

NOTES

1. 'Policy transfer' or 'lesson-drawing' is an area of recent interest in the fields of international relations and comparative politics. D Stone, *Learning Lessons and Transferring Policy across Time, Space and Disciplines*, *Politics* 19 (1), Feb 1999, p 51.
2. "The usually-cited definition of policy transfer in the UK is that 'it refers to a process in which knowledge about policies, administrative arrangements, institutions, etc, in one time and/or place is used in the development of policies, administrative arrangements and institutions in another time and/or place'." Dolowitz and Marsh cited in D Stone, *ibid*, p 52.
3. Final Draft National Instruction */2003 on Sector Policing, SAPS, paras 5 & 7.
4. Metropolitan Police, *Report of the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police 1991/2*, Metropolitan Police, London, 1992, p xiv.
5. D Smith, Research, the Community and the Police, in P Willmott (ed), *Policing and the Community*, Policy Studies Institute, London, 1999, p 54.
6. J Greene and S Mastrofski, *Community Policing: Rhetoric or Reality*, Praeger, New York, 1988, p xiii.
7. M Moore, Problem-solving and community policing, in M Tonry and N Morris (eds), *Modern Policing*, Crime and Justice 15, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992.
8. N Fielding, Theorizing community policing, *British Journal of Criminology* 42, 2002, pp 147–163.
9. See R Trojanowicz and B Bucqueroux, *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective*, Anderson Publishing, Cincinnati, 1990, and G Kelling and M Moore, From political to reform to community: the evolving strategy of police, in J Greene and S Mastrofski (eds), *Community Policing: Rhetoric or Reality*, Praeger, New York, 1988, for this range of views. The influence of Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux on the development of community policing in South Africa dates back at least to the *Policy Framework and Guidelines* issued by the SAPS in 1997 and is evident even now in the Draft National Instruction's reference to the philosophy of community policing.
10. See J Crank, Watchman and community: myth and institutionalization in policing, *Law & Society Review* 28 (2), 1992, pp 325–351.

11. See Kelling and Moore *op cit* and N Fielding, *Community Policing*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, for American and British examples of this solution to the conundrum.
12. This is the approach taken by Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux, *op cit* in the US and in the UK by J Alderson, *Policing Freedom*, MacDonald and Evans, Plymouth, 1979.
13. D Bayley, *Police for the Future*, Oxford University Press, New York and D Smith, *op cit*.
14. See D Bayley, A foreign policy for democratic policing, *Policing and Society* 5, 1995, pp 79–93, and M Brogden, Community policing as cherry pie, in R Mawby (ed), *Policing across the World*, UCL Press, London, 1999.
15. Alderson, *op cit*.
16. Lord Scarman, *The Brixton Disorders 10-12 April 1981: Report of an Inquiry*, Cmnd 8427, HMSO, London, 1981, para 5.46.
17. *Ibid*, para 5.51.
18. See, for example, P Waddington, “Community policing”: a sceptical appraisal, in P Norton (ed), *Law and Order and British Politics*, Gower, Aldershot, 1984; and P Gordon, Community policing: towards the local police state?, in P Scraton (ed), *Law, Order and the Authoritarian State*, Open University Press, Milton Keynes, 1987.
19. M Weatheritt, *Innovations in Policing*, Croom Helm, London, 1986, p 26.
20. R Reiner, *Chief Constables*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1991.
21. See E Pelsler, J Schnetler and A Louw, *Not Everybody’s Business: Community Policing in the SAPS’ Priority Areas*, ISS Monograph No 71, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 2002.
22. See Weatheritt, *op cit*.
23. L Sherman, C Milton and T Kelly, *Team Policing: Seven Case Studies*, Police Foundation, Washington DC, 1973.
24. Weatheritt, *op cit*.
25. B Irving, C Bird, M Hibberd and J Willmore, *Neighbourhood Policing: The Natural History of a Policing Experiment*, Police Foundation, London, 1989, provides a report on the external evaluation of neighbourhood policing carried out by an independent research organisation.
26. For the evolution of estates policing into sector policing see the *Reports of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis* 1988, 1990 and 1991/2, Metropolitan Police, London.

27. D Brown and S Iles, *Community Constables: A Study of a Policing Initiative*, Research and Planning Unit Paper 30, Home Office, London, 1985; R Grimshaw and T Jefferson, *Interpreting Policework*, Unwin, London, 1987.
28. Goldstein's published work on problem-oriented policing dates back to the 1970s but the most complete statement of his ideas is contained in H Goldstein, *Problem Oriented Policing*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1990.
29. Goldstein, *op cit*, p 7.
30. See J Eck and W Spelman, *Problem-Solving: Problem-Oriented Policing in Newport News*, Police Executive Research Forum/National Institute of Justice, Washington DC, 1987. Though the SARA process reflects his systematic approach to problem-solving, Goldstein himself has pointed out that the use of SARA does not in and of itself amount to an effective implementation of POP as he conceived it.
31. M Chatterton, Targeting community beat officers: organisational constraints and resistance, *Policing and Society* 3, 1993, p 202. The findings of subsequent research on POP in Britain are reviewed in the next chapter.
32. Goldstein, *op cit*, p 34; and see Eck and Spelman, *op cit*, and L Sherman, Attacking crime: police and crime control, in M Tonry and N Morris (eds), *Modern Policing*, Crime and Justice 15, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1992.
33. M Buerger, The challenge of reinventing police and community, in D Weisburd and C Uchida (eds), *Police Innovation and Control of the Police: Problems of Law, Order and Community*, Springer-Verlag, New York, 1993, p 103.
34. Subsequently consolidated in s. 96 Police Act 1996.
35. The essence of the dispute was the continuing accountability of the Metropolitan Police to a Cabinet minister in central government rather than to the locally elected representatives of the people of London.
36. The Police Board was an advisory structure created as part of the National Peace Accord. It was made up of senior police generals from the SAP, and an equal number of civilians nominated by the various political parties which were signatories to the Accord. The trip to London was funded by the British Overseas Development Administration as part of the British government's transitional aid package for South Africa.
37. See, for example R Morgan, Policing by consent; legitimating the doctrine, in R Morgan and D Smith (eds), *Coming to Terms with Policing*, Routledge, London, 1989.
38. Home Office, *Police/Community Consultative Arrangements Under Section 106 Criminal Evidence Act 1984: Report of an Internal Home Office Review*, London, Home Office, 1989.

39. Home Office, *Guidance on Arrangements for Local Consultation between the Community and the Police in the Metropolitan Police District*, Home Office, London, 1985.
40. Joint Consultative Committee, *The Operational Policing Review*, Police Federation, Surbiton, 1990; R Morgan, Talking about policing, in D Downes (ed), *Unravelling Criminal Justice*, Macmillan, London, 1992.
41. R Morgan, Police accountability: current developments and future prospects, in M Weatheritt (ed), *Police Research: Some Future Prospects*, Gower, Aldershot, 1989.
42. Morgan, 1989, *op cit*; Home Office, 1989, *op cit*.
43. E McLaughlin and K Murji, The end of public policing? Police reform and 'the new managerialism', in L Noaks, M Maguire and M Levi (eds), *Contemporary Issues in Criminology*, University of Wales Press, Cardiff, 1995. Another term for the same phenomenon is 'new public management' or NPM used in F Leishman, B Loveday and S Savage, *Core Issues in Policing*, Longman, London, 1996.
44. Home Office Circular 114/83, *Manpower, efficiency and effectiveness in the police service*, Home Office, London, 1983.
45. *The Citizen's Charter*, Cm. 1599, HMSO, London; M Hirst, What do we mean by quality?, *Policing 7*, 1991, pp 183–93.
46. Metropolitan Police (undated), *Sector Policing: What is it?* Metropolitan Police, London.
47. Wolff Olins, *A Force for Change: A Report on the Corporate Identity of the Metropolitan Police*, Wolff Olins Corporate Identity, London, 1998.
48. Metropolitan Police, *PLUS: Making in happen*, Metropolitan Police, London, 1990.
49. Metropolitan Police, *Report of the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police 1990*, Metropolitan Police, London, 1990.
50. Department of Safety and Security, *White Paper on Safety and Security*, Pretoria, 1998, p 18.
51. South African Police Service, *SAPS Draft Guideline on Sector Policing*, 1998, p 3.
52. *Ibid*, pp 2–3.
53. Secretariat for Safety & Security, *Evaluation of Programme Johannesburg*, Department for Safety & Security, Pretoria, 1999, pp 30–33.
54. B Dixon, Going Glocal: The Indigenisation of Sector Policing in the New South Africa, Paper presented at the British Society of Criminology Conference, University of Leicester, 6 July 2002, p 22.

55. Minister Charles Nqakula, Budget Vote 7 June 2001, cited in *SAPS Journal*, SAPS, Pretoria, Sept 2002 p 13.
56. Summary: *Annual Report of the National Commissioner of the SAPS*, 1 April 2001–31 March 2002, SAPS, Pretoria, 2002, p 1.
57. *Ibid*, p 13.
58. Currently (November 2003) available only its final draft form, awaiting signature by the National Commissioner. A National Instruction is the format used internally within the SAPS to issue instructions or policy directives.
59. Although five steps are laid down in the National Instruction, these are summarised into four steps in the pamphlet titled 'Sector Policing=Service Excellence' which is being used for education of SAPS members about sector policing.
60. This includes articles in the *SAPS Journal* (a magazine for police members), pamphlets, videos and a training curriculum.
61. SAPS Final Draft National Instruction, SAPS, Pretoria, 2003, para 4.1.
62. *Ibid*, para 5.1.
63. *Ibid*, para 5.3.
64. *Ibid*, para 1.
65. *Ibid*, para 5.4.
66. *Ibid*, para 1.
67. This dynamic is evident in many other societies, and is certainly not specific to South Africa or post-transition states.
68. SAPS Regulations for the South African Reserve Police Service, Regulation Gazette no 7308, Vol 441, Government Printer, Pretoria; and National Instruction N1/2002, The SA Reserve Police Service, issued by Consolidation Notice 4/2002.
69. National Instruction 1/2002, *op cit*, 2 (d) (i).
70. *Ibid*, cit 2 (d) (vi).
71. *Ibid*, 2 (d) (viii).
72. Charles Nqakula MP, Minister of Safety and Security, Budget Vote Debate, Vote 25 Safety and Security, Parliament, Cape Town, June 10 2003.
73. This was suggested in an interview with a senior SAPS officer involved in the sector policing initiative; however, the close similarity between current and original versions of the policy documents on sector policing tends to belie this claim.

74. Metropolitan Police, *Sector Policing: Guide for Divisional Management Teams; Sector Policing: The Sector Inspectors' Handbook; and Sector Policing: Guide for Divisional Working Parties*, Metropolitan Police, London, 1991. In the notes that follow, these booklets will be referred to as SPDMT, SPSIH and SPDWP respectively.
75. SPDMT, *op cit*, p 8.
76. Adapted from SPDMT, *op cit*, pp 2 and 5.
77. Detailed accounts of this research, led by Professor Betsy Stanko, are contained in B Dixon and E Stanko, *Serving the People: Sector Policing and Public Accountability*, Brunel University, Uxbridge, 1993; B Dixon and E Stanko, Sector policing and public accountability, *Policing and Society* 5, 1995, pp 171–83; and W Dixon, *Popular Policing? Sector Policing and the Reinvention of Police Accountability*, Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Law, Brunel University, Uxbridge, 1999. Unless otherwise stated, the material for this chapter is drawn from this research including observational data collected by Bill Dixon and statistical information taken from an internal evaluation of the first six months of sector policing on Holloway Division (*Sector Policing Evaluation April–October 1992*, Holloway Division, Metropolitan Police, London). The original research project on sector policing in Holloway was specifically directed towards questions of accountability and the role of locally based officers in meeting policing needs. It was not intended to be an evaluation either of sector policing generally, or of its implementation on Holloway Division. We use the material here to illustrate some of the challenges and limitations likely to be faced by any police organisation seeking to implement a similar community-based, geographically responsible style of policing.
78. Notifiable offences include the more serious types of crime that have to be reported to central government for the purposes of compiling national crime statistics. Contemporary crime survey data suggested that Holloway was part of a relatively high crime area with 7% of households in the Borough of Islington of which it formed the northern half, reporting that they had been burgled or had property stolen over a 12 month period, compared to only 4% of households nationally.
79. 'Days' were worked Monday to Friday with two 'day' teams on duty on Thursdays. 'Evening' shifts were restricted to Fridays and Saturdays.
80. T Bennett and C Kemp, *An Evaluation of Sector-Based Problem-Oriented Policing in Thames Valley Police Force Area: Executive Summary*, Unpublished report submitted to the Home Office Research and Planning Unit, Home Office, London, 1994. The focus of Bennett and Kemp's research was a number of small-scale experiments with a form of 'time-based' sector policing in the Thames Valley Police area to the west and north of London. Time-based sector policing was considerably less radical than the 'area-based' style introduced in London and

involved the allocation of some limited responsibility for demarcated geographical areas or sectors to large teams of officers whose principal duty was to patrol and respond to calls for service over a much larger area for an eight or 10 hour slice of time.

81. SPSIH, *op cit*, pp 4–5.
82. *Ibid*, pp 7–8.
83. This body became the main focus for the research on which this case study is based.
84. Fieldnotes, 3 March 1993.
85. Fieldnotes, 7 and 19 November 1992.
86. Fieldnotes, 13 July 1992, 18 January 1993.
87. Fieldnotes, 15 and 21 June 1992.
88. Fieldnotes, 2 November 1992.
89. J Shapland and J Vagg, *Policing by the Public*, Routledge, London, 1998.
90. This is not to suggest that reporting rates even for ‘real crime’ approach 100% or deny that they differ between offence types.
91. Fieldnotes, 22 April 1992.
92. Holloway Division, *op cit.*, pp 16–7.
93. This figure is obtained by multiplying the number of officers on a sector team (assumed to be four to allow for leave and other abstractions) by the number of eight hour ‘day’ shifts worked over a six month period at six shifts a week ($4 \times 6 \times 8 \times 26 = 4,992$).
94. See A Leigh, T Read and N Tilley, *Brit Pop II: Problem-oriented policing in practice*, Police Research Series Paper 93, Home Office, London, 1998, p 1. These authors note that almost all respondents to a telephone survey of half of the UK’s police forces reported that they were either introducing or actively considering the introduction of some kind of POP in at least some parts of their force areas.
95. Her Majesty’s Inspectorate of Constabulary, *Beating Crime*, HMIC Thematic Inspection Report, Home Office, London, 1998, p 5.
96. Leigh *et al*, *op cit*.
97. Under the pre-sector policing system, uniformed patrol officers were divided into four large teams or ‘reliefs’. Over a typical 24-hour period, three reliefs would cover the three eight hour shifts into which the day was divided, while the fourth had a rest day.

98. Fieldnotes, 7/8 November 1991.
99. Holloway Division, *op cit*, pp 23–5.
100. Fieldnotes, 19 November 1992.
101. Holloway Division, *op cit*, p 10–15.
102. For a summary of the international research literature and its relevance in the South African context, see R Reiner, *The Politics of the Police*, 3rd edition, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2000; and M Marks, Shifting gears or slamming the brakes? A review of police behavioural change in a post-apartheid police unit, *Policing and Society* 13 (3), 2003, pp 235–258.
103. Fieldnotes, 25 October 1992.
104. Holloway Division, *Sector Policing: Phase II*, Metropolitan Police, London, 1993.
105. The main source for the account of sector policing both in Holloway and across the rest of London that follows are interviews conducted by one of the authors (BD) with Chief Superintendent Paul Minton, Superintendent Andy Smith and Inspector Graham Burt on 11 October 2002. The authors would like to express their gratitude to all three officers for their invaluable contribution to this study. Both interviews (Messrs. Smith and Burt were interviewed together) were conducted face-to-face and recorded in the form of contemporaneous written notes.
106. The relative enthusiasm with which sector policing was introduced at Holloway was obvious to the research team there as early as 1992 when it became clear that neighbouring divisions—including the Islington Division with which Holloway was later to be amalgamated—were moving to implement it much more slowly, cautiously and reluctantly than the zealous management at Holloway thought appropriate.
107. M FitzGerald, M Hough, I Joseph and T Qureshi, *Policing for London*, Willan Publishing, Cullompton, 2002, p 109.
108. *Ibid*, p 105.
109. Similar realignment between SAPS boundaries and local municipal boundaries is required in the near future in South Africa.
110. Contemporary police managers would of course argue that closing down a ‘crack house’ contributes as much if not more to the quality of life of local residents as any action their officers might have been asked to take in the early days of sector policing against, say, illegal parking or people who allow their dogs to foul pavements.
111. T Bennett and C Kemp, *An Evaluation of Sector-Based Problem-Oriented Policing in Thames Valley Police Force Area: Executive Summary*, Unpublished report submitted to the Home Office Research and Planning Unit, Home Office, London, 1994.

112. Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996; and South African Police Service Act 68 of 1995. The mechanisms provided for here include institutions such as the Independent Complaints Directorate, that National and Provincial Secretariats for Safety and Security and the responsibility of the courts for holding the police to account under the ordinary law of the land. See B Dixon, *Accountable policing: a four dimensional analysis*, *South African Journal of Criminal Justice* 13, 2002, pp 69–83, for further discussion.
113. Draft National Instruction, *op cit*, para 10.4.1
114. The limitations of CPFs as an accountability mechanism are documented in E Pelser, J Schnetler and A Louw, *Not Everybody's Business: Community Policing in the SAPS' Priority Areas*, ISS Monograph No 71, Institute for Security Studies, Pretoria, 2002.
115. *SAPS Journal*, October 2002, p 13.
116. Final Draft National Instruction, *op cit*, para 10. 2. 3.
117. See, for example, Leigh *et al*, *op cit*; and B Irving and B Dixon, *Hotspotting: Turning Police Theory into Practice in Thames Valley and Northumbria*, Police Foundation, London, 2002.
118. A Policy Transfer Framework in D Dolowitz and D Marsh, *Who Learns From Whom: a Review of the Policy Transfer Literature*, *Political Studies* 44 (2), 1996.
119. *Ibid*.
120. See *Breaking down the barriers*, *Sunday Times*, 26 May 2002.