



Evaluating the Partners in Policing Programme in the Eastern Cape¹

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The Partners in Policing: Crime Reduction Programme (PiP2) ran from June 2000 to December 2001 and aimed to assist the SAPS and other local role-players to jointly develop, implement and maintain local crime reduction strategies at 40 selected police stations in the Eastern Cape. PiP2 built on a previous programme, Partners in Policing, which ran from December 1998 to May 2000 and focused primarily on enhancing implementation of the Department of Safety and Security's community policing policy through improving the functioning of the community police forums (CPFs).

The programme was managed by a consortium of three non-governmental organisations: ITEC, IMSEC and UMAC,² and was sponsored by the British Department for International Development (DFID). In February 2001, the ISS was contracted by DFID to conduct a process and impact evaluation of the PiP2 programme.

Broadly, the PiP2 project was carried out in the following manner:

- Launch of the project: the project aims were presented to SAPS management and local role-players at the 40 police stations and the eight SAPS area commands to which these stations report.
- Initial capacity building workshops: a two-day workshop, conducted with the PiP2 'mentors', members of the SAPS and representatives of the community police forums (CPFs), on the PiP2 process, planning methods and implementation programme.
- Community safety audits: a 'core facilitation team' consisting of police officials and representatives of the CPFs, was established to conduct a basic analysis of local population demographics, social services, economic activity, police capacity, the functioning of the CPF and the occurrence of crime, with the assistance of the PiP2 mentor.
- Action plans: the data collected in the audit process was used to develop an action plan to address priority crimes at each station. This occurred over a three-day planning workshop, in which three priority crimes were agreed to, a SAPS analysis of these crimes was conducted, and interventions aimed at reducing the occurrence of these crimes were agreed upon.

- Implementation of action plans: the core facilitation team at each station set up individual task teams to implement the agreed activities and co-ordinated their activities with advice from the PiP2 mentors.
- Implementation review: the PiP2 mentors conducted follow-up visits to the stations to monitor and receive reports on implementation of the action plans.
- Advanced capacity building: a series of five workshops on general issues raised in the development of the action plans was conducted at each station to assist implementation. The topics of these workshops were: the Domestic Violence Act, liquor industry issues, victim support, youth leaders and human rights in policing.

Evaluation methodology

The evaluation was initially designed in terms of the standard quasi-experimental model—that is, eight PiP2 police station sites were selected for evaluation and two police stations which were not included in the PiP2 programme were selected for control purposes. However, after the Phase 1 process evaluation, the advisory board and DFID agreed to amend the methodology to focus on assessing the action plans in a wider range of stations, and their impact. The methodology used for the evaluation is detailed below.

Phase 1

The process evaluation consisted of a review of project documentation, followed by a range of interviews with representatives of: the PiP2 advisory board, the PiP2 NGO consortium, the PiP2 programme management, PiP2 fieldworkers, and 32 PiP2 practitioners at eight PiP2 police stations. These practitioners consisted of SAPS station commissioners, PiP2 mentors, SAPS community policing officers or the SDIP facilitators, and representatives of the community police forum. The eight stations, selected on the basis of their geographical and demographic characteristics as well as their performance on the PiP2 programme, were:

Area	Station	Settlement type
East London	Stutterheim	Predominately rural
Queenstown	Sterkstroom	Predominately rural
Umtata	Bizana	Predominately rural
Drakensberg	Indwe	Predominately rural
Karoo	Middelburg	Predominately urban
Uitenhage	Humansdorp	Predominately urban
Grahamstown	Keiskammahoek	Predominately urban
Port Elizabeth	New Brighton	Predominately urban

For control purposes, interviews were conducted with six police officers and CPF representatives at two police stations not included in the PiP2 programme. The two control stations selected for the study were Queenstown and Port St Johns.

Lastly, a community survey of 1,698 households was conducted, from a representative sample of the categories of residents living within the jurisdiction of the eight PiP2 police stations and the two control stations. The residents of these areas were categorised according to the enumerator categories used in the 1996 census.

Phase 2

The research conducted to evaluate the implementation of the action plans consisted of a further review of project documentation, followed by interviews with representatives of the PiP2 Advisory Board,³ the PiP2 NGO consortium, the PiP2 programme management, together with PiP2 fieldworkers,⁴ the PiP2 mentors responsible for facilitating the programme at 16 PiP2 police stations, the 82 PiP2 practitioners who constituted the core facilitation teams at 16 PiP2 police stations. These practitioners included SAPS station commissioners, the heads of crime prevention and detectives, the community policing officer or the SDIP facilitator, and representatives of the CPFs.

The 16 police stations selected for the Phase 2 evaluation included the eight selected for the Phase 1 evaluation and a further eight selected by the PiP2 Advisory Board. The stations selected for the Phase 2 evaluation were:

SAPS Area	Station	Settlement type
East London	Stutterheim	Predominately rural
Queenstown	Sterkstroom	Predominately rural
Umtata	Bizana	Predominately rural
Drakensberg	Indwe	Predominately rural
Karoo	Middelburg	Predominately urban
Uitenhage	Humansdorp	Predominately urban
Grahamstown	Keiskammahoek	Predominately urban
Port Elizabeth	New Brighton	Predominately urban
East London	Duncan Village	Predominately rural
Queenstown	Willowvale	Predominately rural
Karoo	Burgersdorp	Predominately rural
Karoo	Graaff Reinet	Predominately rural
East London	Mdantsane	Predominately urban
East London	Buffalo Flats	Predominately urban
Drakensberg	Mount Fletcher	Predominately urban
Port Elizabeth	KwaZakhele	Predominately urban

Interviews and focus groups were also conducted with representatives of government departments, non-government organisations or individuals participating in the implementation of action plans at various PiP2 police stations.

The PiP2 project environment

As indicated in the table below, the predominately rural Eastern Cape is home to many of South Africa's poorest people.

Total Population	Rural Population	Population under 25 years old	Education Level		Unemployment Rate	(%) of the employed earning under R500 monthly
			<i>None/ some primary</i>	<i>Grade 12</i>		
6,302,525 (15.5% of SA's population)	3,998,148 (63.4%)	3,758,597 (59.6%)	42.4%	11.1%	48.5%	30.5%

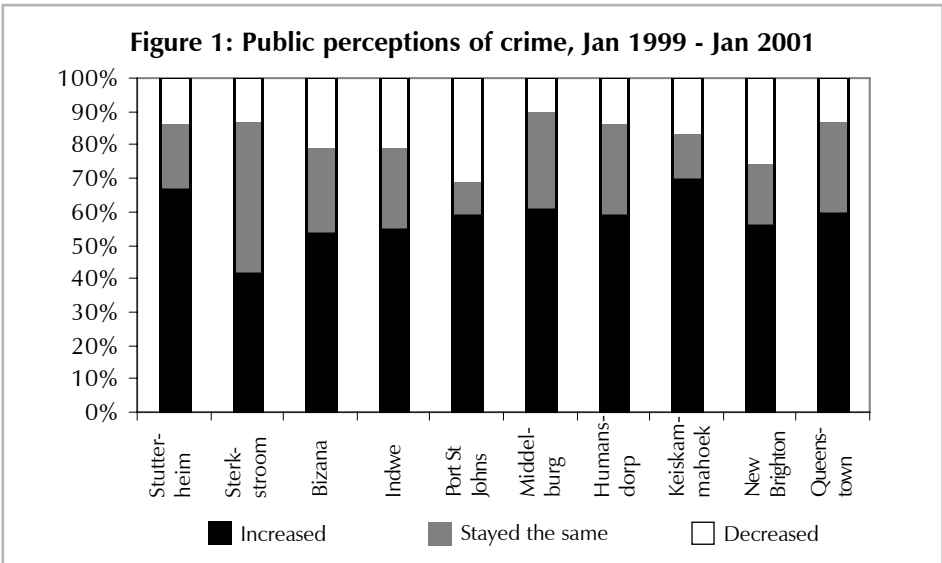
Some 13,700 sworn police officials, supported by 2,050 civilians, are deployed at the Eastern Cape's 196 police stations, including the SAPS provincial head office and eight area command structures. While the police-civilian ratio in the Eastern Cape compares favourably with SAPS deployment in similar provinces which incorporated the former homeland areas (such as Limpopo, Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal), the general challenges of policing in South Africa—such as limited resources, an overly centralised and bureaucratic hierarchy, a lack of appropriate skills and training, a lack of managerial expertise, and a limited intelligence and investigative capacity—are compounded in the predominately rural environment of the Eastern Cape. This is due to the geographical isolation of many of the police stations, their lack of infrastructure, the skewed allocation of resources and the capacity constraints of the police and those they are meant to serve in these areas.

Given this, it was not surprising that the research conducted at 1,698 homes within the jurisdiction of the eight PiP2 police stations and the two control stations elicited a wide range of views regarding crime, personal safety and policing.

Public perceptions of crime

While the majority of respondents in both urban and rural areas believed that crime in their areas of residence had increased over the past two years, there were

considerable differences in perceptions about the extent of this increase. Further, as indicated in Figure 1, these perceptions did not correlate neatly with the urban-rural divide.⁶

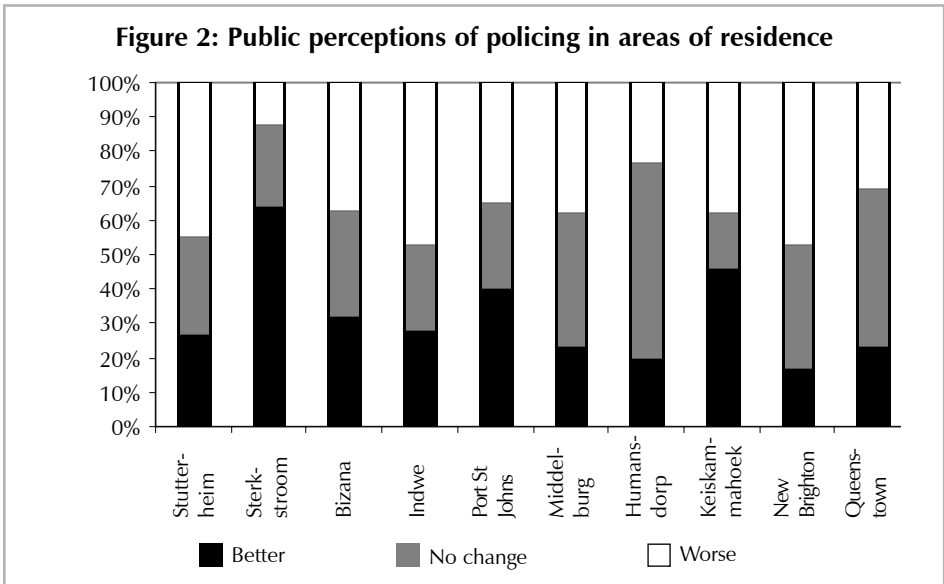


Respondents living in the jurisdictions of the PiP2 police stations believed that there had been little significant impact on crime over the past two years and most thought crime had actually increased. Further, there were no significant differences between public perceptions in these areas and those in the control areas. Given the pervasiveness of this perception, it may be assumed that this is common to all the areas in which PiP2 is currently implemented. Of more relevance to the PiP2 programme are what crime types people believe occur most, and which categories of crime they fear the most. Table 2 below outlines these perceptions among those living near the eight PiP2 police stations.

Area	Most common crime in the area	Most feared crimes
Stutterheim	Theft, Rape, Murder	Rape, Murder, Assault
Sterkstroom	Stock Theft, Burglary, Assault	Rape, Assault, Murder
Bizana	Stock Theft, Burglary, Murder	Murder, Rape, Robbery
Indwe	Burglary, Stock Theft, Robbery	Burglary, Robbery, Theft
Middelburg	Assault, Rape, Theft	Rape, Murder, Assault
Humansdorp	Assault, Burglary, Stock Theft	Murder, Rape, Assault
Keiskammahoek	Stock Theft, Burglary, Theft	Murder, Burglary, Stock Theft
New Brighton	Robbery, Burglary, Rape	Robbery, Rape, Murder

Public perceptions of policing

Given the common perception that there had been little significant impact on crime, and that crime had actually increased, as well as the violent nature of the crimes that people feared most, it is not surprising that most respondents believed that the quality of policing in their areas of residence had not improved significantly over the past three years. This is indicated in Figure 2 below.



With the exception of respondents in Sterkstroom, the majority believed either that there had been no change in the quality of policing in their areas, or that the quality of policing had declined. However, it is important to note that these respondents may not have had any direct contact with the police. Recent research indicates that the views of the general public differ sharply from the views of those who have had direct contact with the police. While the perceptions of the general public are generally negative, the views of those who have had direct interaction with the police are overwhelmingly positive.⁷ This is indicative of the extent to which external factors like standards of living, access to other government services, media reporting, inter-personal communication, and general perceptions of safety can influence attitudes towards the police.

Nevertheless, these perceptions, no matter how they are formed, have important implications in terms of public confidence in the police, and therefore, the extent to

which people are prepared to engage with the police. For the PiP2 programme, this appears to be a real challenge. For instance, at only one of the police station areas did respondents clearly express their confidence in the police who serve them (Figure 3).

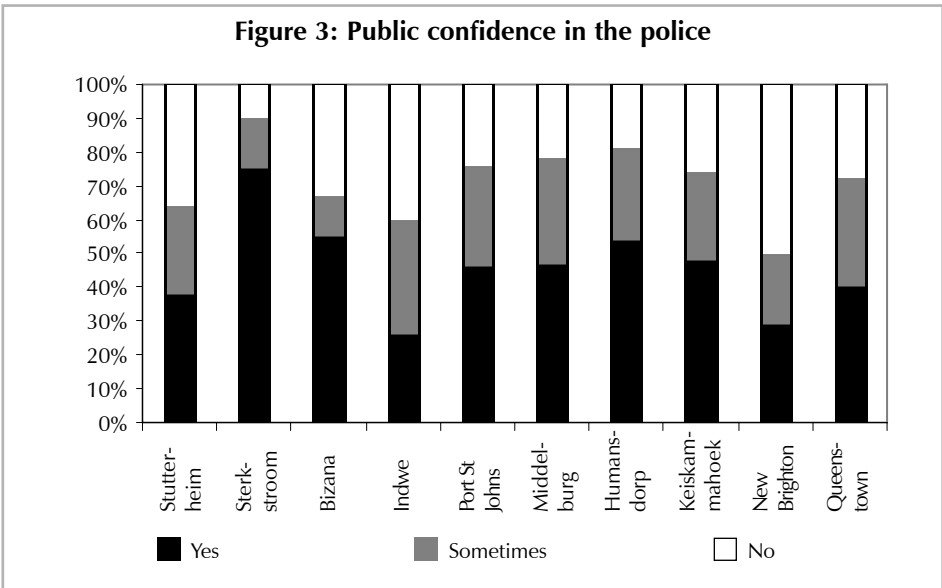


Figure 3 indicates that only respondents in Sterkstroom were unambiguously confident in the police in their areas. The majority in the other areas indicated that if they did not actually lack confidence in the police, they remained undecided.

Those who expressed confidence in the police attributed this to their belief that:

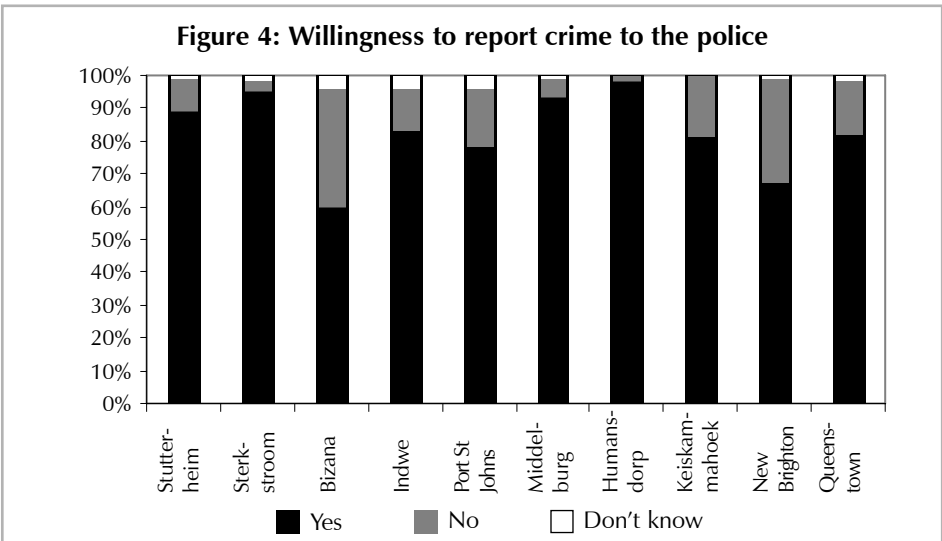
- The police tried hard to protect them.
- The police were responsive and were able to help them when needed.
- The police arrested criminals and solved cases.
- The police were known in the community and tried to work with the community.

The primary reasons provided by those who lacked confidence in the police were that:

- The police were unresponsive and did not act when they were needed.
- The police lacked commitment.
- The police were corrupt.
- The police lacked resources and were therefore not visible.
- The police lacked training and were therefore ineffective.

- The police lacked respect for the community, or were prejudiced or racist.
- Crime was increasing.

There were no significant differences explaining the perceptions, whether positive or negative. Importantly, however, the lack of confidence in the police did not necessarily translate into disengagement from the criminal justice system. Indeed, the vast majority of respondents said that, if they knew of a crime, they would report it to the police (Figure 4).



Thus, despite the generally ambivalent perceptions of the police held by respondents in most of the areas, the vast majority would, if necessary, report to and seek assistance from the police. It appeared that much of the ambivalence in the views of the respondents was attributable to a lack of a consistent visible police presence in these areas. This is based on respondents' views about what the police should do to help make their areas safer. In all the areas, respondents were most likely to say that:

- There should be more police patrols/police should be more visible.
- The police should respond more quickly when called.
- The police should be enabled to arrest offenders.
- The police should be more committed or trustworthy.

Further, the vast majority of respondents at all the police stations—from 68% at Indwe to 90% at Sterkstroom—indicated that a more consistent visible police presence in their areas of residence would make them feel safer. This applied also

to respondents in the only two areas—Keiskammahoek and New Brighton—where the majority of respondents said they knew of community-based measures, organisations or structures which functioned to protect their areas. Clearly then, for respondents in all the areas, the issue of local safety and security is closely associated with police visibility and the knowledge that the police would be able to respond adequately if needed.

These issues relate directly to the availability of police resources—both personnel and logistics. Without a quick and steady infusion of these resources, it is unlikely that the ambivalent perceptions held by many of the respondents will change in the short to medium-term.

Very few respondents indicated that a closer association between the police and the community would make a difference to safety and security in their areas. Indeed, while under 10% of the respondents at Keiskammahoek and Humansdorp indicated that greater interaction between the police and the community would help make their areas safer, the percentage in the other areas was lower—generally under 6%.

Given the above, it appears that underpinning public perceptions of policing and safety is the perceived accessibility of the police, and the belief that should they be needed, the police would be able to respond adequately and professionally. It is therefore apparent that there is little public enthusiasm for greater general interaction or engagement with the police.

Management of the PiP2 programme

The PiP2 programme was directed through an oversight structure—the advisory board—which served to guide the activities of a management team. The management team was responsible for programme implementation, that is, the day-to-day management of activities.

The advisory board consisted of an impressively inclusive set of the stakeholders involved in safety and security in the Eastern Cape:

- A senior representative of the office of the MEC (member of the executive committee) for Safety and Security.
- Senior representatives of the provincial headquarters of the SAPS.
- The chairperson of the provincial CPF Board (who currently chairs the advisory board).
- A senior representative of Business Against Crime in the Eastern Cape.

- Representatives of the NGO consortium which runs the programme, namely ITEC, IMMSA (Eastern Cape) and UMAC.
- The project management team.

In addition, until May 2000, the advisory board included a representative of the programme sponsor—DFID—who functioned as chairperson of the board.

The management team consisted of an NGO-based project manager, a senior police officer with significant experience in implementing the SAPS' policy on community policing, and a former representative of the provincial CPF board who also has significant experience of community policing in the province. The management team directed and shared the responsibilities of two fieldworkers who provided training and problem-solving capacity for the team of PiP2 mentors who worked at the 40 PiP2 police stations throughout the Eastern Cape.

The advisory board, management team and fieldworker respondents were clear on the differing roles allocated to the PiP2 structure as well as on the value of the delineation of responsibilities. Thus, all the respondents distinguished between the 'policy-setting' and monitoring functions of the advisory board on the one hand, and the implementation and management functions of the management team on the other. Further, all the respondents believed that this delineation of responsibilities was valuable, as it provided a means of ensuring communication between the primary stakeholders and those who implemented the project. As such it allowed for effective oversight, project management and problem-solving.

Views on the purpose of PiP2

Interviews with those who were directly involved in the design, direction and implementation of the PiP2 programme indicated a range of views on the actual purpose(s) of the project. For instance, at advisory board level,⁸ while most respondents indicated that crime reduction, through the implementation of the PiP2 action plans at the selected stations, was the overall objective, a further four goals were identified:

- Ensuring 'community involvement' in local level crime reduction—and here 'community' was often interpreted as, or used inter-changeably with, the CPF structures.
- Enhancing the capacity and functioning of the CPFs.
- Strengthening the relationship between 'the community' and the SAPS at station level.
- Improving police service delivery.

The differing views of respondents about the purpose of the programme is indicative of the diversity of the stakeholders represented on the advisory board. Given this diversity, it is not surprising that members would have differing agendas.

The management team similarly emphasised 'community' empowerment as a programme goal. For these respondents, the primary purpose of the project was to ensure greater 'community participation' in local crime reduction initiatives. In addition, these respondents identified the following as the objectives of the programme:

- Strengthen the relationship between 'the community'—again, used synonymously with the CPF structures—and the SAPS at station level.
- Improve the relationship between the PiP2 practitioners and the SAPS (especially the Service Delivery Improvement Programme facilitators).
- Ensure the sustainability of crime reduction projects and assist in their replication.

For the fieldworkers too, building the capacity of the CPFs was believed to be a primary objective of the PiP2 programme. In their view, the PiP2 programme was about enabling a localised response to priority crimes and:

- Empowering 'the community'—especially in terms of organisational skills like facilitation, communication, report writing and conflict management.
- Changing the police's attitude towards the CPFs.

So, for all respondents the importance of PiP2 lay in the value it added to key SAPS policy directing local level policing, particularly the community policing policy and, to a lesser extent, the Service Delivery Improvement Programme (SDIP). Thus, for representatives of the advisory board, management team and the fieldworkers, PiP2 correlated directly with the provisions of the community policing policy that encourage a partnership approach to problem-solving.

The primary indicator for this was the programme's obvious focus on encouraging 'community-police partnerships' to address local problems at the PiP2 police station sites. Another indicator was that 'community representatives' had been specifically included at all spheres of the programme—that is, CPF representatives had been included in the oversight, management and implementation of the programme. Thus, for those directly involved in the design, direction and implementation of the PiP2 programme, enhancing the capacity and functioning of the CPFs at the PiP2 station sites was closely aligned to the primary objective of the programme: building a local capacity to reduce priority crime. Indeed, for some respondents, these objectives were seen as one and the same.

Key assumptions of the programme

The merging of diverse views about the programme objectives among those responsible for oversight, management and implementation is indicative of three key assumptions that appear to have informed the logic and development of the project:

- The first and most critical assumption was that the CPFs represent 'the community', and are able to draw voluntary participation from other local role-players and mobilise participatory crime reduction projects.
- Given this, the second assumption was that enhancing the capacity and functioning of the CPFs would lead to improved community-police relations and to greater voluntary community participation in crime reduction initiatives.
- The third assumption was that capacity building workshops, involving CPF representatives, local police and other role-players, would be an appropriate and effective means of facilitating or mentoring the development and implementation of participatory projects to reduce the occurrence of priority crimes.

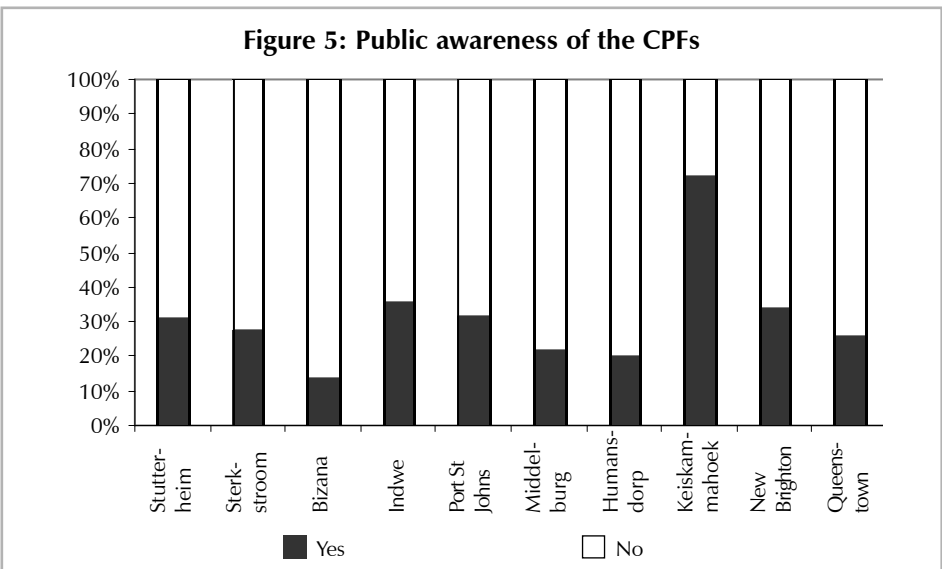
However, recent DFID-sponsored research in the SAPS' priority areas found that implementation of community policing policy through the establishment of CPFs had not been effective in relation to the core goals common to the (changing) policy: ensuring wide-ranging input on community needs and priorities, improving police responsiveness to community needs, and the development of a joint responsibility and wider capacity for addressing crime. The research indicated that:

- The CPF structures cannot be assumed to represent residents of the localities in which they function.
- Therefore enhancing the internal functioning of the CPFs may not necessarily translate into wider public engagement with the police or with issues of local safety.
- As a result, the CPFs are, in their current form, poorly placed to engage meaningfully in local safety, security and policing issues.⁹

In short, this is attributable to the lack of clear direction and support from the state for CPFs,¹⁰ which means that the forums, despite the good intentions of most who join them, are often unable to contribute meaningfully towards improving safety. This was true for many, if not most, of the police station areas at which the PiP2 programme was implemented. For instance, the Phase 1 evaluation indicated a very limited public knowledge of, and participation in, the CPFs: only at one PiP2 station site, Keiskammahoek, did a majority of respondents (72%) say they knew what a CPF is (Figure 5). This knowledge did not however translate into an awareness of the existence of a CPF in the area, nor, most importantly, into participation in the CPF or its activities. In Keiskammahoek, of the 72% of respondents who knew what a

CPF is, 59% said that they knew of the CPF in Keiskammahoek. Only 15% of these participated in the CPF or its activities "occasionally", and just 6% said that they participated regularly.

These findings question the key assumption upon which the PiP2 programme was built: that the CPFs, as representative structures, are generally able to draw participation from community based organisations or other local role-players, and thereby mobilise community crime reduction initiatives.



Implications of the assumptions on project design

The key assumption informing PiP2 clearly impacted on the project design. First, and perhaps most importantly, the programme set itself seven diverse 'areas of impact':

- Reduced crime.
- Improved trust between the police and the community.
- Improved social cohesion (relationships) in the community.
- Sustainability of the programme.
- Replicability of the programme.
- Cost-effectiveness.
- Indirect benefits (improved social or living conditions).

The merging of programme objectives (especially those related to "community empowerment") resulted in a range of disparate and ambitious impact indicators. Indeed, the first three areas of impact are way beyond the scope of a single,

workshop-based capacity building programme, and are extremely difficult to measure.

Secondly, it appears that the connection made in the project design between a workshop-based training programme, generally aimed at improving SAPS and CPF planning capacities, and the implementation of crime reduction activities, was not adequately considered. Sustained implementation of any activity requires, at the very least, authoritative approval from the primary role-players and, importantly, motivation and consistency in the participation of those involved. To its credit, the PiP2 capacity building and action planning process was designed to lead to approval of the action plans by the participating SAPS station commissioners, which would provide authoritative approval from a primary role-player. However, the programme design did not indicate how approval was to be acquired from others who were to be involved in the implementation of the action plans.

Further, there was no evidence in the programme design to suggest that incentives or benefits to encourage consistent participation had been considered. Rather, it appears there was an assumption that role-players would participate. This meant that the core deliverable—implementation of the action plans—was implicitly based on a requirement beyond the programme's control.

Thirdly, and related to this, the role envisaged for the PiP2 mentors did not appear to have been adequately considered. A mentor is commonly understood to mean a wise or trusted advisor, that is, an informed and experienced guide. The PiP2 mentors, drawn from the three NGOs participating in the consortium, were certainly equipped in the facilitation of training and mediation workshops. However, it is not clear that they were either informed or experienced enough in the content of crime reduction or project management to guide the development and implementation of action plans. Indeed, it is not clear that these criteria were ever posited as selection requirements for the mentors. Rather, it appears that, given the assumptions informing the project design, workshop facilitation skills were the primary selection criteria. As will be shown later, this had important implications for the content and implementation of the action plans.

In a nutshell then, the diverse views about the purpose of PiP2, and the assumptions that informed its design, meant that that too little attention was paid to the success factors for the programme. The evaluation found no evidence that probable risks had been considered or that an assessment had been made of the methods that were likely to be effective in the conditions in which the programme was implemented.

These omissions stemmed as much from the diverse views on the actual purpose of the programme and the underlying assumptions, as from the varied and ambitious impact indicators set by the programme itself.

Implementation of PiP2: the view from the office

Aims of the PiP2 capacity building programme

For representatives of the advisory board, management team and the fieldworkers, the PiP2 capacity building programme and action planning process fulfilled a range of diverse purposes. This is largely attributable to the differing views on the objectives of PiP2 as discussed above.

Advisory board representatives agreed that the capacity building was primarily about developing the facilitation skills required for formulating action plans and, through this, assisting in mobilising community participation and responsibility for crime reduction. However, these respondents also identified ancillary goals which, for some, had actually become the primary purpose of the training programme. These goals are clearly disparate, and beyond the scope of any single capacity building workshop programme:

- Strengthening the relationship between the police and the community.
- Improving the access of the community to police services.
- Helping to transform the police service, especially with regard to the attitude of the police towards community participation.
- Empowering the police to address community priorities.
- Enhancing the capacity of the CPFs.

For the management team, the main purpose of the capacity building programme was to:

- Empower the SAPS, especially with regard to planning and problem-solving skills based on input from the community.
- Mobilise the community for participation in crime reduction activities.
- Assist in building and sustaining the capacity of the CPFs.

Again, the fieldworkers emphasised CPF and 'community' empowerment. For these respondents, the purpose of the capacity building programme was to:

- Strengthen the relationship between the police and the community.
- Assist in enabling the community to share responsibility for reducing crime.
- Encourage the SAPS to work with other agencies of the criminal justice system.
- Educate the community about the criminal justice system.

Role of the PiP2 mentor

For members of the advisory board, management team and the fieldworkers, the mentors had been effective in facilitating and guiding the development of action plans and establishing core facilitation teams at the stations where the plans were being implemented. The success of their facilitation was attributed mainly to the 'neutral' and 'supportive' part they played in the process. Respondents noted however that the facilitation provided by the PiP2 mentors varied across programme sites, as a result of varying levels of individual commitment by each of the mentors.

Nevertheless, the respondents were generally satisfied with the role played by the mentors. Indeed, the only real issue was that the programme did not include more, which meant that some mentors were dealing with three or four stations at a time.

Impact of the capacity building programme

For advisory board representatives, the primary results of the PiP2 capacity building programme were that it had assisted in building relationships and trust between the police and the community. They also believed that the programme had helped invigorate the CPF structures which assisted in improving community understanding of, and relationships with, the police. The advisory board respondents added that the programme had increased understanding of the causal factors associated with crime and the process of dealing with specific prioritised crimes. It had further assisted integrated planning, that is, the programme had facilitated and supported the development of a participatory approach to reducing prioritised crimes.

For the management team and the fieldworkers, the major results of the programme were that it had:

- Developed greater co-operation between the police and 'community representatives'.
- Invigorated the CPF structures by providing concrete direction to their activities.
- Won the support of the SAPS through its participatory approach to planning.

Implementation of PiP2: the view at the stations

Those involved at station level, including the station commissioners, community police officers or SDIP facilitators, as well as CPF representatives and the PiP2 mentors, were clear that the goals of the programme were crime reduction and "improved community participation". Station level practitioners did not articulate the ancillary goals identified by the advisory board, management team and fieldworkers as detailed above.

For all station level practitioners, the PiP2 programme assisted implementation of community policing and police service delivery as a result of the closer police-CPF co-operation. Further, these respondents were clear that the purpose of the capacity building workshops was to develop action plans to address priority crimes. For these respondents, the PiP2 programme was focused on raising awareness and participation among local role-players of the supportive role they could play in reducing crime.

Impact of the capacity building programme

All respondents at station level were overwhelmingly positive about the value of the PiP2 capacity building programme. This is particularly significant with regard to the views of the station commissioners who found it useful because they had:

- Learned a lot about prioritisation.
- Learned about the causes of crime.
- Learned about the role of the police in community policing.
- Gained an opportunity to interact with a range of different role-players.
- Learned from a facilitation-based approach, which was refreshingly different from the instructional or directive approach of SAPS training.

Senior police managers assessed the PiP2 programme in terms of its value and usefulness to their management responsibilities. They believed that the capacity building programme had been a valuable and worthwhile exercise because it had provided practical guidance on setting objectives and planning. Given that so many were positive, this was a significant outcome.

Further, there appeared to be an encouraging integration of the PiP2 programme with the responsibilities of station management. For instance, most of the station commissioners indicated that they or their direct delegates were responsible for co-ordinating or driving PiP2 activities at the station. The station commissioners also said that they, in consultation with other role-players, had approved the action plans. Also, these respondents indicated that they accounted to their superior officers, within the SAPS structures, on progress made on the programme and the challenges they faced.

However, the issue of ownership and accountability was a little more blurred at community police officer and CPF level, where respondents were more inclined to provide general answers—for example, that those involved in PiP2 activities accounted to 'the community' for these activities. Of more concern though, was that at four stations, the community police officers and CPF representatives believed that the project was driven by and accountable to the PiP2 mentor. While this is understandable in terms of organising and conducting workshops and action plan activities, it may pointed to a lack of 'ownership' at these particular stations.

With regard to the PiP2 mentors, it appears that they were least able to appreciate the value of what they did. These respondents were the least specific as to why they thought the capacity building programme was useful, and included:

- Improving community relations with the police.
- Bringing the community on board with the SAPS.
- Empowering the police to approach the community.

Missing from the mentors' views was mention of the value the SAPS and CPF respondents attached to the capacity building programme—that is, that the programme assisted prioritisation, objective-setting and planning. One reason for this may be that, for many of the mentors, the difference between the PiP1 and PiP2 programmes was not that clear.

Role of the PiP2 mentors

All station level respondents were very positive about the role the mentors had played in the PiP2 process. For these respondents, the mentors had played a valuable role in:

- Providing guidance and assistance to joint SAPS and CPF planning processes.
- Building communication between the SAPS and CPF representatives through co-operative mediation.
- Co-ordinating activities through ongoing monitoring and evaluation.
- Educating community representatives regarding crime and crime prevention.

The very positive views of those who worked most closely with the PiP2 mentors is a significant achievement for the PiP2 programme.

Implementation of the action plans

As indicated above, a key deliverable of the PiP2 programme was implementation of the activities outlined in the action plans that were developed through the capacity building process.

The view from the office

Representatives of the advisory board and management team were divided in their views about the implementation of the action plans. While the SAPS advisory board members were all generally satisfied, members of the NGO-consortium on the advisory board were more cautious in their assessment, largely because of concerns about:

- The pace of implementation: action plan activities were perceived to be slow to get off the ground.
- Inconsistency in quality: some plans were not specific or sufficiently detailed to ensure action.

For these respondents, the problems were largely attributable to the effect of the PiP2 advanced capacity building programme, that is, the series of five workshops conducted at all 40 PiP2 stations after the formulation of their action plans. The respondents believed that the workshops had detracted from the practical task of implementing the action plans.

Nevertheless, management team respondents and the fieldworkers were generally satisfied with the manner in which the action plans were being implemented. This satisfaction was attributed to consistent mentor visits to oversee implementation. The only reservation expressed by the management team was that not all the stations had begun to implement activities, and that the impact of the action plans had not yet been evaluated.

The view from the stations

Station level respondents were clear that PiP2's core facilitation teams at each station had helped to establish task teams to drive the activities outlined in the action plans. The work of the task teams had resulted in a range of short-term initiatives, primarily meetings with other role-players identified in the action plans, joint awareness campaigns (like community meetings, radio inserts and discussions on priority issues, marches against crime and distribution of pamphlets) and SAPS initiatives like enhanced patrols, raids and visible deployment. In conducting these activities, the task teams engaged with a range of government departments, local government officials, non-governmental organisations, community based organisations and religious groups that are often overlooked or uninvolved in crime reduction activities.

However, in most, if not all of the station sites, implementation of the activities outlined in the action plans remained incomplete. Thus, station level respondents were reserved regarding their assessment of the effectiveness of these activities. This was primarily because of the broad nature of some action plans, the lack of consensus in the core facilitation and task teams about priorities and, in many instances, issues related to the establishment and functioning of the task teams. Issues raised by the station level respondents included:

- The appointment of particular individuals to task teams impacted significantly on the implementation of the activities. This was due primarily to the perceived political affiliation of the particular individuals, which either encouraged or discouraged participation by others.

- The appointment in absentia of particular individuals to task teams resulted in people not knowing what they were expected to do, how they were to do it and with whom they were to engage.
- There was inconsistency in the composition of the task teams; key people moved in and out of the planned activities as personal issues (like employment) took priority.
- Lack of organisation and clarity of roles resulted from poorly planned activities that did not permit a clear understanding of the various responsibilities of the participants.
- Incomplete action plans meant that at a number of sites action plans had not been developed for all three priorities, but had rather focused on a single issue.
- There was inadequate resourcing of the planned activities, due to a lack of planning to overcome obvious logistical constraints such as the costs of transportation, communications and subsistence.
- In almost all sites, a common complaint was that implementation of the PiP2 action plans had not engaged wide-ranging 'community participation'. This was attributed to logistical constraints, like access to public or private transport and the means of communication, experienced by residents of particular localities.

Further, the introduction of the series of five workshops impacted on the implementation of the action plans. It was reported from a number of sites that the workshops, while enhancing the knowledge of individual participants, had resulted in the establishment of new task teams that focused more on the topics of the workshops than on the prioritised crimes. This meant that participants in the new task teams were involved in planning new or additional activities, rather than implementing those agreed to in the original action plans.

This indicates that the goal of these workshops as articulated by the PiP2 management team—to enhance implementation of the action plans—was not clear among station level respondents.

The nature of the action plans

An overview of the action-planning process and the content of the individual plans indicates two key issues relevant to their effective implementation:

- Structure before strategy: it is clear from the project documentation, as well the responses from the station level respondents, that PiP2 facilitation emphasised the establishment of structures as a key output of the programme. However, this emphasis may well have inhibited effective implementation of the action plans. Too little attention was paid to ensuring motivated participation, and to the resource and capacity constraints likely to affect implementation. Thus some task teams were set up before their purpose and activities had been defined. In

other instances some task team members had been elected or nominated in their absence.

- Quality control: due to the emphasis in the PiP2 programme on capacity building workshops and the establishment of structures, and to inadequate consideration of the role of the mentors, there appears to have been poor quality control over the content of the action plans.

The evaluation noted the following issues with regard to the content of the action plans:

- *Youth viewed as a destructive force*: there appeared to be a very real age bias in many of the action plans. Indeed, the youth were viewed as a homogeneous, irresponsible and dangerous group, despite the fact that the 'youth' consisted of a range of age groups, educational, occupational and employment categories. There was no evidence of which categories of youth were perceived to be most involved in crime or at risk of becoming involved in crime, and therefore what interventions were most likely to be effective. Rather, it was very common for the action plans to suggest that extramural activities, especially football matches, would address the occurrence of priority crimes. No explanations of how this was to occur were provided.
- *The efficacy of awareness campaigns*: general community awareness campaigns were often planned, and in many areas implemented, to address particular crime issues. However, the intended target audience, language of communication, access to the means of communication, and in the case of written campaign materials the levels of literacy in the target audience, did not appear to have been considered in depth. Nor, in some instances, did the costs of such campaigns appear to feature in the planning. In some instances, the objectives of such campaigns were not clear to those who advocated them.
- *Illegal taverns as a source of criminality*: many action plans included the intention to raid or shut down illegal shebeens. Others planned to persuade illegal shebeen operators to close their operations at particular times. However, it was not clear from the plans who was actually being targeted by such interventions: was it the owners of these illegal shebeens, because they had contravened the provisions of the Liquor Act and, if so, was this considered a priority crime? Or was it the patrons of these establishments, because they were assumed be potential offenders? Are patrons of illegal shebeens more likely to commit crime than those who drink at formal and legal taverns? If so, what crimes? These questions were not addressed in the action plans. Also, it appears that the owners of legal shebeens, who would have a direct interest in the closure of illegal shebeens, were sometimes the driving force behind these interventions.
- *Tough approaches work best*: a number of action plans included worrying suggestions on the role of community structures. For instance, the plans in

several areas indicated that 'community members'—read CPF representatives—would raid schools to reduce housebreaking or conduct roadblocks and random raids and searches on homes in the vicinity. There did not appear to be any consideration of the legal authority of these individuals to conduct such activities or the rights of those on the receiving end. The line between the proposed activities and vigilantism appeared, in some instances, to be very thin. Indeed, at some sites CPF respondents felt that their efforts were inadequate because they had not been issued firearms.

- *Unintended consequences*: there was no evidence in the action plans that the potential or unintended consequences of particular activities had been adequately considered. For instance, while many of the plans proposed campaigns to improve the rate of reporting, whistle-blowing and informing, none dealt with the support structure required to protect those responding to these campaigns. Anecdotal evidence points to the potential dangers of this. In Bizana, police respondents indicated that an intervention to improve the reporting of rape in the 'hot-spot' area of Didi Forest had also resulted in an increase in the numbers of murders, because rapists had resorted to murdering their victims to prevent them from reporting. Although the validity of this assertion was not tested, the point is clear.

Thus, despite the emphasis in the project documentation and the PiP2 training materials on developing action plans that demonstrated the standard SMART criteria (Simple, Measurable, Achievable, Realistic and Timebound) many, if not most, of the plans did not fit this criteria. Given the problematic functioning of the task teams, the sporadic nature of action plan activities and the lack of quality control over their content, it is not possible to draw conclusions about their effect in terms of the key objectives—the reduction of prioritised crimes.

Achievements of the PiP2 programme

Implementation of PiP2 over the 18 months from June 2000 to December 2001 did achieve valuable results:

- *Stakeholder approval and 'buy-in'*: the PiP2 programme provided a forum for key stakeholders in the safety and security sector in the Eastern Cape to constructively engage with one another. Also, the programme drew participation from senior members of the SAPS as well as non-governmental organisations who might not have had an opportunity to work together. This is evident from participation on the advisory board, which, as indicated above, was impressively inclusive of these stakeholders.
- *Assistance to SAPS station planning*: the PiP2 capacity building programme added value to the SAPS planning and management functions at station level.

For station level participants, particularly the station commissioners, this was the primary value of the programme. This was particularly evident in the manner in which the PiP2 programme had integrated with the SDIP process. The fact that so many station commissioners were positive about the usefulness of PiP2 is a significant achievement. Indeed, SAPS management services in the Eastern Cape is currently considering the adoption of the PiP2 methodologies to enhance station level strategic planning. Further, the PiP2 materials were given to the police stations to be used as a planning resource when required.

- *Assistance to CPF practitioners:* related to the assistance provided to local SAPS planning functions, the PiP2 programme also provided assistance to the basic planning functions of the CPF participants. This, in turn, provided a positive structure for CPF interaction with the SAPS and gave clear direction to CPF activities. Given the often problematic interaction between the SAPS and the CPFs, which stems mainly from a lack of clarity on their intended roles and functions, this too, was a positive achievement.
- *Creating the potential to address issues of common concern:* the correlation between the SAPS priorities identified through the PiP2 action planning process, the existing SAPS priority crimes, and public concerns in the PiP2 station areas means there is potential for relevant and sustained projects to address issues of concern to the SAPS and the public. (However, the fact that safety and security is, in the perceptions of the public, closely correlated with a visible police presence would need to be factored into such interventions).
- *Engagement with role-players who are often overlooked in crime reduction activities:* the PiP2 programme and activities stemming from the action plans drew participation from a range of government departments (responsible for welfare, education and justice), local government officials, political organisations, non-governmental organisations and some local businesses which often remain uninvolved in crime reduction initiatives. Given the challenges of acquiring such engagement, as experienced in other programmes, this was an important achievement.
- *Raised local awareness of the need for a participatory approach to crime prevention:* related to the two points above, the involvement of the wide range of local stakeholders, facilitated through the PiP2 process, has created a potential network that could, given appropriate direction and support, contribute significantly to reducing crime in their areas.

Thus, although the evaluation was unable to draw conclusions about the impact of the PiP2 programme in terms of its (apparent) primary objective—the reduction of prioritised crime in the selected station areas—it is clear that the programme did achieve important results for those who participated in it. Given that participatory local level crime reduction is relatively new to South Africa, as well as the management, capacity and resourcing constraints that challenge successful implementation, these results are significant.

Conclusion

The analysis above has outlined flaws in the design, management and implementation of the PiP2 programme. These flaws originate in the misplaced assumptions informing the programme and the diverse views on the purposes of the programme among those responsible for its oversight, management and implementation. This resulted in:

- The setting of disparate and overly ambitious "areas of impact", that is, the setting of outcome indicators way beyond the scope of the actual programme.
- A lack of attention to the actual connection between the workshop capacity building programme and the intended outcomes of the PiP2 programme.
- A lack of attention to the success factors for the programme, particularly those related to ensuring sustained implementation of activities, and the role of the PiP2 mentors.
- A lack of attention to the risks facing successful implementation of the programme. Indeed, the core deliverable of the programme—the implementation of the action plans—was dependent on requirements that could not be guaranteed or controlled by the programme.
- A lack of quality control over the content of the action plans.

Oversight and management of the PiP2 programme focused, almost entirely, on conducting the capacity building workshops, while too little attention was paid to the requirements of the action plans. Indeed, as PiP2 was implemented, the workshops increasingly became the key focus of the programme.

The workshops, though, were the key strength of the programme and the source of its most significant results. This is indicated by the very positive views of the participants. There can be no doubt therefore, that implementation of the PiP2 programme resulted in positive benefits for individual workshop participants, particularly police officials, CPF representatives, and a range of stakeholders not often engaged in crime reduction initiatives.

However, because of the programme's focus on the capacity building workshops and the limited consideration given to implementation of the action plans, it was not surprising that, despite the goodwill and commitment of the PiP2 staff and those involved at station level, implementation of the action plans focused on establishing structures. As a result, activities resulting from the plans were short-term and sporadic, making it difficult to draw conclusions about their impact.