem-solving, which entails a proper analysis of the conditions that gave rise to calls for police intervention and to plan, introduce and evaluate remedial actions.

In South Africa, both Community Police Forums *and* Sector Policing have been introduced as public-police crime prevention initiatives and although both orientations are destined to proactively address the crime issue and criminal victimisation, it creates opportunities to afford the public to working with the police and to accept co-ownership of successful policing. However, both initiatives require responsible supervision and cooperation between these two

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THE END

ANNEXURE A

~ CONFIDENTIAL ~

PERCEPTIONS OF THE ROLE OF THE POLICE IN REDUCING FEAR OF CRIME AMONG RESIDENTS OF RURAL COMMUNITIES

Dear Respondent -

Your NAME, ADDRESS or any other CONTACT PARTCULARS about yourself, should under **no circumstances** be indicated on this document. We do not want to know who you are. We are only interested in your responses (answers) to questions or statements in this document.

We guarantee that all information provided by you will be treated in the strictest confidence and shall under no circumstances be disclosed to any unauthorized persons or instances.

Rest assured that your *anonymity* (secrecy of your name, etc.), will be acknowledged and respected at all costs. Basically, you are 'in good hands' when providing information in this questionnaire.

Carefully read EACH question or statement that follows and then answer EACH one by making a cross (X) in the appropriate block according one of the options that best reflect your personal opinion.

Remember: there are NO right or wrong answers required here! It all depends on how you rate (evaluate) each statement (or question).

Thanking you in advance for your cooperation and assistance!

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC PARTICULARS

Q.1 Indicate your **gender** (Only ONE please)

Male	1
Female	2

Q.2 To which **age group** below, do you belong? (NB: Only ONE 'X' please)

Below 20 years	1
20-25 years	2
26-30 years	3
31-40 years	4
41-50 years	5
51-60 years	6
61-70 years	7
71 and above	8

Q.3 To which **race group** do you belong? (NB: Only ONE 'X' please)

African	1
Asian	2
Coloured	3
White	4

Q.4 Select your highest **educational qualification** (NB: Only ONE 'X' please)

Below Grade 12 (e.g. Grade 11, 10, 9 etc.)	1
Grade 12 (or *matric* or *equivalent*)	2
Certificate (obtained at a College or University.)	3
Diploma	4
Undergraduate degree (e.g. B.A., B.Proc., etc.)	5
Post-graduate degree (e.g. Honours, M.A., Doctoral degree)	6
Apprenticeship	7
Other (Specify:)	8

Q.5 And, finally, what is your present <u>marital status</u>? (Tick only ONE box please)

Never married	1
Married (i.t.o. the law/custom)	2
Divorced (marriage dissolved by court order)	3
Separated (from bed and board)	4
Separated (estranged)	5
Widowed	6
Other (Specify:.....)	7

The **house / flat / cottage / shack / hut / etc.**, you are presently occupying – (Mark *<u>EACH ONE</u>* with a cross (X), as either **Yes** or **No**): ▼

		YES	NO
Q. 6	Do you ***own*** it?	1	2
Q. 7	Do you ***rent*** it?	1	2
Q. 8	Not applicable to me	1	2

SECTION B: EVALUATION OF PRIORITIZED CRIMES

Following below, is a list of **21** crimes **AND** offences people often engage in that have been **prioritized** by the Department of Safety and Security and the South African Police Service as crimes and offences in need of constant and sustained police and public attention.

After having studied **ALL** of them carefully, please indicate by means of a cross (X) in one of the four blocks next to each crime, to what extent these **18 serious crimes** and **3 non-serious offences** have caused a problem to you <u>over the past year</u> or so, i.e. from 1 January ***2004*** up to 31 October ***2005***) (<u>NB</u>: <u>MARK EACH OF THE 18 CRIMES AND EACH OF THE 3 LESS-SERIOUS OFFENCES WITH A CROSS (X) PLEASE!</u>):

TYPE A: SERIOUS CRIMES:

Q #	Description of crimes	No Problem At all	Less of a Problem	More of a Problem	Very Problematic
Q. 9	Armed robbery (with firearm)	1	2	3	4
Q.10	Armed robbery (other weapon, e.g. with a knife, etc.)	1	2	3	4
Q.11	Assault (common, e.g. slap in face)	1	2	3	4
Q.12	Assault (inflict serious injuries)	1	2	3	4
Q.13	Murder	1	2	3	4
Q.14	Attempted Murder	1	2	3	4
Q.15	Rape or Attempted rape	1	2	3	4
Q.16	Arson	1	2	3	4
Q.17	Fraud	1	2	3	4
Q.18	Housebreaking (residential)	1	2	3	4
Q.19	Housebreaking (businesses)	1	2	3	4
Q.20	Malicious damage to property	1	2	3	4
Q.21	Robbery (e.g. common street mugging)	1	2	3	4
Q.22	Stock theft	1	2	3	4
Q.23	Theft (motor vehicle)	1	2	3	4
Q.24	Driving under the influence of liquor	1	2	3	4
Q.25	Drug-related crimes	1	2	3	4
Q.26	Possession of unlicensed firearm	1	2	3	4

TYPE B: LESS-SERIOUS OFFENCES OR MISDEMEANOURS

Q#	Description of crimes	No problem at all	Less of a problem	More of a problem	Very problematic
Q.27	Drinking liquor in public (streets, malls)	1	2	3	4
Q.28	Illegal possession/trading in liquor	1	2	3	4
Q.29	Illegal gambling in a public place	1	2	3	4

SECTION C: FEAR OF CRIME

Q.30 How safe do you feel walking alone at night in your neighbourhood?

Very safe	1
Fairly safe	2
Fairly unsafe	3
Unsafe	4

Q.31 How safe do you feel when alone in your home/apartment at night?

Very safe	1
Fairly safe	2
Fairly unsafe	3
Unsafe	4

Q.32 How safe do you feel lately when visiting your usual shopping area?

Very safe	1
Fairly safe	2
Fairly unsafe	3
Unsafe	4

How fearful are you of being - (Mark EACH question with a cross (X) please) ▼

Q #	Crime	Not fearful	A little fearful	Quite fearful	Very fearful
Q.33	Murdered at home	1	2	3	4
Q.34	Raped (Males respond under 1 please)	1	2	3	4
Q.35	Assaulted	1	2	3	4
Q.36	Robbed/mugged in a street/public place (threatened with knife/other object)	1	2	3	4
Q.37	My vehicle hijacked (being shot at or threatened with firearm)	1	2	3	4
Q.38	Dispossessed of my vehicle (stolen)	1	2	3	4
Q.39	My property stolen OUT of my vehicle	1	2	3	4
Q.40	Having my property maliciously damaged	1	2	3	4
Q.41	Shot at while traveling in a motor vehicle	1	2	3	4
Q.42	Stoned while traveling in a motor vehicle	1	2	3	4
Q.43	Broken into my home and property stolen/removed (e.g. TV, decoder, clothes)	1	2	3	4

NOW please tell us HOW you have reacted to your FEARS outlined in the previou section:

Have you taken any of the following precautionary measures to protect yourself or you family and / or your property/valuables against any criminal attack (victimization) durin the past year (= 1January 2004 up to 31 October 2005)?

NB: Mark ALL those *measures* that apply to you personally as either YES or NO!

Q #	PROTECTIVE MEASURE	YES	NO
Q.44	Acquisition of a guard dog(s)	1	2
Q.45	Had an electronic alarm system installed at my house/flat, (e.g. ADT, Chubb, etc.)	1	2
Q.46	Installed extra outside (sensor) lights	1	2
Q.47	Fixed burglar-proofing (bars) on windows	1	2
Q.48	Had valuables engraved and property marked	1	2
Q.49	Erected concrete walls with gates to keep out intruders	1	2
Q.50	Acquisition of a firearm(s)	1	2
Q.51	Radio / TV or lights left on while not at home	1	2
Q.52	Installed peephole in front door	1	2
Q.53	Rather stayed at home after hours for safety reasons, instead of going out	1	2

SECTION D: PREVIOUS VICTIMISATION

During the past year or so i.e. (1January 2004 up to 31 October 2005), have you been victimized through any of the following serious crimes?

(N.B. Please mark those *crimes* which affected you with 'X' under YES, and those that did not affect you, with 'X' under NO:

Q #	CRIMES THAT MAY HAVE AFFECTED YOU	YES	NO
Q.54	Sexual molestation (including rape, attempted rape, sexual harassment, sodomy, etc.)	1	2
Q.55	Assault (both common or serious forms of assault)	1	2
Q.56	Armed robbery (e.g., vehicle violently hijacked and/or held at gunpoint or shot with a firearm and/or threatened and valuables (e.g. jewellery) stolen	1	2
Q.57	House / flat / apartment / shack, etc., broken into and property stolen/removed	1	2
Q.58	Malicious damage to property	1	2
Q.59	Abduction	1	2
Q.60	Street mugging (handbag/cell phone snatching)	1	2

SECTION E: ROLE OF THE POLICE

How do you rate the performance of your local SA Police Service?
Please use the following scale: 1=Strongly agree
2=Agree
3=Uncertain/undecided
4=Disagree
5=Strongly disagree

My local police –

Q#	- CRITERIA -	SA	A	U	DA	SDA
Q.61	They are not committed to serving the public	1	2	3	4	5
Q.62	They do not respond promptly to public complaints	1	2	3	4	5
Q.63	They **regularly** patrol my neighbourhood to prevent crime and make people feel safe and secure	1	2	3	4	5
Q.64	Are friendly 'guys' and 'girls'	1	2	3	4	5
Q.65	One cannot trust them as the upholders of law and order in South Africa	1	2	3	4	5
Q.66	They are courteous	1	2	3	4	5
Q.67	They are abusing their power and authority	1	2	3	4	5
Q.68	Are incompetent in identifying and solving community social problems (e.g. crime-related issues)	1	2	3	4	5

Q.69 Have you ever been in **juridical contact** with the S.A. Police Service?
(**NB**: Draw only **ONE cross (X)** in the most relevant block below):

As an accused and convicted in a criminal court	1
As an accused but acquitted in a court of law	2
As a suspect (detained in a police cell and interrogated)	3
As a witness in a case (questioned and statement taken)	4
As an informant (impimpi)	5
No contact of whatever nature	6

Do you report all crimes and misconduct to the police?

	~ STATEMENT/QUESTION ~	Always	Often	Some= Times	Never
Q. 70	Where **you** are the victim of a crime?	1	2	3	4
Q. 71	Those you have **knowledge** of?	1	2	3	4

INDICATE BELOW WHETHER THE FOLLOWING REASONS HAVE PLAYED A ROLE IN YOUR DECISION ***NOT TO REPORT CRIME*** TO THE POLICE:

(NB: Mark EACH one below either as "YES" or "NO") ▼ ▼

Q #		Yes	No
Q.72	Did not want to bother the police with trivial matters	1	2
Q.73	The case would in any case not receive proper attention by the police	1	2
Q.74	The police do not react promptly to emergency calls	1	2
Q.75	The case is unsolvable (i.e. nothing can be done to trace the offender or to recover stolen property).	1	2
Q.76	The inability of the police to solve crime	1	2
Q.77	Not in the interest of society that the case should be reported	1	2
Q.78	Personal nature of the case	1	2
Q.79	Attending court is too time consuming	1	2
Q.80	Hate to get involved in court cases	1	2
Q.81	Negative attitude and approach of the police to solve crime	1	2
Q.82	You are treated as the "guilty party" when reporting crime to the police	1	2
Q.83	Partiality on the part of the police when crime is reported	1	2
Q.84	Fear of retaliation	1	2

DO YOU FEEL AT LIBERTY TO:

(NB: Mark EACH one below with a cross) ▼

	~ STATEMENT/QUESTION ~	Yes	No
Q. 85	Call upon the police when you feel threatened as result of crime and criminal victimization?	1	2
Q. 86	To greed a police officer in the public?	1	2
Q. 87	To personally lodge a complaint at a police station	1	2

DO YOU FEAR:

(NB: Mark EACH one with a cross) ▼

	~ STATEMENT/QUESTION ~	Yes	No
Q. 88	A policeman in uniform?	1	2
Q. 89	A detective (plain clothes)?	1	2

Q.90 DO YOU, AS A MEMBER OF SOCIETY, HAVE A DUTY TO COMBAT CRIME?
(NB: Mark only **ONE** with a cross)

▼

Always	1
Often	2
Uncertain/undecided	3
Sometimes	4
Never	5

Q. 91 ARE YOU WILLING TO ASSIST THE POLICE TO COMBAT CRIME?
(Mark only ONE with a cross (X) please)

▼

Always	1
Often	2
Uncertain/undecided	3
Sometimes	4
Never	5

Q. 92 DO YOU REGARD YOURSELF AS AN IMPORTANT LINK IN THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM (i.e. police, courts, corrections)? (NB: Mark only ONE with a cross (X))

▼

Yes	1
No	2

IN WHICH ONE OF THE TWO TOWNS BELOW, DO YOU RESIDE?

Q. 93	Mthatha	1
Q. 94	Butterworth	2

ANNEXURE B

CODE SHEET

Q. 1	
Q. 2	
Q. 3	
Q. 4	
Q. 5	
Q. 6	
Q. 7	
Q. 8	

Q. 9	
Q. 10	
Q. 11	
Q. 12	
Q. 13	
Q. 14	
Q. 15	
Q. 16	
Q. 17	
Q. 18	

Q. 19	
Q. 20	
Q. 21	
Q. 22	
Q. 23	
Q. 24	
Q. 25	
Q. 26	

Q. 27	
Q. 28	
Q. 29	

Q. 30	
Q. 31	
Q. 32	

Q. 33	
Q. 34	
Q. 35	

Q. 36	
Q. 37	
Q. 38	
Q. 39	
Q. 40	
Q.41	
Q.42	
Q.43	

Q. 44	
Q. 45	
Q. 46	
Q. 47	
Q. 48	
Q. 49	
Q. 50	
Q. 51	
Q. 52	
Q. 53	

Q.54	
Q. 55	
Q. 56	
Q. 57	
Q. 58	
Q. 59	
Q. 60	

Q. 61	
Q. 62	
Q. 63	
Q. 64	
Q. 65	
Q. 66	
Q. 67	
Q. 68	

Q.69	
Q. 70	

Q. 71	

Q. 72	
Q. 73	
Q. 74	
Q. 75	
Q. 76	
Q. 77	
Q. 78	
Q. 79	
Q. 80	
Q. 81	
Q. 82	
Q. 83	
Q. 84	

Q. 85	
Q. 86	
Q. 87	

Q. 88	
Q. 89	

Q. 90	
Q. 91	
Q. 92	
Q. 93	
Q. 94	

ANNEXURE C

GEOGRAPHICAL MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF TWO RURAL TOWNS (MTHATHA AND BUTTERWORTH) IN THE EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE OF SOUTH AFRICA