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APPENDIX 1

INFORMATION SHEET



UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA

INFORMATION SHEET FOR INVITED PARTICIPANTS

Researcher Rev. Brian Burger
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Department Practical Theology
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Title Exploring narratives of White male police officers serving in the South African Police Services in the Kwazulu-Natal Midlands area under a new Constitution: A practical theological journey.

Introduction

Thank you for your interest in this research that you and I will be engaging in regarding working under a new constitution in the SAPS. Please read this information carefully before finalising your decision to participate. Should you have any questions regarding the content of this information sheet, please do not hesitate to ask me.

What is the purpose of the study?

I am in the process of completing a Doctorate in Practical Theology at the University of Pretoria. The course uses a Narrative Approach to research and therapy, an approach that seeks to listen carefully to the stories of people's actual experiences described in their own words rather than answering a questionnaire. I believe that there are many stories that are untold or silenced that need to be heard so that others may benefit and discover hope for their own stories. In order to meet the requirements for this degree, I must write a research thesis. Furthermore, this will assist me in my work as a pastor, gaining new insights into people's life experiences. My hope is that, as we explore the topic together, you will also benefit through telling and re-interpreting your stories.



Why have I approached you?

For this project I need to interview members of the South African Police Services. As you are involved and have expressed your willingness verbally, I would appreciate anything we can learn together.

What will you be asked to do?

I would like to meet with you and any members of your family who are willing to participate, listening to your stories in relation to the above topic. This interview will be audio-taped and transcribed afterwards. This transcript will be made available to you for verification and/or adjustment. No-one else will listen to the audio-tapes except myself and they will be erased afterwards.

In the meeting, at a place of convenience for you (eg your own home), I will explore conversationally your story as a member of the SAPS and invite each of the other family members to share their views or responses regarding the topic. While I have certain areas of interest, the agenda for these conversations will be determined by you and your family. And, even though my primary role will be to ask questions regarding where influences and opinions emerge from (eg. your experience, the media, the bible etc.), you also need to feel free to ask your own questions. This is because I believe in the principle of us researching this topic together.

At the outset of our meeting, each participant has a right to set the boundaries of their conversation. This includes not needing to answer a question you prefer not to respond to and terminate any line of questioning with which you are uneasy with or which detracts from what you feel are more important aspects of your story. These boundaries include the right to use a pseudonym if you prefer to do so.

Once the initial interview is done, I will extract themes from each of the interviews which emerge as important. These themes will be checked with you to see whether they are valid and you will be able to respond to the themes other participants have raised (although no personal information will be divulged to others, only the themes). I will also bring these themes into discussion with literature from eg. criminology, psychology, chaplains and other participants, which you may also want to comment on.



In the interests of confidentiality, no personal information will be shared with other participants during the research. Should you later choose to withdraw, all data related to you will be destroyed. Wording in the final document will be carefully scrutinised so as not to jeopardise any participant in any way. You are also invited to participate in that process.

Conclusion

Should you agree to participate, you will be asked to give your consent for the information gathered to be used in the research document. I look forward to working closely with you. I am anticipating that I will work on this thesis between 2005 and 2007. The final thesis will be submitted at the end of 2007.



APPENDIX 2

CONSENT FORM



UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
BRIAN BURGER
CONSENT FORM FOR INVITED PARTICIPANTS

Exploring narratives of White male police officers serving in the South African Police Services in the Kwazulu-Natal Midlands area under a new constitution: A practical theological journey.

I have read the information sheet concerning the research project of Rev. Brian Burger and understand its purpose. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I can request further information at any stage.

I know that :

1. my participation in the project is entirely voluntary.
2. I am free to withdraw from the project at any time.
3. all the audio-tapes will be destroyed at the end of the project.
4. that a copy of the final research document will be retained by the University of Pretoria.
5. I will receive no payment for participating in the study.
6. all personal information supplied by me will remain confidential and anonymous throughout the project.

I hereby confirm that I am willing to participate in this research project.

.....
Signature of participant

.....
Date



APPENDIX 3

TRANSCRIPT (Pieter)



Brian Thank-you Pieter for your willingness to participate in this research project. I hope that it will be beneficial for you as well as for my final research thesis. As we discussed before, we are exploring your experience as an officer in the South African Police Services, with particular emphasis on the post-1994 era. In other words, we are exploring your experiences of policing under a new constitution. I know that we have spoken informally about this for some time, but I wonder if, for the record, you have a particular story you would like to share?

Pieter Well, at the moment, my experience is coloured by a stressful relationship with the new station superintendent. When he first came, I was the first officer to go and greet him. I said to him that I am here for him if he needs any assistance. I've been in this area for many years and I know the people very well. So I said I'm here if he wants to work with me. He said yes, he does want to work with me. And I thought that things would go well. But then I started seeing how he ran things and how he treated people. He has really upset a lot of people at the station. And, while others kept quiet, I would not. I spoke to him about the things he was doing wrong. But he just chased me out of his office. He has no idea of how to work with people. One of the things he said was that the station is too White. But there are only a few White policemen. In fact, we are quite a balanced station in terms of races – White, Indian and Black policemen. But he said that we are too White! He's even got the Indian and some Black policemen upset. He even said that the Community Police Forum was too White.

Brian Yes, I heard about that. Of course, at the Area Board of the CPFs, it was also mentioned, but we were elected by a proper AGM where, when you look at the attendance register, there were many Black people in attendance. But then, we have also co-opted people of other races into the executive.

Marian You, know, in all the years I have known Pieter, I have never seen him like this. Even when he was station commander at Hammarsdale and got all those racial problems, being the only White policeman at the station, with all the death threats, he still was never like this. The working conditions are unbearable now. Brian, do you know what the station commander said about your burglary? [There had been a number of burglaries in our area of which



my house was one, as was Pieter and Marian's house]. He said that Brian could've burgled his own house to get the insurance!

Brian Well, I suppose it's his job to ask questions, but it does anger me that he would think that. Do you think this is all pure racism?

Pieter No, because other members are also angry. One Indian officer booked off sick and whispered to me that we would never see him in this station again, because he was going to fight for a transfer. He said he could not work with this man. The problem is that everyone just shrug their shoulders and keep quiet. But I refuse to keep quiet. I will not put up with such treatment. It is definitely de-motivating the people working there.

Brian What are the kinds of things he's done?

Pieter Well, for one thing, when he came he told one of the Indian Inspectors who is in charge of Sector Policing and the co-ordinator for the local CPF that he is no longer in charge of that. The job was given to a Black policeman who has not attended a CPF. Even after he was tasked with the job, he's not been there. In the end, the task was given to a Black policewoman.

Brian And the reasoning behind it?

Pieter The station commander said that other policemen also need to get a chance to do this work. But they are the ones who aren't there and so don't do the job properly.

Brian And the Inspector who lost his job description?

Pieter At first he was angry. He didn't know what he was now supposed to do. But eventually he stopped worrying about it. He just does what he's told to do now and no more.

Brian And what has your experience of the new station commander been?

Pieter Well, he started by taking away my vehicle. The double-cab was given to me for my use by Area. That's the vehicle I could use to get me to farms etc. in order to do my work in crime prevention properly. The first thing he did was to take the vehicle away from me. He then gave it to other policemen who are now busy wrecking it. They do not use it carefully or clean it properly when they come back. I give that vehicle a couple of years and it will be run into the ground, guaranteed. When I used to go out in the vehicle, I would come back with people I've arrested. Even now, I take a walk from the police station (because I don't have a vehicle) and within two blocks, I'll make an arrest for



dagga. Those guys will put on two- or three-hundred kilometres without making a single arrest. They have nothing to show for all their travelling.

Brian But what happens when you need the vehicle?

Pieter At the moment I have some informers in Cato Ridge who have information for me about crimes. I can't get to them. The Superintendent says I must give the names of the informers to the detectives. And I won't do that. They are *my* informers. I've developed a relationship of trust with them over the years and they won't trust other policemen. And what happens if those policemen make a mess? Those informers will never trust me again.

Brian And if I came and took you in my private vehicle to them?

Pieter (Smiles) Unfortunately, you can't do that. Because if there's an accident or things go wrong, the state will not take responsibility. The superintendent wants me in the station. If I want to use a vehicle, I have to get permission and then go to a policeman who has a lower rank than me to ask for the keys. It's wrong!

Brian So how do you deal with these frustrations?

Pieter Well, soon after he arrived, he had to go on an officer's course. I am senior to him in terms of years of experience and now, because of affirmative action, he has a higher rank – but he's only just gone on an officer's course now. So when he was away, I was happy. Then over Christmas and New Year I took leave – which he first cancelled but approved Marian's. So Marian and the children almost went on holiday without me, because the place was booked and everything arranged. An Indian Inspector stands in when I'm away and I stand in for him when he's away. But eventually my leave was granted after a long fight with the superintendent. So that month away was a relief. Then, when I am at the station, I get out. I go walking and visiting the businesses in the area to find out if there are problems and to build relationships with them. And I also take my time due. Whenever I have worked overtime, I take the leave that's due to me, which is something I never did in the past. So wherever I can, I avoid him. I greet him in the morning because I have to and then I don't speak to him again. I salute his rank, but not him as a person. I tell others if I'm going out so they know where I am. The Superintendent doesn't tell anyone when he goes out and where he's going to. So I avoid him and, it seems, he avoids me too. The other day he gave instructions to an Inspector to



convey to me that I had to work at the Dusi canoe marathon. I have no objection with working there – it also gets me away from him a bit – but why doesn't he tell me himself. I don't take orders from a junior officer. He must tell me himself.

Brian Because you have a hardened attitude to each other?

Pieter Yes, I know I can be stubborn sometimes. But really, this situation is really not good. He doesn't know how to deal with those under him. So what I've started doing is this. I spoke to another police commissioner whom I trust and have always had respect for. You can't fault this guy on anything. He *knows* police work. And I now write down everything that happens in meetings etc. And I'm building up a case. Then I'll go back to this commissioner and get him to read it and advise me on adjustments and so on. And then I'll put in a formal complaint. And whenever I have a meeting with him, I will make sure I have a Union representative there with me, so that the superintendent can't just say and do as he pleases. The only problem is that our superintendent is good buddies with all the very high ranking officers. He owns farms and has a fair deal of money. So I need to build a strong case. It'll take time, but I'll get there.

Brian Do you think it would help him if he went on a managerial course of some kind to help him in his job as a commander of this station in dealing with people in a more helpful and appropriate way? Maybe with the change from a para-military structure to a service provider, new management styles need to be taught.

Pieter He once said that he does not need to go on courses. Remember he is someone who has less experience than me at police work and has got to his position through Affirmative Action and having friends in high places. He only did his officers' course after getting the rank.

Brian And, Marian, you work there as a clerk. How do you deal with the frustrations?

Marian It really is bad. The other day, one of the staff needed to take her child to the orthodontist and had booked months in advance. And the Superintendent refused to let her take her child. No, things are really bad. But, as for me, I have accepted a new post in another police station. I think the Superintendent



is angry about it, but I don't care anymore. There I am closer to the children's school and won't have any transport worries. I'm just glad to be getting out.

Brian And you, Pieter, would you also consider a transfer?

Pieter At one stage I did, but then I thought: why should I? I know the community well. I've worked in the area for many years. Why should I move? No, I'm going to stick it out here. I'll show this guy that I'm a better policeman than he is. I know my job and I do it well.

Brian You spoke just now about the different ranks and people jumping ahead in promotions. Is that a sensitive point for you?

Pieter Yes it is. I know and can appreciate that the powers-that-be wanted to redress previous inequalities and get more representation throughout the police structures right down to local stations. But at the same time, this has gone on for a long time now. We are more than 10 years into a New South Africa. Now that things have been redressed, they should start promoting people again based on their experience and performance. I've been stuck as a Captain for long enough. I've been to further courses and I've done my job properly. I deserve a promotion. And besides, I wasn't the one who invented apartheid. Why must we now suffer for decisions other people and politicians made and continue to make? It's not right! There are a group of officers in Gauteng who have gone to the CCMA to get the promotions they feel they deserve. And they won their case. Then, just before Christmas, the Minister put in an urgent appeal to the High Court preventing this. But the High Court said it wasn't urgent enough and they must wait until the new year. So we will see what happens. I have been in touch with them to find out how I can do something similar if need be. So I am waiting too. Then look at Jason [another policeman in the area]. He's got his Masters degree in forensics and a brilliant policeman. Now he's left and working at Outsurance using his knowledge there.

Brian I hear that his starting salary was in the region of what a Director gets.

Pieter Yes, and he would never have got to that kind of rank being White. He's still young, so he could make that move in his career. So I'm waiting to see what will happen with me.

Brian I guess time will tell as far as that's concerned. That I guess has been a real negative in terms of your policing career. But I remember you telling me of another seemingly negative experience that turned out well in the end for you.



Pieter Oh yes, the time I received a house arrest. That was the time I had caught a suspect who I knew was guilty. And he just would not break when I interrogated him. He would not give me any information. And so, in those days, we used the tube as a means of torture. Torture was often a very effective method of getting information. It is unfortunate that it was done away with because you sometimes battle to get information and the guilty party walks free. But, in this case, I was busy beating this suspect when another policeman walked into the room. He decided to lay a charge against me and eventually I was sentenced to house arrest. I couldn't go anywhere except to work and church and the courses I had to as part of my sentence. But I couldn't go anywhere with my family. The positive side to it was that it brought our family together. And now I deal with suspects very differently as well.

Brian I was reading in a book by Anthony Altbeker about different police officers who used different methods to extract information. One policewoman almost seemed to flirt with the suspects in the hope that they would think she's a friend and give her valuable information. Other policemen would take a more forceful approach and threaten, though not use, physical coercion to scare the person into giving information.

Pieter Yes, there are the methods of interviewing and that of interrogation. We use both in order to try get information. It depends on the situation and how the person co-operates. And then, of course, we still use informers, like I said earlier on. I have my informers and other policemen must get theirs. And then you work on building trust with them and when there is a successful conviction, the informer is rewarded. We fill in an application and the informer gets paid for providing the information necessary.

Brian That kind of resource has been available for some time, of course. But what about now, especially dealing with more sophisticated crimes?

Pieter Yes, there are always courses we go on to train us in new equipment that is coming on the market. For instance, I have recently been trained in the use of a machine that takes a person's fingerprints and then, within a few minutes, it will tell me if this person is a wanted person. It has a data-base that keeps a record of fingerprints that can link the person in front of me to a crime or



number of crimes. So I can put in a request to have the machine (which is kept in Pietermaritzburg) for a couple of days when I go out on the road.

Brian And then you were mentioning people resources, like informers. But, for me, another obvious people resource is in the Community Police Forum. I know I'm assuming an issue here, but it is one of the new things that have been implemented since 1994. What has been your experience of that? I remember when it first started, there was a lot of suspicion between the police and the community.

Pieter Well, I was not involved in the CPF in those early years, so I can't really comment. I only got involved in about 2000. And I must say that it has worked very well for me. I have been involved in a few projects together with the CPF that were very successful.

Brian Well, could we maybe talk about one that stood out for you?

Pieter The one that stands out is one we had recently involving one of the local schools. As you know, because you were part of it, we had a Sector Policing meeting with the businesses in the area. At one of those meetings (another meeting that our superintendent stopped), a representative from the school was there. Together we spoke about the problem of drugs that is getting into the schools. Many of these Primary School children are being targeted by drug dealers. So together, we decided to do a project at the school. We set a date and I organised the Rape Unit and the Drug Squad to come along. I got the Dog Unit to come along as well. And then, of course, you came to do something on Domestic Violence. We then had the whole school come into the hall for an assembly and each one of the units presented a demonstration for the children and gave them advice on what to do. The school was very cooperative and I think that the morning went very well. The children's attention was kept through the variety of presentations and explanations. And we knew that it was important to start focussing on Primary Schools, because that is who the criminals are targeting. By the time they get to High School it is almost too late. And then, judging from the children's response, it was very successful. The children wrote letters and made cards for each of the units that had come – hundreds of letters expressing their gratitude.

Brian I know, because I received a big fat envelope with about 80 cards and letters myself.



Pieter Yes, I would say that was a good awareness project and I hope that it pays off in time to come. Even if just one child who was thinking about drugs or whatever and has changed his or her mind, it will be worth it. We should really do that sort of thing more often, because there are always new pupils coming into school, who won't have heard it before – and we must be even more relentless in our efforts than the criminals are in theirs.

Brian Any other helpful resources?

Pieter Yes, as you know, we have a good working relationship with the security companies and farm protection units in the area. They often help us in making arrests when there are robberies. In fact, they have caught many suspects – from stealing chickens to assaults, whatever. Our networks work well together, so that we have more eyes on the street when we are looking for people. When they catch someone, we make sure we get there and take it from there. And then, too, we have a very good working relationship with the courts around the corner from us. Actually, we are very lucky there. They tell us when they need more information, what they need etc and we get it to them even before it goes to court. And if we need to oppose bail when we think the person will disappear if granted bail or if they will be a danger, we have no problems getting that support from the prosecutor – as long as we do our side properly, which doesn't always happen. Some of our guys are a bit slow and things slip when they are not well led.

Brian I just find it a great pity when police officers sometimes struggle to work together.

Pieter Yes, that happens from time to time. While we can work well together in some emergency situations, working with other specialised units as well, there are times when it doesn't happen. Remember the story I told you in your previous studies about when I was a young policeman – I had to shoot a mental patient who was attacking me. My “crew” [slang term for a Black partner] didn't help me at all. Instead, he locked himself in the back of the police van to get away from this dangerous patient. He didn't help me at all, not even when the other policemen threatened to have me prosecuted. It was a civilian witness who came to my rescue and the magistrate ruled that I had acted in self-defence. So yes, I wouldn't trust some of my colleagues. But there have also been good



policemen I have worked with and successful partnerships with other units and community initiatives that have kept my spirits up.

Brian Any other incentives to keep you going?

Pieter Yes, incentives are given out. But I won't get any. The superintendent does not like me and so he will never approve an incentive for me. But that's okay, I'll just carry on with my work as I usually do.

Brian And I know the question comes out the blue, but Section 49 – how have you found that?

Pieter No problem there. As I've told you before, I have shot a lot of people before. And I know the law. I know when I can and when I can't shoot. It hasn't really changed the way I operate. If I have to chase someone, I will, or send in the dog unit. We now have to go on the same competency tests as the public with regards to weapons. As you've probably seen in the news, we have to do a fitness test, because the government doesn't want unfit and incapable, fat policemen who can't chase fit and well-built criminals. I'm going on my test next week, in fact. There they check if you are fit and able and whether you can use your firearm competently after some running. If you can't, they remove your weapon until you can pass the test. I don't think I'll have a problem with that.

Brian I'm sure you won't. And again I want to thank you for your participation in this interview.

Pieter Certainly, and if there is anything you want to explore further, please feel free to come and chat some more.

Brian I certainly will. Once I have drawn out the themes from different participants, we'll talk some more about them.



APPENDIX 4

TRANSCRIPT (Leon)



Brian Thank you for your willingness to participate in this research project. I hope that it will be beneficial for you as well for my final research thesis. As we discussed before, we are exploring your experience as an officer in the South African Police Services, with particular emphasis on the post-1994 era. In other words, we are exploring your experiences of policing under a new constitution. I know that we have spoken informally about this for some time, but I wonder if, for the record, you have a particular story you would like to share?

Leon Ja, I would say that my recent experience of policing has not been very positive. I am finding the situation very frustrating at the moment. Luckily, I am near to retirement, so I am just “hanging in” there, doing the best I can until my retirement. I would say one of the biggest problems is that many policemen I work with don’t want to work. I am the branch commander of the detectives at my station. There I have 15 detectives who work under me. And most of them don’t do their work.

Estelle There are some who work hard.

Leon But the majority, the *majority* do not. Maybe 4 of them do the work. The rest don’t. All they want is to be able to put their card in the ATM every month and draw their salary. They don’t care about whether they are doing their work or not, as long as they get their salary. “Batho pele” is totally non-existent.

Brian Can you give me an example, and we’ll see where the story takes us?

Leon Let me tell you a story of something that happens on more than one occasion. We were called in to a case where a man was shot 4 times by a gang of 5 people. He survived. Three of them were known by the victim. When the detectives went to question him, they did not show any concern for him or his family. Now, when I go in, I really do feel for the suffering of the victim and their family. My heart goes out to them. But these detectives, even though they live in the same community, they come from the area, but they did not show any care for this man. They just took his statement and left. Because some of the gang were known and named, they managed to arrest one man. The others are still walking free. Now the statement has to be re-taken because the first statement referred to “them” and “they.” But the prosecutor needs a statement about what *this* arrested person’s role was in the whole incident so that the case can proceed in court. These detectives were too lazy to go find him to



take a statement. I found this out when I was checking on the case myself. I asked them if they had gone to get the other statement and they said that they had tried but could not find him. The reason they gave was that this man who was shot had another case against him, so whenever the police came to his house, he would run away, thinking that they were coming to arrest him. So, later I saw on the docket was a telephone number, which I phoned. The father of the victim answered and I asked him about this whole situation. And he told me it was all nonsense. His son was right there with him, although at that particular time he was visiting someone next door, and that he would call him if I wanted him to. He also said to me that there is no such case against his son and so had nothing to fear of the police. And he said that, to date, no detectives had come to see him or look for him at all. So the detectives were lying to me. They had told me they had been there and yet they were never anywhere near the house! So, in the end, I went out with another officer to get the statement. I then laid a charge against the detectives who were on the case. The ICD, the Independent Complaints Directorate, was also brought in to find out what was happening. In the end, these 2 detectives got a 2-year suspended sentence for defeating the ends of justice. Now it is that kind of attitude of not caring enough to do your work that makes me so frustrated. I sommer call these detectives “defectives”... and then I get told I’m a racist. But I would also say the same if these guys were White detectives, because they are defective. And it’s the community that suffer. They do not get to see justice being done.

Brian And where does that take the community?

Leon Well, just the other day we had a similar situation where the detectives did not do any work and make any arrests. And the community got hold of a suspect themselves. I was called out to the scene where they had this man and were beating him badly. Now, always before, I would arrive on a scene after the event has happened and there is a dead body already. This time, however, they were still beating this man.

Estelle This event affected Leon badly.

Leon There was absolutely nothing I could do. I was on my own. The crowd had already put a tyre of petrol on him and were not going to stop until he was burned to death properly. And they did! And all because those detectives had



not done their work and made some arrests. There is no sense of pride in their work. You know, in the old days, we would get information from our sources in the community and we would go and raid the suspect's house. And there we would find TVs, video machines, hi-fis, whatever. And we would arrest the guy and take the stolen goods to the charge office – that it stood that whole room full. And we were proud of what we achieved, that we could smash these syndicates or gangs. And then we would apply for reward money to reimburse our informers or sources. And that motivates them in turn to give information in the future. A policeman cannot work without informers, people giving them information. But in the last few years, I have only seen one application being lodged to reward an informer. One! The policemen today at my station are not interested. They couldn't care about the people, even though they live in that same community themselves. They take no pride in their work and others, like me, end up having to do the work for them. I can't tell you how many cases are withdrawn in court because the police have not gone out to gather evidence to support the case. Or worse, they have not informed witnesses of the relevant court dates. So the cases have to be withdrawn – and that is just from bad police work, or rather, no police work having been done. We used to work closely with the prosecutors, but not anymore. On the other hand, the court system is also frustrating especially if you've put in many hours, a lot of sweat and then the person is released on some technicality by the courts.

Brian What other recourses would the community have of having their needs for justice met?

Leon Well, there is the Community Police Forum, which tries to address different areas. But, again, none of my detectives attend those meetings. And they do projects, for example, at schools on drugs and so on, because mandrax is as common as dagga these days. You can search anyone on the streets and you are as likely to find mandrax tablets, or quarter tablets, as you are to find dagga. But those projects are mainly for the Crime Prevention Branch to do. And then, our station commissioner also has an open door policy. Anyone with problems can come and see him and he will try sort it out.

Brian I remember a stage in Community Police Forums when they were the local complaints forum, where complaints formed the major portion of the agenda.



After a while of working at it, we managed to steer the community to going to the station commissioner, rather than the CPF.

Leon Ja, most – I would say 95% of the people – go to the station commissioner with their problems. That’s if they haven’t just shrugged their shoulders at the incompetence of the SAPS. There were days in the past when people used to show a “brown eye” at the police [pulling their pants down and showing their bums to the police]. But our station commander is very popular in the community. He has managed to bring most crime statistics down since 1998. We used to have about 30 murders a month. Now there are only 3 or 4 a month.

Estelle Over the Christmas and New Year period, they didn’t have any murders!

Leon Ja, and so I would say the people love him. And the policemen don’t always like that. It shows them up when they don’t do their work. Last year, there were most of the detectives that wanted the White policemen removed from the station. They decided to have a community meeting in one of the community halls, where anybody with any complaint whatsoever about the White policemen at the station could come to lodge their complaint. They also invited the Directors from the province to come and sit in to hear the complaints. When this all took place, there was not a single person who came to voice a complaint. So that ended up a huge embarrassment for them. But then, after a few months, they tried something else. They decided to hold a march through the streets to the police station, calling for the White officers to be moved out of the station. And here’s where they turn the whole story around – they said that the White policemen don’t care about anyone in the community. So for 3 days, these detectives went with loudspeakers to all the sections of the community, announcing this march and that the people must attend. They also had to get permission for the march and got Metro Police to monitor the situation and traffic. They expected between 4 000 and 5 000 people to attend, so there was a large contingent of Metro Police who were sent. I even organised Pieter [a policeman from a nearby town] to come and video the march from one of the rooftops. Well, they went to a nearby stadium where everyone was to gather. As it turned out, there were a few of the detectives (not even all of them), a couple of policemen and about 3 Correctional Services employees – a total of about 14. Nobody else! So they



went to a nearby Primary School and offered some children aged between 6 and 10 years old sweets and T-shirts if they come and march. So that added another 20 or so children to their march. What a waste of time! They've got time to try organise a march, but not enough time to do their work.

Brian I suppose they came to work the next day with their tail between their legs?

Leon Absolutely. And it just showed that the community are supportive of the White policemen here. Whenever we do a raid on shebeens or whatever, it is always on our initiative. And this sounds racist, but the other policemen will never initiate those kinds of things.

Brian And do you think that perceived lack of support in these marches has anything to do with these policemen "getting back" at the community by not doing their job?

Leon I don't know. Perhaps, but I don't know what happens behind the scenes there. For me, they are just trying to turn the whole thing around. They don't care about their community, but now they are trying to take the attention off themselves and blame someone else. As you said on Sunday in your sermon, they are projecting their own failures and shortcomings onto others to take the focus off themselves.

Brian Now, could this "laziness" not simply be a lack of training or being incompetent in certain areas. I mean, after 1994, the old SAP had to deal with integrating Kwazulu Police and so on, who may have been trained differently or required for different tasks...

Leon That may be partly true. The SAPS did encourage literacy training so that policemen could take statements and so on. That was mainly for the other branches. Where I am in the detective side, the police chose the "cleverer" ones. So then it should not have been a problem.

Brian And further courses to help them improve their detective skills?

Leon Yes, we do go on courses. But there is more to that... You find that they go on a course and the report comes back that this person has "completed successfully" the course. Now, you don't know if they were just pushed through the course or not. They could've just attended without paying any attention to what was taught. Or when they get asked, "Do you understand?" they just nod their head, but still have no understanding. But this policeman has "successfully completed" the course – he was there. You've also got to



understand, Brian, that policing is more than just getting more skills. Yes, that is important. And neither is it that these people I work with don't have the ability. They *do* have the ability, but they just *do not care* about doing their job properly.

Brian When you do your work and feel that others are not, and then still get overlooked for promotions, what does that do to you?

Leon I have been stuck as a Captain for many years now. I am working at my 19th station, but I'm stuck. Although, it would be nice to get a promotion and a better salary with it, it doesn't worry me anymore. I am near to retirement and I have enough. I am blessed to own a house and a car and I am happily married to Estelle. So getting a promotion is not a big issue for me. I do know that some policemen have felt done-in. Jerry [a recently retired station commander in the area] was left out of being promoted, even though he was a very good policeman. They even refused years ago to give him a package, although I think he is grateful now, because it did not stretch very far. And I know Pieter is fighting for a promotion – well good luck to him, but I think that it is unlikely realistically. Maybe the police are trying to frustrate me through not giving me a promotion, so that one of them can get the post. But I will stick around until my retirement.

Brian Well, it's only people above you that can grant that. Speaking of which, what kind of support do you get from above?

Leon Their attitude is very clear: You have been posted to that particular station. So you must sort out your own problems. The police at Area say they have enough problems of their own and don't need our problems too. So, no, there is no support from the top structures.

Brian And that "top" implies politicians as well?

Leon Absolutely. I have no time for politics. As I once told you, they always tried to interfere, coming with their big Mercedes cars, when violence in Kwazulu-Natal was bad and every morning I found dead bodies from violence the night before – you don't know who is killing who. And the politicians come and stand in your face and ask you what you are doing about it. I don't have time for them.



Brian But politics is intertwined so much in police work and even with policemen themselves. Prior to 1994, it seemed the Kwazulu police had their own agenda too. Surely all that carries over into the present.

Leon Ja, now there are the unions that have also got into the police. Whenever you want to try reprimand policemen, they come back and want to lay a complaint against you. And certainly, there was a stage when the Community Police Forums had a political agenda too. They tried to get involved and sway things for their own benefit. But, fortunately, we have managed to address that and people are getting on with fighting crime rather than just getting political leverage.

Brian And as you look at the future of the police, do you see much hope? I was reading a book by Antony Albeker that had one chapter in which a policeman described the police service as an “elephant with a dart in its arse” [indicating a slow death for the elephant]. What do you think?

Leon There is a lot of truth in that. If I take another example: next week we are doing an operation where we are going to trace “known” suspects. In other words, these suspects have been identified by name and so there is no extra detective work needed as such. It is being done, again, on the initiative of the officers at the station. If we were not there, the station would collapse.

Brian With all that you have shared with me, how has this affected you?

Leon As I said, it frustrates me. I can’t help getting tense. Maybe I shouldn’t. The superintendent of the station where I am always says we must stay positive and not give up. But it is hard. I come home tense, but then I sit a while and Estelle and I prepare supper and so on and I can relax here. In the morning, I get up early and sit in this chair in the lounge and have my quiet time with the Lord and that all helps me to keep going.

Brian Has the church helped you in any way?

Leon Locally, yes, it has. I enjoy coming to Sunday worship with Estelle. It puts life into perspective again and calms me down. In the police we used to have chaplains who visited from time to time, but they were also overworked and needed to rush from place to place. It meant that, unless you had a big problem, you never really got to speak to any of them.



Estelle Leon does not really talk about work as such. That's why I am so glad you have got him to speak a little about it. I think it does him good, it's important to talk.

Leon Ja, but I leave work at work and when I come home, I put work aside until the next day.

Brian Well, I want to thank you for what you have shared with me. I will come back to you in time and we can perhaps speak some more on these and other things.

Leon That's fine. If there is anything I can help you with, let me know.



APPENDIX 5

TRANSCRIPT (Jody)



Brian I want to begin by thanking you, Jody, for your willingness to participate in this research project. As I mentioned in our conversation the other day, I am interested in your story as a police officer in the SAPS under a new Constitution. What are some of your experiences in this regard?

Jody Well, as you know, I have been acting station commander at a nearby police station for a number of years. My actual post is here, locally, but when trouble arose in that police station, all the police personnel were transferred out and policemen from all over the country were sent to this station. I was put in charge and we had to rebuild the image of the police in the area. In the long run, I would say that we have succeeded. We are now one of the top stations in Kwazulu-Natal. We have what is called the “robot system” throughout the province. It is every station commander’s nightmare. It lists all the categories of crime and has columns for Crime Prevention units and Detectives and convictions. The target that is set is to beat your crime statistics of the previous year in the same time period. So if you had, for example, 4 murders in the same period last year, and there are more in this year’s time period, your figures for crime prevention get marked in the red and you go down in the overall rating between police stations. And this is a nightmare for the commanders, because once you are on top, it eventually becomes impossible to maintain and you start going into what is marked on the paper as red. If you improve on the previous figures, it is marked green (hence why it’s called the “robot system”). So, in order to prevent going into the “red,” some policemen are reluctant to open cases, because it will make them look bad. Or they will open the case under another charge, for example, instead of “attempted murder” they will put it under “assault GBH” [assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm].

Brian But the other side of having more reported cases is that the station will be considered for more personnel to be sent there.

Jody Yes, but that’s only in the following year. In the meantime, your figures go down. Like now, I know we are right near the top, and we’ll never maintain that. So you go up and down all the time. You could have one incident where there are a few deaths in one event that throws your figures out.

Brian Well, it would make more sense to rate stations on their conviction rate, because you can’t stop crime from happening when a gang targets your area.



Jody Yes, but there, if you catch them, it takes a long time to convict them in court and it only shows in your figures later. That's when the detectives rating goes up.

Brian Now, changing the charge sheet also sounds suspicious.

Jody Yes, but there are far bigger problems than that. Corruption is also a problem in the police.

Brian That's always a difficult subject for policemen to talk about, because it puts them in an awkward position of, on the one side having to report it if you know of it, but also a betrayal of people you have to work with who might deliberately let you down in dangerous situations.

Jody That can be so. I have a situation here and I'll let you decide for yourself if the person is guilty of corruption or not. We recently had a lot of vehicle theft in our area. And then we got information about one of the gang's vehicles and we were on the lookout for it. Eventually, it was spotted in an attempted robbery of a vehicle on one of the farms. Our guys went out and the suspects fled and only one was caught. The detectives then managed to get him to talk and he said he would be willing to point out where the vehicles and vehicle parts were being kept. But he was worried because he said one of the policemen at the station was friends with the gang members. I was on a course at the time, so the detective phoned me to find out what to do about the pointing out process. I told him that I would contact the station commander at another station nearby who was once an excellent policeman with the vehicle-theft unit. He would then go, with the photographer and correct forms etc. to the pointing out identification. I contacted that commander, who agreed to go the next day in the afternoon and would meet the detectives and the suspect at one of the places. I then informed the detective about these arrangements. However, the next day, when this commander went through, he discovered that another detective at the station had taken things into his own hands and gone to do the pointing out. As a result, the process wasn't done properly and the case was withdrawn in court because of a lack of enough evidence. Now, whether this was a cover-up for the policeman who was involved with this gang by this particular detective, I don't know. At this point we can't prove anything – so you can decide for yourself what you think. I've just kept a record of what took place and perhaps one day we'll find out.



Brian Well, that does sound very suspicious to me. It's like when I was involved with the Community Police Forum in Meyerton, I went with the police as they raided shebeens and set up roadblocks etc. Later in the evening, one of the policemen could not find one of the suspects he had arrested in the cells, and knew that one of the two Black policemen in the Charge Office must've taken a bribe and let the suspect go – but again, he couldn't prove it or say which of the two policemen did it. But he was bloody angry!

Jody Yes, it does lead to some tensions between policemen, those who want to do their job well and those who couldn't care.

Brian One of the other policemen I interviewed also spoke about policemen who didn't care about their work.

Jody I think that one of the problems regarding that is because there is less respect for each other. When all the different police forces, about 11 of them, were all joined together into one – the South African Police Services – there was a change in the rank structure. The Police became demilitarised and different names got used like “Superintendent” and “Director” for some of the senior positions. Also, there were now less ranks that were created. You used to have a Constable, then a Sergeant, then Staff Sergeant, then Inspector, then Lieutenant, then Captain and so on. Now there are far less ranks, which means that, for example, there is not a big difference between an Inspector and a Captain (not having a Lieutenant in-between) and the respect lessens between them.

Brian And that is complicated by the promotion policy, too.

Jody For myself, I have been a Captain for many years now. In the old days, you stayed a Captain for two or three years. But now, as a White, there is very little chance of promotion. They sent me to sort out problems in the station I'm now in. There have never been complaints against me and we've been 1st and 2nd in the province. But that does not count for anything. And then you get a Black policeman who is your junior in terms of experience, getting promoted. The Superintendent in another nearby station became an officer even before he went on an Officers' Course – he's only recently attended it. So they are putting Black policemen into senior positions that they haven't been properly trained for and those who have very little experience. It becomes hard to have respect for those sorts of situations – because there is



nothing that can take the place of actual years of experience. You also have the situation where, perhaps, the policeman is illiterate. One Inspector I asked to write up something in the Occurrence Book (make an OB entry) said to me, “Please be patient with me.” He wasn’t being stubborn. It was just that he couldn’t write properly and was nervous about writing something up. And you have Constables under him who can do it without any problem. And, as I was saying to one of my colleagues the other day, “I just don’t have the kind of hours to spend training people to write – as much as I would like to, I have too many other things on my plate.” Then there’s the other side of the story where you get a good policeman in one area being transferred to take up a management position in another place where he hasn’t been trained or experienced. For example, that station commander I mentioned earlier who was with the vehicle theft unit. He did an excellent job there. Now he got a post as a Superintendent at an ordinary police station and the station is deteriorating. I spoke to him the other day where he told me about some of the problems he’s facing that are really getting him down. He’s more depressed than he ever was in the vehicle theft unit. So I sat with him and tried to give him some advice on how to handle some of the things. I’m sure he’ll come right in the end, but it seems so unnecessary to dump him in the deep-end without training or experience. The people higher up seem to just want to fulfil quotas, and couldn’t care about whether the guys are coping or not.

Brian I guess that de-motivation is like when specialised units, where the members had purpose, were disbanded and now they are delivering court summons?

Jody Absolutely! And the other way around where a policeman with only station experience is put in charge of specialised units. There’s no respect and the poor guy becomes despondent.

The other thing about a lack of respect is due to the unions. In the past, the commanding officer could compel a policeman to do something or work extra to close a case. Now, there are unions to deal with. So you now have to ask the policeman if he would do whatever, even if he has a lower rank. You can’t compel him to do anything. You can submit a complaint, but that’s about all.

Brian So how do you deal with it?

Jody Someone once told me to keep my friends close to me, and my opponents even closer. So I invite the unions to attend management meetings and CPF



meetings, so that they are aware of what's going on. Then they can't come back to me afterwards about decisions because they were part of the decisions at meetings. And when they are absent, I note it in the minutes and sent a letter to the union management. So now they send someone, who is often there reluctantly because he's been told to be there by his bosses and will pass a lot of the decisions. They can't come back to me when I implement those decisions.

Brian You mention CPFs. How have you found them to work?

Jody Initially, they were difficult. They can be manipulated by various political stakeholders.

Brian And now there are rumours that CPFs will fall under the municipality instead of the Department of Safety and Security – which is bad news regarding political interference, in my opinion.

Jody Yes, we'll see what happens – that's if it comes through. But, like with the unions, I have tried to work so that there can be no come-back. And some political people who get voted on, soon lose interest and fade away.

Brian I had something similar when I was Chairperson in Meyerton CPF – people voted on at the AGM would come to the next meeting or two and then you'd never see them again. But have there been aspects of it that have worked well for you?

Jody Yes. For example, we've worked in the schools and told them about various crimes. Just recently, as a result, we had pupils coming forward and reporting cases of rapes by owners of taxis on some of the female pupils. We're investigating that at the moment. I'm not saying that these incidents have not happened before. But after speaking at schools, pupils are gaining the confidence to report such things, where they may have been reluctant to trust the police before. And then we have an elderly member of your church who comes twice a week to read from the Bible and say a prayer for the members at the beginning of the day. I know it means a lot to many of the members. He also sits in on our management meetings.

Brian Is there anything else that keeps you going?

Jody Look, there is a lot of pessimism if you talk to the guys around the bar. People are feeling let down by the system and feel that they will get nowhere in their careers in the police, and even that the police as an organisation is



deteriorating. But it's not all bad. There is a lot better equipment to work with – better cameras, vehicles, computers, fingerprint apparatus and so on that we didn't always have in the past. There are still incentives that are given.

Brian I've heard of incentives before, but am not sure how it works.

Jody Well, it boils down to that policemen have to sell themselves – and that can be difficult if a person is semi-literate. You have to be able to write down why you think you deserve an incentive. And then one third of each branch of the station can qualify for an incentive, a bonus. Once you've motivated your claim, the station commissioner needs to approve it. If only 20% of the guys in a particular branch put in a claim, then they will probably all receive their claimed incentive. But the station commissioner can only claim up to a maximum of 33% of each branch. That recommendation goes to Area who makes the final decision.

Brian And then, getting back to the question: what keeps you going?

Jody I try to find ways to unwind when I come home, like watching TV or working in the garage. But, really, I have been in the police for too long now – it's all I know. It's what I've been trained for. I've managed to put my children through school and when they have finished university or whatever, I may reconsider my position. But I have the security of a pension waiting. One guy I know has left the force and is now a security guard at Macro! Even though he doesn't have the same pressure now, he also doesn't have the security of a pension. And really, I would not want to end up being a security guard. I wouldn't be able to find a better job at my age, so I will stay and do the best I can for now. I think also that, when I see crime coming down in my area, I know that I have been a part of that and I'm proud of what I have achieved. Often policemen don't have pride in their work, but I'm proud of what I've achieved.

Brian I appreciate your care for the family. How have these challenges at work affected your family life?

Jody One of the things is that I'm away a lot and my cell-phone is forever ringing. On a weekend, I get called 20, 30 times with queries from the station, even until late at night. But my wife, Karen, works at the local station as a clerk, so she knows the story. She tells me all the stuff that happens here. There are a lot of tensions with the new station commissioner. It's a little awkward for me



because I am also a station commander. And he's really doing everything he's allowed to within his power to do. The people at this station were spoilt by the previous commander. The staff would even have arguments about whose turn it is in their lift club to take the police children to school. Instead of seeing it as a privilege, I warned them that it could be taken away.... Now those privileges are gone and they are complaining bitterly.

Brian And do you tell her what happens with you?

Jody No, not really. Work stays at work wherever possible. She knows I have to deal with the calls that intrude, but I don't really talk about the details.

Brian Are there any other issues that you think are important about policing in a New South Africa?

Jody Well, when you asked me, I got hold of these documents about Section 49 which has to do with the use of firearms in effecting an arrest. And I got you a copy of the judgement given by the Constitutional Court in a matter between the State and EJ Walters & ME Walters.

Brian Thank you very much for it. What I would like to know is your experience of this law. I remember when it was propose in the 1990s, many policemen just handed in their weapons as a protest to the law, saying they would have to be shot before they could use their weapon, so there's no point in having them. What was your experience?

Jody Yes, I know that many police members had problems and there were some who used their weapons a lot. But I did not find it changing anything for me. I have really always worked within that mindset of using a weapon if my life or someone else's is in danger. So changes in the law have not really affected me. And as far as I know, the policemen in my station don't have any problems with it any more. I think that's about it.

Brian Well, thank you for your time that you have given me. You have given me a lot to think about and work with.

Jody It's a pleasure. If there is anything I can help you with further, please feel free to ask.