CHAPTER FOUR

REFLECTION ON EXPERIENCE

[I]t is through the experience of reflecting on

our experience that we make meaning of it.

(Freedman & Combs 1996: 169)

4.1   INTRODUCTION

In Chapter One I indicated that this chapter would record the fourth and fifth movements of a postfoundationalist theology as proposed by Müller (1.7). Movement four is about describing the experiences as they are continually informed by traditions of interpretation. I must confess that, out of all the movements, I found this one to be the most difficult. This was because my co-researchers had not necessarily explored their experiences in this way before. But we went ahead with this process to unveil these "taken for granted" traditions lying behind their experiences outlined in Chapter Three. Like with the previous process of listening, these traditions or discourses were also discussed in the individual homes where the spouses added their insights around these topics. Unlocking these things helped us to understand the values that were at the root of the opinions about my co-researchers' experiences. It also led us into movement five, namely our reflections on God's presence in the situation.

4.2   DESCRIBING THE TRADITIONS BEHIND EXPERIENCES

Essentially, there were four traditions or discourses that were important to understand the views expressed in Chapter Three. Through our conversations we worked hard to get to the "taken for granted" traditions and discourses that shape our behaviour and attitudes. We were finally able to distil four traditions of interpretation, namely:

- An Afrikaans culture of respect
- Pride in your work
- Discipline

- Values of honesty and compassion

4.2.1 An Afrikaans culture of respect

Respect has to do with the way we treat other people. It touches on many aspects covered in Chapter Three, such as the relationships between police personnel whether of a higher or lower rank (3.2.2 & 3.2.4); the way in which the community are treated and the effectiveness of a partnership between the community and police (3.2.5); and their general family life. The focus of our discussion, though, centred round the way police officers treat each other.

When my co-researchers spoke about the lack of respect for higher ranks (see 3.2.2.2), they are speaking from a para-military and Afrikaner background. Prior to 1994, commands were given from top to bottom and orders were carried out, irrespective of whether the individual policeman approved or not. Respect was shown to higher ranks through either standing upright with arms straight beside their body or saluting if the higher rank was an officer. Since becoming the South African Police *Service*, this practice is being applied less and less. Commanding officers complain that they are often not even acknowledged through salute or "strek" (upright posture) when they enter a room. While this seems to be a minor issue on the surface, my co-researchers (and my audience of policemen from Head Office and from other race groups) agreed that this attitude spills over into a further lack of following orders. As they said: "You have to *ask* them to do something, rather than give an instruction." This has led to a deterioration of service delivery rather than an improvement. It means that, if a policeman refuses to obey, there is a tedious process of filing a grievance that needs to be followed, a process that is unsatisfactory to the policemen themselves, not to mention the public in the heat of their crisis.

Related to the above is the issue of undermining a police officer in the presence of junior members. It was unanimous amongst the police members I spoke to that this is unacceptable behaviour. Not only does it show a lack of courtesy, but also encourages disrespect and insubordination. This kind of behaviour displayed by Pieter's commander (3.2.2.4) and Selebi (3.2.4.3 b) comes across as newly elected Black commanders with a "chip on their shoulder" trying to prove themselves as powerful. I

was interested in my co-researchers' comment that they respect the rank (and so will salute their rank), but do not respect the person wearing the rank.

In my interviews I could understand the above, but wanted to scratch deeper as to why this was so important for them. Leon and Pieter turned to their Afrikaner upbringing to explain. Both told me (independently of each other) that they were taught to respect their elders, calling them "Oom" and "Tannie" (Uncle and Aunty), whether you liked them or not. I then asked about the Black culture and tribal system of chiefs in the region, as that would surely cultivate a similar culture of respect for elders. They referred to a culture that is creeping in of children speaking as they please to adults, even swearing at them. This, according to them, applied also to Blacks growing up in cities rather than in rural areas.

4.2.2 Pride in your work

In the same way as I explored the issue of respect, I wanted to find out more about the traditions lying behind their ethics of work (see 3.2.1). The question we spoke about here was where the de-motivation came from, this attitude of not caring. Was it because their hard work was not recognised and rewarded, or was it due to always being under a critical eye (be it from higher ranks, the community or the media)? Some of the thoughts we spoke about were as follows:

- Leon mentioned that policemen become hardened and can perhaps lose heart when people are always complaining. Pieter commented that it is not good to work within a context of everything being negative. But they were quick to add that this is not an excuse for poor performance and that they still try to lead by example.

- Pieter's wife, Marian got a conversation going when she identified the problem being that: "Being a policeman is no longer a calling; it's just a job for some people." From that, Pieter acknowledged he saw his work as a calling, as something he believes God has called him to do as his contribution to a better life for all. And then the conversation steered towards the idea that, for many recruits, this is the only secure job available, exacerbated through

standards in recruitment dropping. I will come back to this in terms of discipline in 4.2.3.

- Leon spoke about a value he had learned from early in his life – that of doing a job well or not doing it at all. Going back to his early comments of how policemen used to be proud when they made breakthroughs, he said that today policemen have no sense of urgency. They will rather sit in the office and read the newspaper. They have lost their pride in their work.

To do their work with excellence, it is necessary to go for further training on a continuous basis. In chapter three we mentioned the street survival course (3.2.3.5), which I then spoke about with those at Head Office. It just so happened that the police officer I had this conversation with there was the one who had put the course together. He told me that, originally, it was designed to be a one-month course. Those in higher places had, however, shortened it to two days. Not only is this insufficient, but it reveals the lack of commitment to training with excellence.

I will return to the subject of a work ethic in terms of our theological reflection in 4.3. But, for now, a closely related topic to a low work ethic is the subject of discipline within the SAPS. It is a topic intertwined with their work, but we felt it necessary to deal with it as an important aspect on its own.

4.2.3 Discipline

The tradition of discipline was spoken of mainly in terms of training (see 3.2.3). Not having that "military" approach anymore has led to an originally unintended but nevertheless undesirable lack of discipline. Pieter was quick to point out that this starts off in the police college during their basic training. Standards there have definitely dropped, which is an opinion shared by all who participated as my audience. Everything from the way their beds had to be made to marching and physical fitness has deteriorated. While those "military" behaviours were seen as peripheral by the new government in the light of it being a "Service" rather than a "Force," it has led to a lazy culture. In the words of my co-researchers, "Training has become soft and watered down." One of the people I interviewed went so far as to say that we are training a bunch of "moffies" (slang word for someone who's not tough).

I also had the privilege of speaking to an instructor (a female) who, without knowing I had any previous conversations with police officers, told me similar stories. She said that policemen had to be physically fit and able to jump over walls etc. with ease. Now, she says, the new recruits she is expected to train "can't get their fat arses moving."

When I probed the importance of this, I got the answer I was expecting. My co-researchers said that a lack of discipline led those policemen not to be alert, which is highly dangerous within the violent nature of crime in South Africa today. They said it comes as no surprise that police officers are killed on a regular basis, even being attacked in the police station's Client Service Centre. It's because they are not alert anymore.

The other contributing factor they said lay behind this lack of discipline was Unions. Old policemen have always perceived Unions as a symbol of anarchy. While they do not have that role anymore, and would probably claim to want their members to work to excellent standards, perceptions differ. Unions bear the brunt of blame (correctly or incorrectly) for trainers not being allowed to make a trainee run and exercise. And similarly they bear the brunt for not allowing police officers to be disciplined when they don't do their work, such as being slow to get up from their newspaper reading when a member of the public walks in. While I am not convinced that this is entirely true, that there are actually clear guidelines for discipline, the role played by Unions in the SAPS is still difficult to deal with.

A proposal that my co-researchers and I discussed was not to throw the proverbial "baby out with the bathwater." There has to be some way of retaining discipline factors from the past police force and building a more efficient service for the public. Clues of that approach are evident in Jody's dealing with Unions, through inviting them to participate in the process and ultimately ensure each police member's safety.

4.2.4   Values of honesty and compassion

Lying behind the stories of manipulating statistics, of corruption and a general lack of care about police work (3.2.1) was my co-researchers' desire for values of honesty and compassion. What had led those policemen to behave in those ways, we could only speculate on, but there were some things that became clearer. One of the things that became clearer was that it was not simply the actions of a few "bad apples" but values that were lacking and passed on throughout the ranks.

One example of management level behaviour was that of Pieter's station commander. It came to light between my initial and final interviews that Pieter's station commander did not open official criminal cases until the suspects were found. He would then open and solve the case, making his crime statistics look good, but it did not reflect the reality.

Another example given from the person I interviewed at the provincial offices was in the case of incentives. There would be some files put aside right at the beginning for guaranteed incentives and thereafter they would look at all the other applicants. My co-researchers were not surprised and referred to a culture of comrades and "birds of a feather flock together." They knew that in the new order it's not a matter of being suitable for the job but about who you know, who you've had sex with or given cows to. In their attempt to create equality, those in higher places have compromised quality. These values are passed on to the policemen down the ranks. A paper by the Canadian Don Loree and Durban's Metro Police deputy head, Titus Malaza, once said: "Corruption is learned. We need to go beyond the bad apple and look at the 'barrel'. While acts are committed by individuals or small groups, they do not occur in isolation from culture, structure and leadership in the organisation which can support, tolerate or even attempt to hide them" (Sunday Tribune, p 12). That is when policemen harass and then accept bribes from prostitutes while on night shift, as if that is acceptable behaviour to get out of their own financial troubles.

Leon offered an explanation that went beyond his initial comments of accepting bribes for the sake of escaping the financial trouble of policemen living above their means. He said that perhaps the police members become "hard" once they have lived

and witnessed the system for long enough and they break away from God along the way. With not enough chaplains to help them through the threatening pessimism that comes from being in a system bigger than the individual, those policemen join in so that they can keep their job. That comment challenged me to take seriously the role of the church in shaping theology and identifying God's presence amongst policemen.

4.3   THE PRESENCE OF GOD AND THEOLOGY

As stated in 1.7.5, this section deals with theology and the presence of God that my co-researchers and I spoke about in terms of Movement Five. This section is included because of the personal reasons I had as a pastor for this research (1.3.2) and because of the field of Practical Theology (1.4) that we are working within. Much of what was said evolved from a picture of God that my co-researchers felt was relevant to their issues. Again, our neatened reflections were about the following:

- A God who calls us
- A moral and just God
- A God of compassion
- A God who gives us a vision
- A God of community

4.3.1   A God who calls us

In the light of seeing policing as a calling versus a job, my co-researchers saw God as giving them this task to do. They expressed their thoughts of how God wanted them to do police work rather than another career. Other careers in a similar field may be more financially lucrative but they felt that this was where God wanted them. Two of my co-researchers expressed this differently, but agreed that this was under the ambit of God's call. And God's call upon their lives affected the quality of their work.

Leon had originally wanted to be a dominee (minister in the church), but finances prevented him from studying further at the time. That closed door opened another door into the police, which he saw as the hand of God at work. His aim was not to get rich but to make a positive contribution into the lives of people because that is what

God wanted of him. That was why he got frustrated when policemen only did the bare minimum of work, not caring, as long as there is a salary at the end of the month.

Pieter used the biblical text of some receiving five talents, others two talents and others one talent (Matthew 25:14-30). He saw this as everyone having been given a task with different abilities. As he put it: "We are all called to use it to the best of our ability and to be respected because of *that* rather than affirmative action or connections to influential people. Pieter spoke about going on regular courses to keep up to date on the changing laws and how to use new equipment, in order to develop the abilities and resources God has given him.

Related to this was the topic of stewardship of our gifts, where we had spoken on the need for ongoing training in 3.2.3. When I spoke to a police officer at the provincial offices, he expressed his frustrations where the month long "street survival course" he developed was watered-down to a two-day course by those in authority above him. For those above him, it seemed to be better stewardship. But he saw compromising training as bad stewardship. Similar to Leon's story in 3.2.3.2, he said that policemen were trained in computer literacy and yet still did not answer e-mails, blaming their computer illiteracy. In other words, some members did not want to learn anything. Unused high-tech equipment (see 3.2.3.5) was another example of bad stewardship.

It seemed to me that until we gain an understanding of this being more than a job to be done (or minimally done) and see it as something God has given us to do, using all the expertise God has given, we are not going to get far. We will not get far in raising the standard of work and service delivery to one of excellence. I then shared a comment from Eugene Peterson by way of encouragement:

> The persons we meet on the pages of Scripture are remarkable for the intensity with which they live Godwards, the thoroughness in which all the details of their lives are included in God's word to them, in God's action in them. It is these persons, who are conscious of participating in what God is saying and doing, who are most human, most alive.

(Peterson 1983:13-14)

As we thought about this, we reminded ourselves that the people in the bible were not people who had it all together. They were fallible, as we all are, and yet God was able to use them in their places of work. But the question was still to identify what we are up against. And it is here that we turned to a God who is moral and just.

4.3.2   A moral and just God

We had identified issues such as corruption (3.2.1.2). But what lies at the heart of such behaviour and is there a way in which we can "unlearn" corrupt behaviour?

Leon spoke about this issue in terms of a struggle between good and evil, between God and Satan. Each is seeking the hearts and allegiance of people. As he sees it, corrupt behaviour goes beyond the outward actions. It may start with a little financial trouble, progressing to becoming an easy option and, as he put it: "…then you are hooked." He used the imagery of opening the door slightly starts the slippery slide into deeper trouble and Satan has got you where he wants you. And that is why he highlighted the importance of knowing the difference between right and wrong. "People," he said, "must know that wrong is wrong. When there are too many grey areas, that's when things go wrong." According to him "grey areas" have led to a soft approach. As we discussed this we felt that a soft approach is one that people take advantage of. And then, when it comes to violent crime, the criminal makes use of human rights to their own advantage while ignoring the rights of victims. This will be mentioned again under 4.3.3.

Pieter also took an anti-soft approach when speaking about God's dealing with wrongdoing. He used the examples of Sodom and Gomorrah from the Old Testament and Jesus overturning the tables in the temple from the New Testament. Some of the phrases we spoke about (including those during other informal conversations) included: When evil takes place, God gets angry. God does not turn a blind eye. Our God is a God to be respected, paving the way for a respect for parents, higher ranks and so on.

Jody did not explicitly use religious language in his conversations with me, although he had grown up in the church I ministered in and his children attended. However, I picked up on the comment he made in our original conversation that the truth eventually emerges. It hinted at a God who is ultimately in control, despite the work of those opposed to good. He simply nodded when I suggested that God's hand might have been involved in his eventual promotion, and that this may be consistent with truth and goodness winning in the end. But my promptings did not elicit any comment.

What I did find is that there was a hierarchical picture of God – and God is the One who is ultimately in charge. It was something that kept these co-researchers on track with their work. But I also needed to steer the conversation towards compassion.

4.3.3   A God of compassion

Before the conversation on God became one of "hell, fire and brimstone," I steered it towards asking about a compassionate and forgiving God. While this was a clear manipulation of the conversation, I was curious to see how they married their view of a just God with a God who is compassionate and merciful (just as God had been merciful when Pieter was convicted many years ago of torturing a suspect – 3.2.6.1).

The first answer that came back to me was that the two aspects of God are complimentary. They were quick to say that compassion can be misunderstood as letting people off the hook. There are still consequences to our actions, even once we are forgiven. Leon said that Pieter, for example, still had to face his sentence of house-arrest, community service and compulsory therapy sessions. My co-researchers pointed out that discipline and acting justly is not in opposition to compassion, but an integral part thereof.

It was at this point that I threw in the word "human rights" as an expression of compassion. While they conceded that policemen sometimes misuse this by meting out their own justice, it was now becoming a question of: "Whose human rights are we talking about?" Is it the criminal's or the victim's? In their view, God was on the side of the victim. This does not justify the abuse of the criminal when taken into

custody (although the temptation is always there), but my co-researchers felt that we must not lose the perspective that the criminal *chose* to act the way they did, while the victim did not ask to be robbed or raped or murdered. Leon and Pieter ascribed it to the work of the Holy Spirit that they could now act with compassion towards the victim and restraint towards the criminal.

We spoke about the thorny issue of human rights for a while and, in the end, came to the view that God is both just and compassionate. We would therefore agree with Chris van der Merwe and Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela who, though writing about a narrative approach to healing victims of trauma, state: "When we reflect on the notion of justice, particularly in relation to human rights abuses, we need to think of justice not as an end in itself, but as a process. In that process we should strive towards a critical balance between justice and compassion" (Van der Merwe & Gobodo-Madikizela 2008:50). They agreed that nobody would come away from the Final Judgement with an unfair ruling, because God knows the whole story with all the extenuating circumstances. They came to view their role as policemen as being part of the bigger picture of God's justice and compassion.

4.3.4   A God who gives us a vision

In a totally different line of thinking, my co-researchers and I spoke a little about leadership issues that had emerged in our initial discussions (see 3.2.4). Within that context, we had spoken about political and police structure leadership, giving more expression to the frustrations than its benefits.

To evoke deeper reflection, I asked a question about the role of leadership in terms of casting a vision for those down the ranks. At first, my co-researchers focussed on politicians who speak in visionary language in the heat of the moment of grief or anger to appease the crowd or the police. For example, at the death of policemen, they would encourage the police to shoot to kill. But at the same time, my co-researchers were reluctant to speak highly of political and police leadership. It was then that the conversation shifted to God who gives visions to people.

In the scriptures, God often gives people (sometimes through an individual) a vision. This was something that my co-researchers were more willing to talk about. This vision, as they perceived it, had to do with things like justice and peace being established in our country. It is an ideal they still work towards, but they acknowledge that many people are in the system to get what they can out of it. Again, what keeps them persevering is the hope that God will bring about the fulfilment of this vision one day. They have had glimpses of that realisation through certain successes, when the judicial system works, when people work well together and so on. Even though we still have a long way to go, Leon said, "We will get there eventually."

4.3.5   A God of community

One of the visions in terms of a new style of policing has been that of community involvement. But, as Leon said: "The community have always been involved (through informers or sources), otherwise the police cannot do anything." From whichever perspective it is viewed from, there is now the explicit acknowledgement that we all need each other if we are to succeed. The question for reflection by my co-researchers was whether they saw any theological significance behind this community emphasis.

The conversation, I confess, did not get into the subject of the Trinity and of God being one of a relationship between the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Any attempts by me to steer the conversation that way were met with polite smiles. Instead, they used the scriptural examples of how God worked with people, inviting them into a full participation with God's work. Some of the examples discussed included where Jesus used the five loaves and two fish brought by a little boy to miraculously feed the five thousand (John 6:1-14). Furthermore, intercessory prayer is based on us influencing God and being influenced by God, as in any living relationship. Jesus calling some people into community life and discipleship formation is echoed by Paul's writings of the church being a community life of respect, mutual edification etc. Many other examples could be mentioned, but we were satisfied that there is a biblical imperative to work as a community. It was more than just a new political strategy of fighting crime.

Within this community participation was the role of the church. Some of these issues have already been mentioned in 3.2.5.7 such as prayers with the police going on duty. Those sorts of actions are the "comfortable" side of community involvement. It is easy to perceive this as being supportive of the police in their dangerous work and, even those who do not wish to participate can appreciate the voluntary effort made by others. However, the Community Police Forums were originally set up for oversight to prevent abuses of power etc. and the Church has also, in the past, exercised a prophetic (and thus a less popular) role. We spoke, on my prompting on the role of the Church in this light in the present and future situation. While I agreed that criticism could be destructive, I proposed that criticism could also be beneficial when the recipient realises that the one imparting criticism is in favour of the recipient's growth. For example, when my wife criticises my sermon, I know that she does so in my best interests rather than to break me down. And so, after some debate, my co-researchers and I found some common ground of a church role being supportive and prophetic. Perhaps God's dealings reflect something similar in being compassionate and just.

4.4   SUMMARY

This chapter recorded my research findings in terms of movements four and five of a postfoundationalist theology. While this portion was the most difficult to probe, it also turned out to be one of the most fulfilling. It was here that we interrogated our beliefs and assumptions that these White police officers in middle-management lived with under a new constitution and discovered some ground for hope. It was a process that involved a fair amount of debate between my co-researchers, other opinions and myself.

The traditions we covered in this chapter included a culture of respect, having pride in your work, the importance of discipline, and holding onto the values of honesty and compassion. Much of this related to our reflections on God's presence, which included doing this work as a calling and not simply as a job; recognising a moral and just God, balanced with God's compassion; capturing a bigger vision given by God; and acknowledging that God uses the community in accomplishing a better society. These traditions or discourses have a direct bearing on the themes in Chapter Three,

such as the work ethic of excellence rather than of a poor quality; how policemen need to treat each other, beyond the tensions of racism and bad management; of developing constructive relationships with the wider community and human rights.

Once again, we recognise that the elements we discussed are not exhaustive, but merely prominent at the time of the research, and that we are all still developing in our thinking about these things as the debate continues. The way in which this debate continued was through the next movement of an interdisciplinary investigation, which is the subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONVERSATIONS FURTHER AFIELD

Sharing our views and judgements with those inside and outside our epistemic communities can… lead to conversation, which we should enter not just to persuade but also to learn from.

(Van Huyssteen 2000:431)

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter has to do with the interdisciplinary exploration of the discourses already raised. As stated in 1.7.6, this is the sixth movement in Müller's seven movements in postfoundationalist research procedure. This included the work of researchers from various fields, such as criminology, theology and social sciences. Here I have drawn on comments made in articles and books regarding the material discussed between my co-researchers and I, which added to our ongoing discoveries. The aim was to see what points of transversality (see 1.5.3) there are between the various disciplines.

5.2 CATEGORIES OF DISCUSSION

For the sake of recording this movement in an organised way, I formulated four categories, which covered the discussions covered in Chapters Three and Four. The four major areas I explored are:

- Leadership

Under leadership we considered the previous topics of new leadership (2.3.4), including the poor management mentioned in 3.2.1; the top structures and politics (3.2.4); the culture of respect (4.2.1); and of God who gives us vision (4.3.4).

- Human Rights policies guiding police behaviour

Points covered from our research includes that mentioned in 3.2.6 as well as the underlying values of honesty and compassion (4.2.2) and our picture of God as moral (4.3.2) and compassionate (4.3.3), which should affect police behaviour.

- Internal police relationships

Things taken into consideration here include what was researched in 3.2.2 regarding relations between police members. Relationships between different law enforcers and units (2.3.4 & 3.2.5.4) and of units being disbanded (3.2.4.2 b); racial and affirmative action issues (also in 3.2.3); and the effects of corruption and a low work ethic (3.2.1) fall under this heading. It also assumes what we have discovered in the God who calls us (4.3.1) and the God who helps us discern between right and wrong (4.3.2).

- Utilizing communities and technology

Here we grouped those aspects related to the wider community such as Community Police Forums (2.3.5 & 3.2.3 & 3.2.5), which assumes the different perceptions by the community on the SAPS's ability to fight crime (2.4). We also see the material covered in the God of community (4.3.5) as part of this discussion. And in terms of utilizing technology, this was discussed under 3.2.3 regarding further training.

Through this part of the process, my co-researchers and I tried to discover some of the insights that come from other disciplines that can be brought into further conversation with our thinking.

5.2.1   Leadership

Thus far, we have looked at leadership at the level of politicians and the kind of leadership given by police management (see 2.3.4 and 3.2.4). We acknowledged that some have practiced leadership in more preferable ways than others. And we touched on the leadership God provides through giving us a vision (4.3.4). This discourse on leadership motivated us to read more on this topic to see whether other insights could help us in this regard. We looked at perspectives that come from the church, business, politics, social sciences and criminology.

5.2.1.1 Church and business perspectives

The first thing we noted was that those in leadership need to have an appreciation for what is happening in people's lives throughout the organisation. Although speaking about church leadership, Jurgens Hendriks' comment applies to policing leadership:

"…leadership living with people at grass-roots level, addressing their needs, helping them to face and handle the realities confronting them, despite some tough measures and difficult decisions, thrives" (Hendriks 1995:29). John Maxwell, who presents seminars to business leaders worldwide, notes the mistake of many leaders spending too much time in their offices and suggests that a leader must "take time to walk slowly through the halls" in order to connect with those working under you (Maxwell 2005:214). The model of a few executive members making policy decisions in a Head Office, removed from the realities is clearly inappropriate in a country seeking to shape itself on principles of democracy. The concern was raised with those I interviewed at the SAPS Headquarters in Pietermaritzburg that they had not worked in a station for many years. It also worried us that leaders like Selebi and Nqakula were perceived to be distant from local activities. We all acknowledged, though, the logistical problems with that (time constraints and other responsibilities etc.), and that is perhaps where a police officer in middle-management has a distinct advantage of "being in touch," presuming they have been promoted there with the necessary experience beforehand. Jody made a comment that if a person does not have the necessary experience (a reality with affirmative action), they should ask those "under" him or her who have the experience for help. That kind of humility in seeking to understand those he or she works with will win respect and cooperation.

The humility of a leader is closely linked to the concept of "servant leadership." It has been expounded on in theological circles as a style Jesus used: leading through example, showing the disciples how to do what needs to be done, and then sending them out to do it, with a time of reflection afterwards. This sort of leadership style is very different from the bureaucratic one characterising the police in the past. Peter Storey, a former bishop in the Methodist Church of Southern Africa, offers the following definition: "Servant leadership begins with the understanding that our task as leaders is to serve those we lead and that we serve them best by empowering them" (Storey 1995:73). This is not to be misunderstood as meaning that everybody can do as they please in the name of local empowerment. Management still needs to provide vision and direction for the organisation. The purpose, however, of top management should be to shape policies that will best serve the local stations and specialised units. And middle management (the focus of this thesis) is to translate those policies into practice, empowering rather than inhibiting the work at station level. It means, for

example, explaining the correct use of firearms so that police officials on duty know exactly when to use them. It means ensuring that the personnel at the station are sent on regular courses to update their knowledge on technology. That's what a servant leader does.

5.2.1.2 Political perspective

From a politician's point of view, F.W. de Klerk, a former president of South Africa facilitating the transition to a new South Africa, summarized the requirements for leadership based on his experience, looking at the big picture of South African politics. He wrote about the ability to make an impartial assessment of the situation; to accept the need for real change (not just doing old things better); basing decisions on strong values; and shaping and implementing visions (De Klerk 2002). While these applied within the high-profile political circles, it is applicable for other levels of leadership too. Certainly there is change happening in the SAPS. Papers and policies are filtering through at a rapid rate. New decisions are made (for example on how zones and areas are to function; or the closure of specialised units) and later retracted. The question is: how much is leading to an improvement and how much is taking them on a pathway to deterioration? That is the criteria that those in middle management are looking for. Those who have remained in the SAPS, such as my co-researchers, say that they can deal with any changes if they can see positive results. The risk always remains that not all changes will lead to the desired outcome, which is why De Klerk points out that the process of change never ends, that: "There is no point at which leaders can say that they have 'solved' any problem in a rapidly changing environment" (De Klerk 2002:614).

5.2.1.3 Social sciences perspective

Social sciences have spent considerable energy on analysing leadership styles. One has been in the various usages of authority, from being exploitative to encouraging full participation by everyone. Another has been on whether one focuses on task achievement or upon the needs of people. Alvin Lindgren and Glenn Asquith state that: "No single leadership style is universally appropriate because of the differences in leaders, members, and situations" (Lindgren & Asquith 1990:635). Some situations

require a greater emphasis on tasks, while others can focus on group participation. Levels of supervision also depend on commitment levels to the task and the maturity of the group. The ideal would be to get the tasks done well, with a high degree of personal growth and morale. Within the context of my co-researchers, this did not seem likely in the foreseeable future, because of this lack of "calling" to the job by many members of the SAPS. They felt they could contribute, albeit insignificantly, through their own example of honesty, reliability and integrity (keeping their own slate clean). They said that perhaps something would rub off onto those around them. And, while they wanted the support from management above them, they wanted it exercised in a way that displayed a trust in their ability to get on with the job.

5.2.1.4 Criminology perspective

Altbeker, as he accompanied two Black policemen, asked them about what politicians such as Minister Nqakula could do for policemen. The response was: "Nqakula? Who is he? … Shouldn't a man who owns a large herd at least go out to see the cows sometimes? But he is nowhere. He knows nothing. What does he know about the police officer and law enforcement?" (Altbeker 2005:207). Comments like these certainly thicken the story of policemen who feel that their leaders are out of touch with what is happening on the frontline (covered in 3.2.4.2). Even in the public's perception, political talk of crime being under control does not ring true. The public know that statistics are manipulated and not congruent with what they see and read around them. There seems to be a growing distrust in what high level leaders speak about, whether it is their tough talk and their manipulated reports or their verbal support of police officers.

5.2.1.5 Summary on leadership

My co-researchers and I came up with several conclusions regarding leadership at all levels. One is that leaders (in their case, middle management) must always remain in touch with what is going on at ground level policing. Servant leadership would not necessarily be the term they would use, but would certainly agree with a position of humility in order to obtain cooperation from other police officers. Secondly, fairness and integrity should be the guiding influences when it comes to top management

making political speeches, releasing statistics and so forth. Thirdly, leaders need to be able to adapt to change and new situations while holding onto strong values. Fourthly, leaders must provide an inspiring vision for others to follow. And fifthly, though not mentioned in our further reading, my co-researchers reminded me that undermining other police officers in front of junior ranks is unacceptable, not only because of the way things were done in the old order, but a matter of good management style.

5.2.2 Human Rights policies guiding police behaviour

This research covered the topic of human rights in 3.2.6, particularly the treatment of suspects and the use of firearms. The main point of discussion went around "who's human rights are we talking about – the criminal's or the victim's?" African countries, including South Africa, are not known for their impeccable track record when it comes to human rights. Despite structures such as the Independent Complaints Directorate (2.3.7) and legislation such as that which controls the use of firearms (2.3.8), we still have a long way to go. Many papers have been compiled to guide police behaviour. In Chapter Two, I wrote about policies such as the Green & White Papers (2.3.2) and the National Crime Prevention Strategy (2.3.6) in the light of *batho pele* (2.3.3). We also discovered through the research process, the underlying values of honesty and compassion needed (4.2.2) and reflected upon a God who is moral and just (4.3.2) and compassionate (4.3.3). This research made the observation that police officers can adapt and integrate policies when they can see the benefits through improved service delivery. Unfortunately, there is often a discrepancy between what is on paper and what happens in practice.

5.2.2.1 The gap between policy and practice

It was interesting to read an article by Eric Pelser and Antoinette Louw from the Institute for Security Studies on the gap between policy and practice. Their article speaks of possible reasons for the gap between policy and practice being either due to recommendations not being acceptable to those implementing them, or the problem of adopting Western models who have accountable governments and functional service delivery. They argue that crime prevention is the task of departments of welfare, education and health, who are each struggling with their own service delivery, and so

are unable to co-ordinate with other departments. Because of these sorts of difficulties, politicians seem to revert to tough law enforcement methods (which have immediate results) rather than long-term preventative ones. Pelser and Louw go on to propose a national crime prevention centre located at the highest levels of government to provide leadership, strategy and funding to stimulate more effective partnerships. Until then, police will continue crime prevention in terms of high visibility through setting up roadblocks, random search and seizures and the like (Pelser & Louw 2002). So, while policies may seem good on paper, the implementation tells a different story. In order to try overcome that gap between policy and practice, we proceeded to explore what other disciplines had to contribute.

5.2.2.2 Amnesty International report

We had at our disposal a document published by Amnesty International outlining the findings of human rights abuses in the Southern African region (SADC countries, which include Mauritius, Angola, Zambia, Tanzania, Malawi, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa). Results showed that many deaths occurred as a result of police action such as during arrest or while in police custody. Discriminatory attitudes were seen in "police failure to take action against human rights abuses committed by others" (Amnesty International 2002:21). Women reporting cases of rape and domestic violence are still met with insensitive police members who refuse to investigate these cases, labelling them as family or community matters. Street children, homosexuals, illegal immigrants, poor and illiterate people are also vulnerable to human rights abuses by police. The political misuse of the police is not new in the region either. While this was prominent in South Africa's past, such political involvement has diminished since 1994. The report recommended considerable training in human rights, training that goes beyond the one-day workshop. This includes incorporating it into the training of new recruits, regular refresher courses for older police members and ongoing monitoring and evaluation. The newness of such courses has made their effectiveness difficult to establish at this stage. Lisa Vetten from the Centre of the Study of Violence and Reconciliation has also spoken repeatedly on television documentaries on the lack of care and concern shown by police members towards victims of rape.

5.2.2.3 Theological perspective

What does theology have to say about the issue of human rights? Does God's love for all people mean that they can get away with murder? Do we treat hardened criminals with tender love, or is there a tough love that needs to be applied? How much of this is realistic in the heat of the moment? Some of these questions are addressed in Chapter Four, as we balanced a God of justice (4.3.2) with a God of compassion (4.3.3).

John Stott gives a brief history of where human rights come from and provides a helpful biblical basis for them. Apart from the fact that human rights were not invented in the last few years by the new South African government – but have a history as far back as Plato and Aristotle who also wrestled with the subject of freedom and justice; Britain's *Magna Carta* in 1215 and Bill of Rights in 1688-9; and the American 'Declaration of Independence' in 1776 – human rights also have a theological basis. Stott uses the three words of "dignity," "equality," and "responsibility." Having being created in the image of God (Genesis 1:27-28), we have been given dignity and the right to become fully human. This does not mean we can do as we please. We need to live the way God intended. The example he gives is that convicted criminals may be deprived of their right to freedom while imprisoned, but that does not justify the right to treat that prisoner inhumanely (Stott 1984:144-146). Regarding equality, Stott admits the tragedy that human rights have degenerated into "*my* rights" irrespective of the rights of others. For that reason, he goes on to highlight the biblical imperative to champion the rights of the powerless, showing no favouritism (Stott 1984:146-148). And about responsibility, Stott highlights defending the rights of others above our own through loving our neighbour. This is to counteract notions of self-centredness that human rights may evoke. Philippians 2 is about Jesus who did not insist on his own rights despite being falsely accused and dying an unjust death. Through this he argues that we should entrust any injustice to a just Judge and focus our attention on taking a loving interest in others.

Furthermore, Johannes van der Ven, Jaco Dreyer and Hendrik Pieterse state that Christianity's belief in salvation "prompts people to claim and defend – even fight for

– the human rights enshrined in the Bill of Rights" (Van der Ven, Dreyer & Pieterse 2004:454). While their focus was on Grade 11 pupils from a multicultural school and a mono-cultural school, their aim was to explore the relationship between religion and human rights. They argue that issues such as criminality, poverty, AIDS and unemployment need human rights to be enforced and that "Christianity must help to invigorate an inspiring human rights culture, otherwise it will lose all relevance" (Van der Ven, Dreyer & Pieterse 2004:454). And in their conclusion, they call upon the church to "crawl out of their cocoons and approach society with open and critical minds so as to contribute to the development of common social interests and values" (Van der Ven, Dreyer & Pieterse 2004:587).

5.2.2.4 Criminology perspective

Altbeker's research relayed a story told by a Black Inspector who spoke against the idea of human rights in a similar fashion to my co-researchers. He spoke of criminals who will kill others for nothing. If they are caught, they are treated in jail with free meals, expensive hospitals etc. Suffering while being imprisoned would, in his opinion, be a deterrent for crime. For him it was as if the government cared more about making criminals feel comfortable than treating the police with respect (Altbeker 2005:208-209).

One of the related areas is that of torturing suspects in order to extract information. While dealing with a policewoman trying to obtain information about a murder, Altbeker asked her why she did not revert to such methods, as tempting as they are. Her answer was that it was not worth her while to get into trouble over someone else. He made the concluding remark that: "If society refuses you permission to use any and all means to get the evidence you need, well, that's its problem. Fewer cases will be solved, and more bad guys will walk the streets, but that's a choice made by society, not by individual police officers" (Altbeker 2005:57).

5.2.2.5 Political perspective

Khehla Shubane, the Executive Director of the Nelson Mandela Foundation, also raises the point that some criticise the government's concern for "the wellbeing of

criminals rather than the rights of the victims" (Shubane 2001:192). But he goes on to say that "the argument that crime is increased by the overly generous human rights regime is not as self-evident as it seems" (Shubane 2001:193). He then makes a comparison with Brazil whose police, despite democratisation, use extra-judicial ways of maintaining order. Using force in combating crime did not have more successful results in Brazil. All my co-researchers and our audience disagreed with this view. For one thing, they said we could not compare South Africa to Brazil. And secondly, a criminal does not care about anybody's human rights while doing the crime, but shouts loudly about human rights when they are caught.

One thing we did take note of was of the work done by an Australian criminologist, Joan Wardop. According to Altbeker, she worked with the Soweto Flying Squad and argued that "excessive toughness is frowned upon" by their colleagues because "in Soweto, you never know who is watching, how many of them are armed, and who might take offence" (Altbeker 2005:141). So the message becomes: for the sake of self-preservation as a police officer, not because of any ideological commitment, one should not abuse a criminal's rights.

5.2.2.6 Summary on human rights

This topic is one of many differences between the ideal on paper and the reality on the frontline for police officers. The report by Amnesty International is correct as it identifies the insensitivity towards human rights, particularly towards certain vulnerable groups, and that more effort is needed in terms of training. Two things must be remembered when dealing with the topic of human rights. On the one hand there is the difficult and dangerous work that the police encounter every day. As such, split-second decisions need to be made, because a criminal will not hesitate to shoot a policeman, and mistakes can be made resulting in police fatalities. The police members I spoke to (both my co-researchers and audience) unanimously agreed that the criminal is not interested in anybody's human rights except their own. On the other hand, even though the criminals are perceived, by the public, as having more rights than their victims, we live in a democracy with a constitution. Theologically, we also affirm that people have been created in the image of God; that we have all sinned (not only the criminal); and that God can bring about change in people's lives.

As such Christianity needs to advocate human rights for both victims and criminals based on our common dignity, equality and responsibility. Tackling crime has to be done in a different way from using only bullying tactics. Creativity and perfecting our technology, detective and intelligence skills are going to be essential in combating crime that has become more sophisticated. Laufer sums it up well when he says:

> Of course, the police have a tough job and have to be tough in many situations, sometimes using deadly force. But equally, there are many situations – arguably the vast majority faced by officers each day – in which they have to be smart and disciplined in dealing with criminals, and empathetic to victims. This takes training and leadership.

(Laufer 2001:23)

5.2.3 Internal police relationships

Internal relationships between units, racial tensions, incentives and corruption formed the next portion of our reading material. Most of the commentary surrounding this topic came from a criminology perspective. But in the later part of this section I look at a perspective from business and from social sciences.

5.2.3.1 Relationship between units

We have discussed the SAPS relationship with other agencies involved in fighting crime in 2.3.4 and 3.2.5.4. I mentioned Wilfried Schärf who wrote that specialised units encourage a lack of co-operation "because of the manner in which the specialised units are measured and rewarded for success" (Schärf 2001:53). This causes tension with those at station level whose contribution often goes unrecognised. But simply amalgamating these units into the local SAPS stations will not bring a solution either, as we discovered with other disbanded units (3.2.4.2 b).

The restructuring of various units in the SAPS has also produced much tension and uncertainty. Bilkis Omar from the Institute of Security Studies gave an overview of this process. He pointed out that the initial intention (or so it seemed) was to restructure the SAPS to avoid duplication. For example, the Area Offices were

removed because they duplicated the work done by the Provincial Offices. Those staff members would be redeployed to local stations to bring their expertise back into station level policing. But this restructuring also affected the "Family Violence, Child Protection and Sexual Offences Unit" (FCS), the "Serious and Violent Crimes Unit" (SVC), and the "Area Crime Combating Units" (ACCU). Omar goes on to describe how the unions tried to stop this, or at least ensure that it was done in a consultative way. This was not communicated well to the police members, who claimed that the unions "sold them out." The effects of this restructuring in order to strengthen local police stations still needs to be evaluated over time (Omar 2007:25).

Most of my co-researchers felt that the restructuring process was not well handled. One of them felt that it was the right thing to do, but the others did not think it was a good thing. Their reasons were that it was not consultative with those on the ground; that the local police rely on the expertise of specialised personnel to help them solve complicated cases; and that they now had nobody to turn to, as their smaller stations in the Kwazulu-Natal Midlands were not given any of these experts. Before the restructuring proposals came, they, as we spoke about before, could not see the problem with existing relationships. The impression was that those in top management made their decisions regardless of what middle-management and unions had to say.

5.2.3.2 Racial tensions

Placing oneself anywhere on South African soil, one will find that the issue of racism is a highly emotive one. Racism does not only occur within the SAPS, but is found in all sectors of our society, including the political, business and religious community. Verbally it is condemned and denied, but if we are honest, racism is embedded within our South African situation. After all, we have lived separately from each other (even if some have lived in the same geographical location) for many years. Suspicions between people of different races flourish in such conditions. What happens in the SAPS is a mirror of what is taking place in our wider society. The question is not so much around analysis of the situation (because so much has been done there already), but on how to deal with it in practice.

Racial tensions (3.2.2), according to Schärf, are an issue that can easily be overcome through teamwork and celebrating their diversity. He writes: "White detectives cannot gather quality evidence if they don't speak the language of the residents. Black detectives who do not have driver's licences cannot do their work without transport" (Schärf 2001:63). Before we see this as simplistic, he does acknowledge the problems related to promotions that have definite racial connotations.

The overall impression my co-researchers and I had was that we are in the middle of a long process. As much as we would like the past to be swept clean, we are all still finding our way through our racism. While there is a lot of effort put into politically correct language and being critical of racism (sometimes to the point of absurdity – viewing each incident through "racist" eyes), not many people have solutions. Perhaps it will take another two or three generations before we shake free of our emotional prisons.

Jo Viljoen, who also did narrative research into the SAPS, sought to address the issue of racism in their group of participants. Viljoen used a counselling project for Aboriginal people in South Australia and incorporated narrative therapy practices in their group-work. While there were initial resistances amongst both Black and White participants, they eventually trusted the process. The process they followed was, firstly, naming the injustice (not denying it or becoming defensive); secondly externalising the problem (enabling them to talk about its effects without laying blame); thirdly, taking steps of resistance against racism towards more respectful practices even when in the company of one's own race group; and developing respectful practices, such as apologies, as an alternative way of living (Viljoen 2001). The helpful element we found from Viljoen's research was that changes of attitudes and behaviour begin with each one of us, not through policies and papers.

5.2.3.3 Promotions

A related issue to that of racism is the issue of affirmative action (or even favouritism) promotions. The changes that have come about in terms of promotions (3.2.3) have been summarised by Schärf as he writes:

Under apartheid one had to earn one's stripes through climbing up the ladder in a particular way, skewed as it was by limitations on advancement for 'blacks in the broad sense'. Affirmative action has meant accelerated promotions for those staff members who had been prohibited from rising up the hierarchy in the past. This process is widely perceived by the white police as putting people into positions for which they are not ready, and as therefore unfair to the career advancement of those who believe they are eligible for the jobs"

(Schärf 2001:60).

As we discovered, though, Indian policemen in Kwazulu-Natal were also not eligible for promotion and Altbeker mentioned Black policemen who felt overlooked (3.2.3.4). They even went so far as to say that they were purposefully failed in exams so that Black policemen would never be in charge of White policemen (Altbeker 2005:205). While acknowledging that management in the police before 1994 was dominated by Whites, my co-researchers did not agree that others were purposefully failed – at least not to their best knowledge. However, to get into the top management of the police did require some experience in the Security Branch (hence the dilemma of replacing General Johann van der Merwe, settling eventually for George Fivaz – see 2.3.4), or being part of the *Broederbond* (an elite organisation of top Afrikaners in politics, church, business etc). Looking at the situation surrounding promotions, both past and present, it seems to remain true that it has more to do with "who you know" than about "what you know."

David Bruce, from the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), came to similar conclusions in their assessment of policing. He writes:

While employment equity and affirmative action policies are necessary, it appears that the SAPS has been somewhat overzealous in adhering to them. Particularly where implementation of these policies is combined with other factors, such as nepotism or favouritism, it is likely to contribute negatively to staff morale.

(Bruce 2007:18)

The result seems to be a lack of respect for those in authority and jealousies when some do a good job. This sort of situation cannot be good for morale and cannot provide an incentive to work with excellence.

5.2.3.4 Corruption and low work ethic

In 3.2.1.1 we discussed the low quality of work and in 3.2.1.2 recorded the influence of corruption. We discovered that a lot of it is learned behaviour. The "Batho Pele" document had no tangible consequences in improving service delivery. It seems as if corruption and poor service delivery are taught to the new recruits when they enter stations to do their practical training.

Again in our reading, we found that these factors were not new. There is a history to corruption, legitimised by the previous government and it overflows into the present. In their article "Lessons learnt on anti-corruption" the National Anti-Corruption Forum (The NACF being a partnership between government, business and civil society) stated: "Since the apartheid government had to limit transparency to achieve its ends, such context was a breeding ground for corruption…. Given South Africa's past the presence of corruption was not surprising but must not be tolerated" (http://www.nacf.org.za 7 May 2008). In the same article, they quote from President Nelson Mandela's opening address to parliament in 1999 who said that: "we must admit that we have a sick society" (http://www.nacf.org.za 7 May 2008). It also says that: "Although the Minister of Safety and Security… and the Deputy Minister of Justice are members of the NACF there is very little input from them or their representatives at forum meetings" (http://www.nacf.org.za 7 May 2008).

Antony Altbeker, after working with the Anti-Hijacking Unit for a week wrote: "Within their own unit, the detectives acknowledge the existence of corruption. One officer, whom they all suspect of consorting with hijackers and stealing dockets, is despised and ignored" (Altbeker 2001:39). So there is an acknowledgement that we are a corrupt society, and the police will also reflect that in their ranks.

There is, of course, another way of looking at the low quality of work some police members display. It may be in terms of the multiple tasks they are called upon to do. Police work is not simply a case of fighting criminals "out there" who prey on innocent victims. For example, in terms of domestic violence, often where both parties are drunk, Altbeker writes: "Cops resent being dragged into these things…. They would infinitely prefer to hunt criminals who prey on strangers rather than ex-boyfriends with anger-management problems" (Altbeker 2005:24). Yet, my co-researchers and I were not satisfied with this because they had done this sort of intervention before 1994. Shubane reminds us that: "Before the transition, the South African Police (SAP) was reputed to be the best in Africa: members had what appeared to be an insatiable capacity to apprehend suspects, bring them to trial and obtain a high record of convictions" (Shubane 2001:190). Why was it becoming a big issue now amongst some "lazy" policemen? Why do the police seem so ineffective and open to corruption?

According to Schärf, "One of the biggest causes of police ineffectiveness has been the breakdown of the cop-culture that was so strong during the apartheid years" (Schärf 2001:60). He states that the reason is twofold: One is the new criterion for promotion, based on affirmative action and the other, the presence of unions. "Together these two factors have broken down the former solidarity, the unity of purpose and the commitment of police to put their lives on the line in the fight against crime" (Schärf 2001:60). This ties in with what Leon spoke about when he said that policemen used to be proud of successful breakthroughs. Now it is no longer there, at least not to the same extent as it was before 1994.

5.2.3.5 Business perspective

Maxwell writes about leaders motivating others around them to increase their productivity. Here, he says leaders need to be creative because people are different and circumstances change all the time. Among those creative ideas are: putting out a challenge, providing further training, encouraging or setting up incentives (Maxwell 2005:272). Certainly the old method of obeying orders from above no longer works

and so, as difficult as it might be to adjust, police officers need to learn new ways of leading and inspiring the police members under their charge.

5.2.3.6 Social sciences perspective

Interpersonal relationships and motivation are two of the subjects dealt with within social sciences that relate to the above. For example, much has been written on getting to a win-win situation in our relationships. And psychology has also contributed considerably to our understanding of what motivates people to give of their best. This was the sort of reading material my co-researchers and I found helpful in terms of relating at work.

A win-win goal applies to relationships of any kind. It is proposed as a goal in our relationships within our family, our churches, our workplace and any civil situation of conflict. It was this principle that was used by peace-monitors in conflict resolution and it is still something we feel is applicable within the workplace of police officers. This approach values all parties involved in the relationship equally and seeks to go beyond compromise towards a position where all parties obtain maximum benefit as a solution. How is this made applicable in the police service? For one thing, promotions and incentives based on performance and rewarding hard work, rather than favouritism or affirmative action (which we discovered is also not entirely true), would mean a better motivated police officer, an improved public image for those in higher management and greater public satisfaction as crime is effectively dealt with. In other words, all parties would stand to benefit from such an action.

Psychology speaks of teleological and causal explanations to our motivations. When behaviour is motivated by goals, intentions and purposes, it is referred to as teleological. And when behaviour is mechanical or just obeying laws, it has a causal explanation. Getting positive and negative feedback; the need or drive for achievement and the fear of failure; satisfying self-interests or motivated out of concern for the well-being of others; instinctual motivations for protection or curiosity; and Maslow's hierarchy of needs – all these are spoken of within psychology. Industrial psychologists are enthusiastic investigators into what motivates workers. They have looked at external factors such as salaries, the policy of the

organisation, working conditions and job security. And they have considered internal factors such as achievements, completing important tasks, being praised or recognised and promotions. We agreed that these are all important components. Unfortunately, at the moment, these factors are short-circuited by affirmative action, or rather cheapened by unfair practices, favouring certain people over others irrespective of experience and competence.

5.2.3.7 Summary on internal police relationships

These views echo what has already been discovered in our journey thus far. Here we have explored the relationships between different units (and their restructuring), at racial tensions, promotions based on who you know (before 1994, it was linked to the Broederbond, now selective affirmative action), and corruption. We also tried to find insight from business and social sciences in improving motivation and pride in what work policemen do. After amalgamating eleven forces into one (2.3.1) and having to overcome tensions between different racial groups, work ethics and policies about promotions, my co-researchers' thoughts were mixed between pessimism and hopefulness. They were not convinced that the situation will get better any time soon, especially as many good policemen have left the SAPS and training courses were too brief and not implemented (3.2.3.2 & 4.2.2). Yet they held onto a vague hope that things would not deteriorate beyond redemption in the long term. There are still good police members who want to do well and are well disciplined. And those are the kind of members that my co-researchers are willing to work with irrespective of their race, rank or what unit they belong to.

5.2.4   Utilizing communities and technology

5.2.4.1 Informers / Sources

As mentioned in 3.2.5.5, these are members of the community who provide valuable information to the SAPS about criminal activities on the streets. Once referred to as "informers," they are now known as "sources" because of the political connotations. Informers prior to 1994 were seen as betrayers of the community to an apartheid government. But what, according to the criminologists, has happened to this practice?

Writing from a criminology perspective, Schärf points out some tensions between the detectives and intelligence branches of the SAPS because of their different methodologies. Detectives, he says, want information that is going to be admissible evidence in court cases. And those in crime intelligence pass on information to their colleagues gathered from their 'sources' in the field. For safety reasons, crime intelligence has a legal obligation not to reveal their sources. According to Schärf, these methods conflict with the demands for 'evidence' that can stand up in court" (Schärf 2001:55). He claims that the source of this rivalry comes from apartheid days "when the security branch trumped all other police units" (Schärf 2001:56). Schärf used the example of the arrest of Deon Mostert who later claimed to be an informer regarding the St. Elmo's bomb blast in Camps Bay, near Cape Town, on 8 November 1999. He goes on to recommend that their working relationship needs improvement and clear policies and mechanisms be introduced regarding each operation including the limits of the amount of crime such agents be allowed to do.

In my reading I also found instances where the police do not want help and information is not used. One example was relayed through the newspaper on the 28th October 2007 about a retired General, Suiker Britz, who established an investigation company. He reported that he found the police unhelpful even after giving them information about suspects, witnesses, photos etc. They still did nothing with the information. He even offered to train detectives free of charge but Selebi never got back to him (Rapport, p 13). In a similar article on the same page, Mr. Tristan Melland wanted to start "The Criminal Record" to help get eyes on the road for wanted criminals. Ground level police were in favour, but management (Senior Superintendent Vishnu Naidoo being mentioned) was against it, saying police methods were sufficient and such publications will give the impression that crime is out of control (Rapport, p 13).

5.2.4.2 Community Police Forums

From a criminology point of view, Altbeker recalled the early experiences of police having to work with civilians saying that, apart from a few exceptions, most police officers hated civilians, regarding them as "know-nothing *hase*." Civilians at the time

were sceptical of the police management's politics, competence and honesty (Altbeker 2005:248). While we partially agreed with Altbeker here, we felt that much has been achieved since those early, awkward days of uncertainties. Some of my co-researchers did not experience these early tensions, either because they were not directly involved or because the towns they worked in were small enough for everyone to know each other before the formalised relationships. Wilfried Schärf, Gaironesa Saban and Maria Hauck, on the other hand wrote about "an initial surge of interest and activism in the post-1993 phase" (Schärf, Saban & Hauck 2001:68) followed by a decline into deeper scepticism about the success of CPFs and a corresponding growth in vigilante activity.

5.2.4.3 Vigilantism

Altbeker's research took place at the Maluti police station where they encounter a lot of stock theft. There the police need members of community, chiefs, headmen and "peace committees" because they cannot be everywhere all the time. When the police told Altbeker that they sometimes find bodies on the mountain, he initially felt that they approved vigilantism. But he goes on to say:

> It wasn't that I was wrong to worry about vigilantism, it was that I had completely failed to grasp what was interesting about the relationship between the police and the peace committees, who were, in effect, negotiating the position of the boundary between the modern state and something else [the informal, tribal institution of justice].

(Altbeker 2005:40)

An article by D. Singh highlighted some of the root causes of vigilantism and proposed an African form of restorative justice "to co-exist with the current criminal justice processes" (Singh 2005:49). Singh summed up the causes by saying that "there exists, currently within the townships, little confidence or trust in the police or the criminal justice system" (Singh 2005:46). Regarding police action, the article speaks of community frustrations with police not responding or following up on information, even when the community members catch suspects. The slow justice system with easy bail conditions, poor investigations and free meals if and when the person is

imprisoned add to these frustrations about crime in the community. It is much easier, quicker and apparently more effective for the community to apprehend and punish the criminal themselves. A proposal Singh comes up with is similar to the jury system as in the U.S.A. where a suspect is placed on trial in front of fellow citizens for crimes through a firmly and responsibly managed process. In doing so, "a synergy between the traditional practices of the criminal justice system and community justice" can be developed towards restorative justice (Singh 2005:49).

5.2.4.4 Crime statistics

From a criminology viewpoint, Antoinette Louw and Martin Schönteich reminded us of the national moratorium that was placed on releasing crime statistics after May 2000. One can appreciate that this was done due to concerns about their reliability and accuracy. They mentioned an example of a station who recorded incidents of pick-pocketing while traveling in a taxi as "cash-in-transit heists." However, it created a lot of media criticism of it being a political cover-up to hide the government's incompetence in dealing with crime. The article then went on to say: "Ironically the better an area is policed, the more crimes the officers will witness, detect and record and the more people will want to report crime. Thus good policing often results in higher levels of recorded crime" (Louw & Schönteich 2001:47). They then say that the effectiveness of the justice system is in how many arrested people are prosecuted.

5.2.4.5 Fighting crime with technology

Altbeker's contribution in the last chapter of latest book gives some common sense solutions with regards technology. For example, he speaks about cars (as with cell-phones) being blacklisted and rendered useless, having parts with electronic signatures making them safer. Technologies that can identify, track and convict offenders through DNA databases; real-time tracking of vehicles; and electronic tagging of less dangerous criminals to decrease prison population are some of his other suggestions. He says that, "Technology-based improvements in safety are unstoppable and irreversible. They will not end crime in South Africa, but their contribution could make a huge difference to levels of safety" (Altbeker 2007:177).

5.2.4.6 Business perspective

Writing about leadership, Maxwell says that, because leadership is complicated and we all have our blind spots, organisations need to develop teams at all levels. He writes: "A group of leaders working together is always more effective than one leader working alone. And for teams to develop at every level, they need leaders at every level" (Maxwell 2005:265). In other words, having a network of people with various insights will benefit the organisation as a whole. Before the early 1990s, the police were reluctant to work with a network that was too wide, apart from their own chosen informers. But over the last decade, they have, in places, seen the benefits it can have, having the community's help financially (for example "Business against Crime") and neighbourhood watches where members of the community are their eyes and ears.

5.2.4.7 Social sciences perspective

Right at the outset of his book "The 7 Habits of Highly Effective People," Stephen Covey opens his acknowledgments with the words: "Interdependence is a higher value than independence" (Covey 1999). Although he says that independence precedes interdependence, we agreed with the statement because we all need each other. People can try to work independent of others, but our lives are enriched when we recognise the diverse contribution that others can make. Just as we are convinced that our world is socially constructed, so too we recognise our dependence upon each other in a mutually beneficial relationship. People with different insights and expertise working towards a common outcome (such as fighting crime) can be a very effective strategy.

5.2.4.8 Summary on utilizing communities and technology

Cooperation will only be possible when there is mutual respect fostered between police officers themselves and between members of the SAPS and the public. Bruce, in his assessment, writes that the SAPS have struggled to work with the public. Their reluctance to make crime statistics available, even within some CPF meetings, undermines their efforts to be transparent in a new democracy and gain the cooperation of the public in fighting crime (Bruce 2007:17). This section has taught

us the importance of teamwork in utilizing sources (both those referred to in the past as informers and using information voluntarily provided by the public) and working together in CPF structures to avoid the temptation towards vigilantism. We need to recognise our interdependence upon one another and thereby the necessity to be transparent in correct statistics and conviction rates. And we recognised the value of technology, its availability and usefulness, if only it would be implemented.

5.3   SUMMARY

In this chapter we have dealt with the sixth movement in our research procedure. In it I have tried to gather comments from different disciplines pertaining to the stories my co-researchers had shared with me. Four major areas were explored, each with their own sub-headings of contributions from other disciplines. Together we discovered many areas of transversality, places where we could find common understanding from the disciplines of business, politics, social sciences and, in some cases, theology. There were also, of course, places where disagreement occurs (even within a specific discipline) as opinions differ. However, one of the major common threads was a longing for a police service that is accountable and provides quality in terms of service delivery to the public. Middle-management are essential components of this process, because they are the ones who monitor the day to day occurrences at station level. They are usually the ones on the frontline of police-work and face the community on an ongoing basis. As such they are the ones who need training and support to fulfil these requirements and meet the challenges. Taking this further, we now move to movement seven as this research moves towards a wider community.