NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCH
IN THE UK AND SOUTH AFRICA

A COMPARISON OF NEIGHBOURHOOD WATCHES WITHIN THE BROADER PERSPECTIVE OF PLURAL POLICING

GUIDO URLINGS

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Master thesis

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Enjoy the read!

Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika

Guido Urlings
Sittard, June 9th 2016

Abstract

What started as a shift from government to governance (Rhodes, 1996; Osborne & Gaebler, 1993), meaning a network of organizations and actors rather than a single actor performing government duties, eventually led to plural policing (Loader, 2000), as citizens and other actors were expected to take responsibility (Garland, 2001) for their own surroundings and lives and police employed community oriented models that required citizens to become directly involved in policing. One of the phenomena that appeared as a form of policing below government (Loader, 2000) was the neighbourhood watch (Crawford, 1998; Yarwood & Edwards, 1995). With sufficient leeway surrounding that concept, we examine the phenomenon in the United Kingdom and South Africa to analyse and explain the level of difference. This thesis examines the history of neighbourhood watch in the UK and South Africa, the governmental and legal dispositions, the objectives, and the organization thereof.

Disclaimer

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1. Introduction

Neighbourhood watches have become an ever more popular phenomenon in today's world. Whether it is due to reduced budget for the police as a result of financial crises or an increase in fear amongst civilians, the need to 'do something' has been translated into local civilian policing initiatives around the world. With communication between community members becoming easier through the use of mobile and smartphones, keeping a watchful eye has become a relatively easy exercise. The worldwide growth of alternative actors in the field of policing has not gone unnoticed and research on these specific actors in the field or between different countries is actively encouraged (Diphoorn, 2016; Devroe & Terpstra, 2015). Undoubtedly though, there are differences between these actors such as neighbourhood watches in different countries and what works in one place does not necessarily work in another. Whereas my own neighbourhood of Hoogveld in Sittard, the Netherlands uses a WhatsApp group to keep the community informed about suspicious activity, I was put in a vehicle wearing a bulletproof vest on during my neighbourhood watch patrols in South Africa. The difference could not have been bigger and it sparked my interest in the subject. As a result, this research examines neighbourhood watches through the following main research question: To what extent does neighbourhood watch in the United Kingdom differ from neighbourhood watch in South Africa and why? The following sections highlight the societal and scientific relevance of this research, discussing its use for the general public at large and the academic world respectively.

1.1 Societal relevance

As mentioned above, neighbourhood watches have become increasingly popular around the world, in an attempt to aid, supplement or replace state security actors in the policing field. Some of these initiatives might be private initiatives, some might be instigated by the state. Some might have been in existence since the eighties, whilst others have only recently been formed. The former might thus be rusted in its ways, whilst the latter is desperately in need of some guidance to get underway. By examining neighbourhood watches in two vastly different countries such as the United Kingdom and South Africa, I will be able to not only provide neighbourhood watch members in those two specific countries with insights on how their approach differs from that in the other country, but also provide them and those involved with

neighbourhood watches around the world a point of reference that will either help them identify opportunities to improve or likely mistakes to avoid. From a personal point of view, I hope the research will provide the relatively new democracy in South Africa with some pointers on how to better organize its neighbourhood watches. Pointers I hope and await to find in the UK, with its relatively long history of community oriented policing (Ponsaers 2001).

1.2 Scientific relevance

The scientific relevance and value of this research will be in that it adds knowledge to a field that is somewhat lacking, according to Devroe & Terpstra (2015). Although they speak of plural policing rather than the more specific topic of neighbourhood watches, I believe the latter does form an important part thereof. Devroe & Terpstra (2015, p. 236) argue that the body of knowledge on plural policing, and thus indirectly neighbourhood watches, is moreover limited to certain Anglo-Saxon countries. The type of research that I aim to perform in this thesis, comparing an Anglo-Saxon country, namely the UK, to South Africa, will therefore aid the process of establishing whether or not developments regarding plural policing in the UK and other Anglo-Saxon countries are similar to those elsewhere. In addition, the majority of research in this sector is performed on a larger scale, examining plural policing or, more specifically, community policing. Neighbourhood watches form but a part of plural and community policing and, unless I have simply not been able to find it, I have been able to track down little specific research regarding the neighbourhood watch phenomenon, let alone a comparison of neighbourhood watches in different countries. I believe the growth and expansion of neighbourhood watches worldwide warrants additional, specific, research and this thesis will fill a small void in that field.

1.3 Thesis guide

This thesis will follow a rather transparent structure. This introduction is followed by chapter 2, containing a theoretical framework on neighbourhood watch within the broader perspective of plural policing. The following chapter 3 describes the methodology applied within this thesis. Thereafter follow the results from the UK and South Africa, as well as the case comparison and explanatory factors in chapter 4. The conclusion and discussion conclude the thesis in chapter 5.

2. Theoretical framework – Neighbourhood watch in the broader perspective of plural policing

This chapter delineates the existing theory on governance, policing and neighbourhood watch in order to create a clear framework that will allow me to compare South Africa's neighbourhood watches with those in the United Kingdom (UK). I have made use of a funnel model (Devroe, 2012, p. 28) that allows me to start by explaining the transition from government to governance first, explaining the devolvement of government tasks to other parties (Rhodes, 1996; Osborne & Gaebler, 1993). I then move on to responsibilization (Garland, 2001), which I believe was one of the main reasons for civilians to become involved in policing. I will then describe this evolved policing field by explaining plural policing (Loader, 2000), and finally zooming in on the topic of the thesis, namely neighbourhood watches (Crawford, 1998; Yarwoord & Edwards, 1995). By doing so, not only am I able to place the concept of a neighbourhood watch in a broader perspective whilst still devoting sufficient attention to the actual subject, but it also allows me to describe what I believe are important factors for the creation of these neighbourhood watches in the Anglo-Saxon world. Ultimately, this theoretical framework will allow me to formulate the problem statement, which results in the research question that follows. Figure 1 visualizes said funnel.
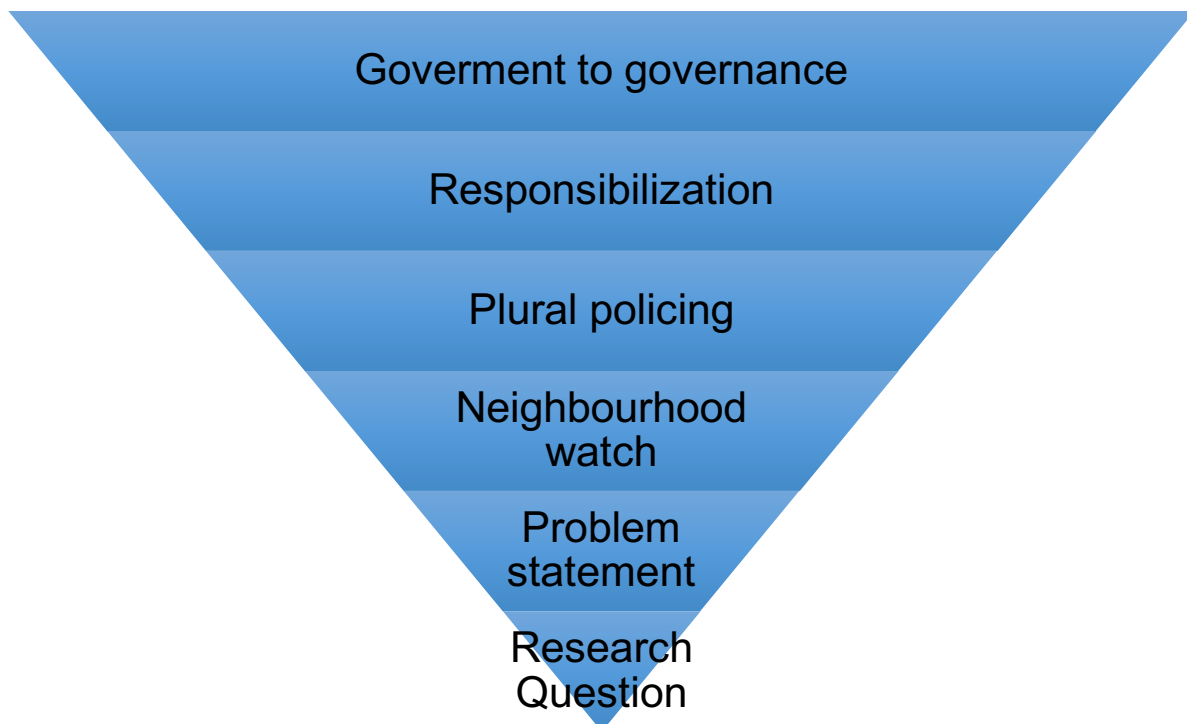

Goverment to governance

Responsibilization

Plural policing

Neighbourhood watch

Problem statement

Research Question

Figure 1 funnel (Based on Devroe, 2012)

2.1 Government to governance

Rhodes (1996) describes a shift in the UK of the 90's from government to governance, something Osborne & Gaebler (1993) have labelled *"reinventing government"*. Osborne & Gaebler (1993) illustrate this using the example of a rowing boat that needs rowing and steering. In the case of governance, the state focuses on the steering whereas the rowing is left to other, diverse, actors. Similar terminology is used by Crawford (2006) in his article on network governance, with a subtitle that reads *"Steering, rowing and anchoring the provision of policing and security"*. In his article, Rhodes (1996) describes the various uses of the term governance and defends the following definition and characteristics thereof:

"governance refers to self-organizing, interorganizational networks [...]

I list below the shared characteristics of 'governance'.
(1) Interdependence between organizations. Governance is broader than government, covering non-state actors. Changing the boundaries of the state meant the boundaries between public, private and voluntary sectors became shifting and opaque.
(2) Continuing interactions between network members, caused by the need to exchange resources and negotiate shared purposes.
(3) Game-like interactions, rooted in trust and regulated by rules of the game negotiated and agreed by network participants.
(4) A significant degree of autonomy from the state. Networks are not accountable to the state; they are self-organising. Although the state does not occupy a privileged, sovereign position, it can indirectly and imperfectly steer networks."

(Rhodes, 1996, p. 660)

Rhodes believes that the concept of governance aids in the analysis of the British government, specifically in relation to the hollowing out of the state, the new public management (NPM) and intergovernmental management (IGM) (Rhodes, 1996: p. 661). In doing so, he highlights issues that might also surface when organizing neighbourhood watches, which is why we will discuss these three shortly.

By 'hollowing out the state', Rhodes (1996, pp. 661-663) refers to the increasing privatization and resulting limitation in the scope and forms of public intervention, the shift of functions from government departments to other systems, the shift of functions from the government to the European Union and limitations posed on the discretion of public servants due to the new public management. He immediately identifies three likely problems, namely fragmentation, steering and accountability. Fragmentation refers to the limitations on government control over the implementation of policies once a service is transferred from a single government body to several private and public agencies. Rather than controlling that single body, government now needs to steer this network of agencies and, as these networks multiply, so does the difficulty involved in steering them. As a result, accountability is also reduced as it is unclear who is now responsible for what, degrees of public accountability for the various agencies vary, transparency and consumer responsiveness are mistaken for public accountability by the government and a lack of new arrangements means that ministerial accountability and the position of the government have become rather ambiguous.

Governance, according to Rhodes (1996, pp. 663-664), also points out several weaknesses in the new public management (NPM). He argues that the NPM focuses on value for money, hierarchical control a clear distribution of power, therewith making it unsuitable for the management of several agencies operating within a network. He also points out that governance requires careful consideration of the relationships within a network, making (contractual) objectives less important than preserving the trust within the network. The same goes for results. Because of the involvement of several different actors, it might not be as easy to identify who did not deliver as it would be within one organization. Finally, he suggests that there is a contradiction within NPM between competition on the one hand and steering on the other. This leads to a lack of trust within a network, making it difficult to steer.

Rhodes (1996, pp. 664-665) sees possible solutions to the aforementioned problems in the rise of intergovernmental management (IGM). IGM claims to provide governments with tools that will allow them to bridge the gap between steering and directedness, focusing on problem solving, intergovernmental games and networking. One of the important characteristics of networking is responsibilization, which will be described in the next section.

2.2 Responsibilization

In the same timeframe as Rhodes, Garland (1996) describes what he labels the limits of the sovereign state, focusing on the strategies of crime control in the (then) contemporary British society. He contends that Britain's high crime rates have become a *'normal social fact'* (Garland, 1996, p. 446) and that governments traditional means of dealing with crime have become inadequate. The interesting solution that government then came up with in order to govern crime, is what he labels *'the responsibilization strategy'* (Garland, 1996, p. 452).

Through such a responsibilization strategy, government seeks active cooperation from organizations and non-state agencies in the fight against crime. In effect, this describes the governance of crime, as can be concluded from key phrases such as 'multi-agency approach', 'inter-agency cooperation' and 'partnership'. Taking it down a level from the organizations and agencies mentioned by Rhodes, the British government now also mentions 'activating communities', 'active citizens' and 'help for self-help', therewith indicating the direct involvement of communities and individual citizens. Neighbourhood watch is considered a prime example thereof and, according to Garland (1996, pp. 452-453), neighbourhood watches have therefore taken a central place in the government's policy on crime prevention and policing, as well as being a model for further and more elaborate cooperation between the public and private realm. Loader (2000) describes the involvement of citizens in policing in his theory of plural policing.

2.3 Plural policing

With the shift from government to governance described by Rhodes (1996) and the responsibilization strategy described by Garland (1996), Loader (2000, p. 323) describes what he labels a shift from 'police to policing'. Echoing terminology employed by Rhodes (1996), Loader (2000, pp, 323-324) describes how that shift *"has seen the sovereign state – hitherto considered focal to both provision and accountability in this field – reconfigured as but one node of a broader, more diverse 'network of power'".* Although he acknowledges that the state does not devolve all of its policing, he identifies 4 types of policing that exist alongside policing by the state. These are policing through the state, policing above government, policing beyond

<u>government</u> and most importantly for this thesis, <u>policing below government</u>. His description of the latter is threefold, referring to

"(1) those forms of organized surveillance directly engaged in by citizens outwith but under the supervision of the state, such as neighbourhood watch [...], (2) usually sporadic forms of reactive 'vigilantism' directed at capturing and punishing suspected 'offenders' [...] (3) the mounting of citizen patrols in defence of particular localities – a form of proactive, preventative activity [...]"

(Loader, 2000, p. 328).

At the same time, this node of policing already hints at difficulties of imposing democratic supervision and control over the forms of policing that are not performed by the government (Loader, 2000, p. 328). In other words, again reiterating the words of Rhodes (1996), Loader (2000, p. 239) predicts difficulties for the government in its ability to steer, especially with regard to policing below government, *"where powerful 'community' dynamics are often the driving force"*.

In their analysis of what they label 'the transformation of policing', Jones & Newburn (2002, p. 131) analyse an earlier conceptualization of the pluralization of policing by Bayley & Shearing (1996), breaking it down into:

- A former state monopoly on policing which has been fractured since the mid 1960's
- An increase in private police in the United States and private security agents in the UK, with a private security sector growing at higher rates than public policing
- Citizen policing that takes place in, amongst other forms, neighbourhood watches, transforming something that would have been seen as vigilantism before into the main instrument of crime deterrence.

Jones & Newburn (2002, p. 138) share Bayling & Shearing's (1996) view that Garland's (1996) responsibilization strategy is a key aspect in the changes that are occurring in policing and that have caused neighbourhood watch to become increasingly popular from the early 1980's onwards. However, rather than describe

this phenomenon as a fragmentation or pluralization of policing, Jones & Newburn (2002, p. 139) believe that this should rather be seen as a general trend towards the formalization of social control. They argue that the public police has not decreased in size or that crime has become so out of hand that the public police can no longer handle it, but that the public police has rather seen an increase in what they are expected to do by the general public. As a result, they argue, the public police's inability to perform the increasing range of duties has led to a growth of private and self-policing mechanisms, such as neighbourhood watches. In their article, Devroe & Terpstra (2015) suggest that although pluralization of policing might be a worldwide trend, research on the subject has been centred around *"a limited (Anglo-Saxon) sample of countries"* (Devroe & Terpstra, 2015, p. 236). Causes, influences, consequences and processes with regard to plural policing are therefor likely to differ around the world and the above conclusions by Jones & Newburn (2002) and Bayling & Shearing (1996) might both proof correct, albeit in different parts of the world.

In order to provide these new plural policing initiatives with some legitimacy, the police itself would also have to change. The community oriented policing model described by Ponsaers (2001) describes how the American and Western-European police organizations thus introduced new policy from the 1960's onward that allowed and in fact provided for greater community participation in policing (Tilley, 2010, p. 88). The combination of a government that is encouraging citizens to become more responsible for their own issues with a police that now allows for greater legitimacy of those citizens involved with policing culminates in my research subject, namely the neighbourhood watch that will be discussed below.

2.4 Neighbourhood watch

Although somewhat dated and focused on neighbourhood watch in the UK's rural areas, Yarwood & Edwards (1995) do provide a nice short overview of neighbourhood watch theory and practice in the UK in the mid-nineties.

Yarwood & Edwards (1995, p. 448) introduce neighbourhood watch as *"one attempt to deal with this"*, with 'this' referring to crime rates rising at an alarming rate. The idea, which was imported from the United States of America, revolves around neighbourhood residents maintaining an informal watch on each other's property.

Three elements are identified that are believed to be integral to the establishment of the abovementioned neighbourhood watch schemes.

The first, <u>scheme coordination</u>, describes the process whereby citizens assume responsibility for their own houses, street, neighbourhood, estate or whole city or village. Such a scheme then requires one or more coordinators, as well as recognition by the police and assignment by that police of a constable to provide the scheme with the necessary information and advise on crime prevention (Yarwood & Edwards, 1995, p. 448).

The second, <u>neighbourhood definition</u>, revolves around the communication of the existence of a neighbourhood watch scheme to those entering the applicable area. Most common means of doing so are window stickers, applied to the windows of those citizens involved with the neighbourhood watch scheme, and lamp-post signs, obviously attached to land-posts that border the neighbourhood watch area (Yarwood & Edwards, 1995, p. 448).

The third element is <u>actual neighbourhood surveillance</u>, which occurs in three ways, as Yarwood & Edwards (1995) explain:

"(i) members are encouraged to be 'good neighbours' and maintain a surveillance on each other's property;

(ii) should trouble occur, members inform the scheme co-ordinator who in turn informs the police for advice or assistance;

(iii) the scheme also offers the means for the police to implement 'indirect' enforcement. NW provides a forum for police to deliver talks on home security, distribute newsletters on crime prevention, provide property marking equipment and keep members informed on current crime trends. By following this advice scheme members can employ 'target hardening' techniques to enforce their neighbourhood."

(Yarwoord & Edwards, 1995, pp. 448-449)

In their paper on area-based policies from crime prevention, Herbert & Harries (1986) place neighbourhood watch schemes within the framework of what they call area-based policies that involve *"far greater levels of interaction between the police and the public"* (Herbert & Harries, 1986, p. 281). They contend that high crime rates in certain areas and the formulation of so-called environmental criminology are related

to crime prevention policies that are based on a specific area. These policies are thus developed on the basis of identifying specific territories or, more specifically, neighbourhoods, and pouring additional resources into those areas in order to improve them (Herbert & Harries, 1986, p. 282). Within this phenomenon of area-based policies, Herbert & Harris (1986, p. 284) identify three broad strategies, each with specific schemes. The first two are tactical policing and physical measures, but the most interesting one for the purpose of this thesis is the third, namely social awareness, because one of the three schemes they identify within this strategy is neighbourhood watch.

According to Herbert & Harries (1986, p. 286), *"the term Neighbourhood Watch describes one set of area policies although other descriptions such as Home Watch, Block Watch and Alert Neighbours are also used"*. In the continuation, they provide what I consider a good definition of neighbourhood watch that I will continue to use throughout this thesis:

> *"Neighbourhood Watch [...] basically involves neighbours joining together in a collaborative exercise to maintain surveillance on each other's homes. Besides individual properties, the immediate surroundings and other spaces or buildings within the territorial neighbourhood are included within the schemes. [...] Neighbourhood Watch is intended to reduce levels of crime, particularly burglary and property theft."*
>
> (Herbert & Harries, 1986, p. 286)

I believe that the following summarizes the above into a nice, clear definition:

> *Neighbourhood watch describes neighbours involved in a collective exercise to maintain surveillance on each other's homes and their direct surroundings, in an effort to reduce crime within a specific area.*

Herbert & Harries (1986, p. 286) stress that there is no specific system that is used to define a specific neighbourhood, but that it is rather based on common-sense and *ad hoc* grounds.

In Crawford's (1998) analysis of the UK Crime and Disorder Act 1998, he identifies five fundamental confusions with regard to the nature and role of 'community'

in community safety, some of which he specifically mentions apply to neighbourhood watches. The first revolves around the assumption that more community equals less crime (Crawford, 1998, p. 243). Crawford points out that community is not necessarily synonymous with social order. A disorderly and criminal neighbourhood is a distinct possibility and even middle class suburbs might not necessarily reflect the picture perfect community that policy makers had in mind. In other words, a neighbourhood watch made up out of 'criminals' is unlikely to have a positive effect on crime.

Crawford's (1998, p. 244) second point is that appeals by policy makers to the community generally ignore the complicated relationship between intra- and extra-communal resources. Although somewhat difficult to explain, I believe Crawford suggests that if and when communities are divided into certain resource categories, those with more resources of their own are more likely to become an active community, using those resources to better their environment. As a result, the state can focus its resources on the poorer areas with less resources. This however puts a certain burden on neighbourhoods, as those with sufficient resources but a lacking will to become an active community could be seen as 'having themselves to blame' for the issues in their neighbourhood. Translated to neighbourhood watch, this means that neighbourhoods with the means but without the will to act as a neighbourhood watch could fall victim to neighbourhoods with both the means and the will to do so, as government sees that willingness as an invitation to rather focus its resources on poorer neighbourhoods.

The third point Crawford (1998, pp. 244-245) makes is that there is little acknowledgement of intra-communal conflict. In the picture perfect world, a community would be a homogenous neighbourhood where anyone and everyone could speak on behalf of the whole neighbourhood. Unfortunately, in reality, neighbourhoods and communities are more likely to be made up out of people of different social classes, different races, different cultures and different ages. Perceptions of problems in a neighbourhood or community are therefor likely to vary and any minority in that community runs the risk of being overpowered by more powerful majorities within that community. For a neighbourhood watch, this could translate to the rich in a neighbourhood being more concerned about car theft and hijacking, whilst the poor who can't even afford a car are more worried about burglary. The focus of a neighbourhood watch could thus be put on car theft, leaving part of the community's concerns out of the picture.

The fourth point Crawford (1998, p. 245) makes is that appeals to a community can enhance a form of defensive exclusivity. Making specific reference to neighbourhood watches, he explains how a feeling of us versus them can be created by that specific type of community involvement. Neighbourhood watches could instil the notion of us, the neighbourhood inhabitants, against them, the outsiders. As a result, crime from within the neighbourhood or the community is knowingly or unknowingly ignored.

The final and, according to Crawford (1998, pp. 246-247), most dangerous aspect of appeals to the community lies in the confrontation between ideals and social reality. Referring to neighbourhood watches specifically again, Crawford (1998) highlights how the relative ease with which neighbourhood watches are created in wealthier areas has in fact created an increase in demand for police resources in order to help establish the neighbourhood watch and service their demands. As a result, the poorer areas that should have benefitted from the neighbourhood watch replacing the public police in the wealthier areas, are now in fact receiving less services from the public police as a result of that very neighbourhood watch.

2.5 Problem statement

As mentioned in the scientific relevance section above, Devroe & Terpstra (2015) argue that the international comparative study of plural policing is somewhat underdeveloped. They state that research regarding plural policing tends to appear somewhat one-sided, as much of it is based on a limited selection of Anglo-Saxon countries. This is reflected in the above theoretical framework, which is almost completely made up out of UK specific research. Nevertheless, this also offers me the opportunity to do exactly what Devroe & Terpstra (2015) suggest should be done, namely perform empirical (comparative) research in countries other than the known Anglo-Saxon selection. Rather than look at plural policing as such, I will examine a specific actor within the larger topic of plural policing, namely the neighbourhood watch. By comparing neighbourhood watch in the UK with neighbourhood watch in South Africa I hope to determine whether or not my above definition applies in both countries. In addition, and conforming to the first two suggestion regarding the agenda for comparative research on plural policing by Devroe & Terpstra (2015, pp. 236-237), I hope to establish whether or not neighbourhood watch in the two countries is the

result of a similar process and identify differences and similarities between their history, objectives and political background. If and when I have established any differences, I will attempt to explain these, therewith hopefully adding valuable knowledge to this underexposed topic. In order to do so, I will make use of the following, guiding, main research question.

2.6 Research question

To what extent does neighbourhood watch in the United Kingdom differ from neighbourhood watch in South Africa and why?

3. Methodology

3.1 Research question

As stated above, the guiding research question for this research will be:

To what extent does neighbourhood watch in the United Kingdom differ from neighbourhood watch in South Africa and why?

3.2 Sub questions & operationalization

In order to help answer the above research question I have decided to use four sub questions. Figure 2 provides a scheme of the research question, sub questions, indicators and sources for the sub questions.

RQ	SQ	Subdivision	Indicators	Sources
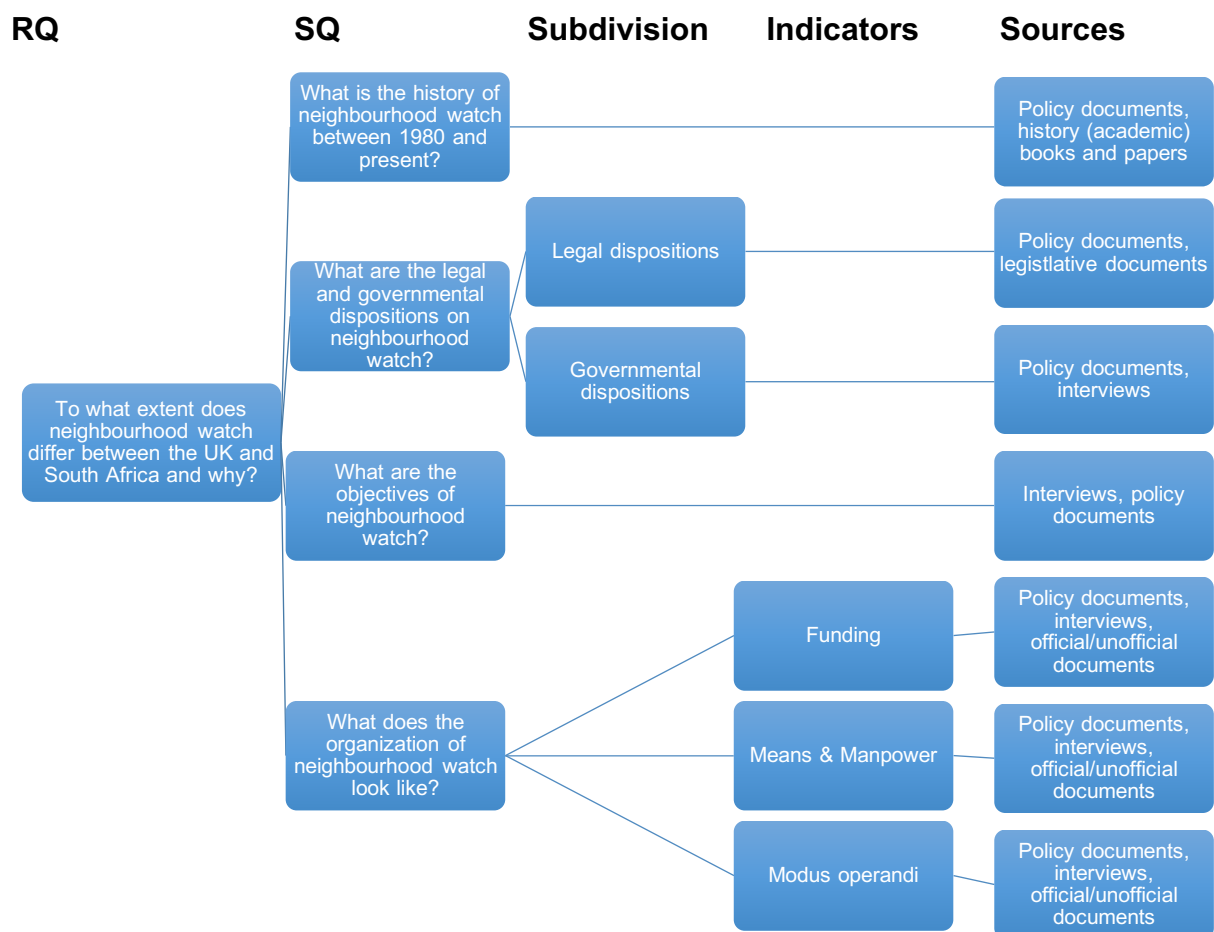
Figure 2 RQ, SQ, indicators & sources

In order to present a first impression of and measure the organization of neighbourhood watches in sub question four, I have opted to use funding, means & manpower and modus operandi as indicators. Further research could also include other indicators such as the cooperative model, organizational model, relation to/with the state and hierarchy. Nevertheless, for the purpose of this research I focus on the origin of the neighbourhood watch's financial means, it's material and staffing capacity and its modus operandi or day to day activities. None of the other sub questions require any indicators.

3.3 Research design

The research design is a holistic multiple case study design, comparing the neighbourhood watch phenomenon in the United Kingdom and South Africa (Bryman, 2012 p. 21). The following figure 3 represents a visual representation of the multiple case study design.

UK

C1   C2

C3

C1 - Westminster
C2 - Merseyside
C3 - Manchester

SA

Experts

Vertical analysis

Vertical analysis

Desk research (internet sources)
Document analysis (policy documents, laws and acts)

Desk research (internet sources)
Document analysis (policy documents, laws and acts)
Expert interviews
Participant observation

Horizontal analysis

- History of neighbourhood watch between 1980-present
- Legal and governmental dispositions on neighbourhood watch
- Objectives of neighbourhood watch
- Organization of neighbourhood watch

Figure 3 research design

As Swanborn (2010, p. 41) explains, the case study strategy is particularly usefull when working with *"descriptive and/or explanatory broad questions about a social process in a situation in which w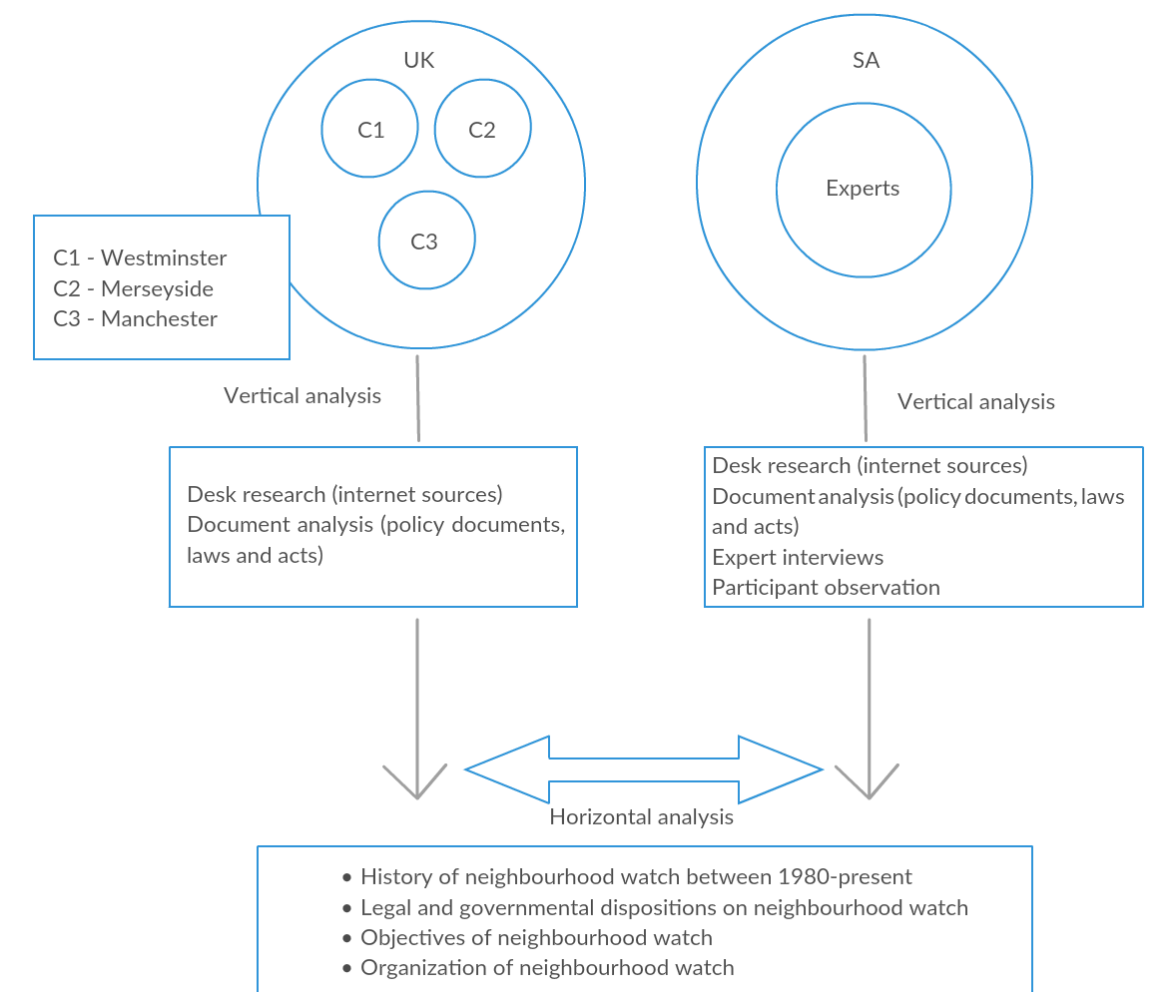e have little knowledge of the phenomenon [...]"*. As I have opted for a relatively broad descriptive and explanatory research question, I believe the case study is the best research strategy.

With theory regarding plural policing and neighbourhood watch emanating from Anglo-Saxon countries, I have opted to perform a general analysis of UK neighbourhood watches performing desk research and document analysis. South Africa, on the other hand, will be examined further in-depth using desk research, document analysis, expert interviews and my limited participant observation. All four sub questions will be answered for both countries, therewith enabling me to compare the two countries.

These two cases, the United Kingdom and South Africa, were selected on pragmatic grounds (Bryman, 2012, p. 52). The United Kingdom because of its relatively lengthy past with community policing and easy access to information in English, with support from the embedded Westminster (C1), Merseyside (C2) and Manchester (C3) cases to help answer sub questions 3 and 4 with greater local detail. South Africa because of my longstanding fascination with the country and personal experience with neighbourhood watches and policing there.

3.3.1 Description of cases

The United Kingdom is located on the European continent and consists of Great Britain, which itself is made up out of Scotland, England and Wales, and Northern Ireland. Its land area encompasses 241.590 km2 and main languages are English, Welsh and Scots. The United Kingdom's capital city is London and the UK's population was estimated at 63.742.977 in 2014. It is a constitutional monarchy and parliamentary democracy, the current queen being Queen Elizabeth II and David Cameron as prime minister (Infoplease 1, n.d.).

South Africa is located on the African continent and encompasses 1.219.912 km2. It has eleven official languages, namely Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Northern Sotho, Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu. South Africa has three capital cities, namely Pretoria (administrative capital), Bloemfontein (judicial capital) and Cape Town (legislative capital). South Africa is a republic with Jacob Zuma as its

present president. Its population was estimated at 48.375.645 in 2014 (Infoplease 2, n.d.).

3.3.2 Triangulation of methods

The qualitative approach will make use of so-called triangulation of data, which Punch (2006, p. 157) describes as *'using several kinds of [...] data to study a topic; the most common type is data triangulation, where a study uses a variety of data sources'*. For the purpose of this research, the following four types of data will be gathered and used:

1. Desk research
2. Document analysis
3. Semi-structured expert interviews
4. Limited participant observation

3.3.3 Data gathering and exploitation

<u>Desk research and document analysis</u>

Desk research focuses on acquiring sources from the internet to enable me to answer the four sub questions. These sources include websites, news and journal articles and books. These sources are exploited per sub question as required and quoted as such or the information will be paraphrased with citing to the specific source.

Document analysis will be performed with regard to policy and operational documents, laws and acts. It is not unlikely that these will be acquired through desk research in a snowball type fashion, hence they are both mentioned in this section. Again, these sources will be exploited per sub question either quoting said sources or paraphrasing them with specific citing to the applicable source. Desk research and/or document analysis will be used to answer all four sub questions

In order to facilitate document analysis and desk research, the following is a list of the (most) used search terms:

- Neighbourhood watch
- Governance
- Responsibilization
- Civil policing

- Plural policing
- Community based policing
- Community oriented policing
- Policing history

- *Kommando sisteem/stelsel*
- *Buurtwag*
- Community Policing Forum (CPF)
- *Plaaswag*
- Civil arrest

- Self defence
- *Gemeeskapspolisiëringsforum (GPF)*
- Police models

Expert interviews

Mainly in order to answer sub questions 3 and 4, semi-structured interviews will be conducted with South African experts in the neighbourhood watch field. These are either security consultants/researchers, police officials or NGO employees. The semi-structured interviews will allow the interviewees a great deal of leeway in answering my questions, whilst still offering me the possibility of posing follow up questions without running the risk of conducting completely different interviews with the different experts (Bryman, 2012, p. 471). A list of guiding questions can be found in Appendix A. Interview questions follow the order of the sub questions, therewith creating a straightforward structure. Interviews will, for the most part, be conducted in Afrikaans.

Exploitation of the interviews will be in the form of quotes and summaries of the interviewees' insights by the researcher to answer the applicable sub questions. Interviewees will retain their anonymity and will therefore only be referred to as respondent A, B and so on.

Participant observation

I performed a three-month internship at a South African NGO and was allowed to participate in neighbourhood watch activities, as well as conduct patrols with both the South African Police Service and private security firms throughout South Africa. The internship took place in June, July and August of 2015.

I will confirm and or deny certain practices within South Africa based on his own experience, especially with regards to sub question 4. This will be kept to a minimum however, in order not to create any bias, especially regarding the expert's answers in the interviews. This would be unfair as I have not been to every part of South Africa and cannot claim to have seen every neighbourhood watch in action.

4. Results

This section first outlines the results with regard to the four sub questions from the UK perspective. These results will be followed by the results from the South African perspective, allowing me to compare the two in section 4.3, provide explanatory factors in section 4.3.1 and draw conclusions in section 5.

4.1 Results - UK

4.1.1 Sub question 1 – History of neighbourhood watch

Multiple sources state that the first neighbourhood watch in the UK was set up in the village of Mollington, near Chester, in 1982, after the phenomenon had made its way over the Atlantic from the United States, where the first schemes had been in existence since 1964. The aim of the Mollington neighbourhood watch was to curb the recent increase in burglaries and its effectiveness caused a rapid spread of the phenonemon throughout the UK (Tilley, 2010, p. 85; Metropolitan Police Service, n.d.; The Crime Prevention Website, n.d.).

In her analysis of the 2000 British Crime Survey, Sims (2001) specifically focuses on the development of neighbourhood watch in the UK. Over a 10-year period, neighbourhood watch grew from the initial scheme to 23% of all households in England and Wales belonging to a local neighbourhood watch scheme in 1992. This figure remained steady until 1994, before increasing tot 24% in 1996 and 27% in 2000. The increase in schemes is also evident from those households reporting not to be a member of a scheme, although there is one in their neighbourhood. Whereas in 1992, only 6% of the households reported the existence of a scheme in their neighbourhood that they were not involved with, this figure increased to 8% in 1994 and remained steady at 11% from 1996 until 2000. Households reporting that a neighbourhood watch had never been set up in their area decreased from 64% in 1992 to 63% in 1994, 60% in 1996 and 55% in 2000. With the growth in neighbourhood watch evident, households reporting to have never heard of neighbourhood watch decreased from 6% in 1992 to 1% in 2000 (Sims, 2001, p. 2).

Although her report doesn't establish a causal relationship, Sims (2001, p. 3) does show that low burglary areas have a higher neighbourhood watch membership (32%) ratio than medium (23%) and high (13%) burglary areas. This could therefore

either indicate that neighbourhood watch membership decreases burglary or that inhabitants of neighbourhoods with relatively lower burglary stats are more likely to join neighbourhood watch schemes. She also indicates that lower income neighbourhoods (18%) are less involved with neighbourhood watch schemes than their better off counterparts (34%). The same is applicable to the skills of the head of household, where those with a higher skill levels (35%) are more involved with neighbourhood watch schemes than the unskilled (17%). As for age groups, she found that the elderly of 60 years and older (33%) are far more likely to be involved with neighbourhood watch schemes than their younger counterparts between 16 and 29 (9%) (Sims, 2001, p. 2).

By 2006/2007, the overall household participation in neighbourhood watch schemes had decreased to 16% overall (Nicholson et al, 2008, p. 55). Another 16% of households however reported that there was in fact a neighbourhood watch scheme in their area, however they were not involved. The amount of households reporting to have never heard of neighbourhood watch increased to 3%. 65% of the households reported that there was no neighbourhood watch scheme in their area. Findings regarding the influence of skills, income and age had remained pretty much the same (Nicholson et al, 2008, pp. 56-60).

By 2011/2012, household participation in neighbourhood watch schemes had decreased further to 14%, although it had been as low as 13% in 2009/2010. Findings regarding participation and income had remained more or less the same. As for household's non-involvement with schemes present in their area, 30% indicated that they were not involved because no-one had ever asked them to become involved, 14% had not yet gotten round to it or was still giving it some thought, 14% of households were too busy to get involved, 12% was unaware of the procedure to join and another 12% simply was not interested.

The first attempt to organize and regulate neighbourhood watch on a national level was made in 1990's, when the National Neighbourhood Watch Association (NNWA) was set up as a national charity, partially funded by the Norwich Union. When the Norwich Union withdrew support in 2003, financial strains and a legal dispute over the use of the neighbourhood watch logo eventually led to the abolition of the NWWA in 2006. As a result, neighbourhood watch went without any form of national organization until the establishment of the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network

in 2007 (Strickland, 2012). This establishment is described by the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network as follows:

"By 2007 a previous national body had folded and many members felt the need for a new organisation to share best practice, foster peer learning and provide a voice for the movement at a national level. A series of exploratory meetings and events were held in each region of England and Wales, involving representatives of Neighbourhood and Home Watch at both force and regional levels. Delegates were invited to discuss and vote on their preferred way of achieving a new form of representation at the national level for Neighbourhood Watch and Home Watch in England and Wales.

Members representing all of the ten regions agreed overwhelmingly that:

a) They wanted to see a regional and national structure.
b) They wanted a force area Neighbourhood/Home Watch representative to go to regional meetings.
c) They wanted a regional Neighbourhood/Home Watch representative and a deputy to go to national meetings."

After the proposal was accepted by the National Strategy Group for Watch Issues in April 2007, the result was the Neighbourhood & Home Watch Network (NHWN).

(OurWatch, n.d.)

The Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network will be discussed in further detail below. We will first look at the most recent legal and governmental dispositions on neighbourhood watch.

4.1.2 Sub question 2 – Legal & governmental dispositions on neighbourhood watch

4.1.2.1 Governmental disposition

The above theoretical background places the neighbourhood watch within a larger theoretical framework, whilst also providing an historic account of factors that led to the 'popularity', if that is what one should call their omnipresence, of today's neighbourhood watches. The section on the history of neighbourhood watch in the UK further provides insight into the growth and development of the phenomenon between 1982 and 2012. This section is aimed at providing an overview of the UK's governmental disposition on neighbourhood watches.

> *"The Government's vision is for a free, fair and responsible society. At the heart of that vision is a radical shift in power and control away from government back to people and communities."*
>
> Home Secretary Theresa May (2010, p. 2)

The above quote stems from the UK government's 2010 white paper on policing called 'Policing in the 21st Century', which sets out the country's proposed police reforms. Chapter five of said white paper is wholly devoted to, as the title says, *"Tackling crime together"* (Home Office, 2010, p. 35), which eventually resulted in the following excerpt from the 'A new approach to fighting crime' (Home Office, 2011, p. 5) crime strategy for the UK:

> *"Public cooperation, not just passive consent, is vital for the police to do their job well, so we will help the public to become more involved in keeping their communities safe. [...] We will encourage the public to participate in Neighbourhood Watch schemes [...]"*

In order to facilitate this cooperation between the police and communities, the Police and Crime Commissioner (PCC) was to be elected by the community and would gain full financial control over the applicable police force's budget from 2013/2014 onwards (Home Office, 2011, p. 5). Not only was this intended to reconnect the public

with the police, it also gave the public means to hold the police accountable (Home Office, 2011, p. 8). The necessary legislation followed suit with the Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act of 2011, setting out the PCC's duties and responsibilities, which will be discussed in section 4.2.1.2.

This makes it quite clear that the UK government sees neighbourhood watches as an integral and important part of its crime fighting strategy, within a police model that cannot be mistaken for anything else than community oriented. In 2007, with many neighbourhood watches already active throughout the country, a national umbrella organization was set up with support of the police and Home Office, known as the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network (OurWatch, n.d.). According to its own 2015-2020 Strategic Plan (2015, p. 11), the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network (the Network) currently represents 3,8 million households, 173.000 volunteer coordinators, 43 volunteer Neighbourhood & Home Watch police force area representatives, 43 Police Force single points of contact, 10 volunteer Neighbourhood & Home Watch regional representatives, and 7 volunteer trustees supported by 5 paid staff. In addition, the Home Office also provides funding to allow the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network to purchase public liability insurance for all those involved in the movement.

As such, and supported by the lack of information of neighbourhood watches operating outside of this scheme, I believe the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network's documents provide an accurate representation of the UK neighbourhood watch and will treat it as such in the remainder of the results section. Important to note however is that the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network does not cover Scotland. Nevertheless, as Scotland is covered by a comparable Scottish charity that is considerably smaller than its England and Wales compeer, covering some 90.000 households, I will continue to refer to the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network as representative of the UK (Neighbourhood watch Scotland, n.d.).

4.1.2.2 Legal disposition

Although, to my knowledge, no specific laws regarding neighbourhood watch have been created, this section will examine some of the acts that are applicable to the public at large (and therefore to neighbourhood watches too) and to the neighbourhood watch's direct partners such as the police.

The Police Reform and Social Responsibility Act of 2011 laid down some of the government's intentions to give the police back to the community. Although the act does not apply directly to neighbourhood watches, it does apply to one of their main partners, namely the police. Chapter 3 of said act delineates the functions of elected local policing bodies and its first section is titled *"Community safety and crime prevention"*. It sets out how each police and crime commissioner is to set out his or her policing plan. Chapter 6 explains how the election of the police and crime commissioner is to take place. By allowing citizens to elect their police and crime commissioner every four years they have a direct influence on policing policy in their area.

In addition, the Derbyshire Constabulary's (2013, p. 7) policy on neighbourhood watches mentions that certain information exchanges between neighbourhood watch and the police or between neighbourhood watch and other parties is regulated by the Data Protection Act of 1998. This act mainly provides guidance with regard to which data is allowed to be accessed and transmitted by what parties.

Acts and common law that are applicable to the public at large include legislation with regard to self defence, defence of another, prevention of crime and lawful arrest and apprehension of offenders. Self defence in the UK is available as a defence in court and is based on the ruling in Palmer v R [1971] AC 814, which was approved in R v McInnes, 55 Cr App R 551. This reads:

> *"It is both good law and good sense that a man who is attacked may defend himself. It is both good law and good sense that he may do, but only do, what is reasonably necessary."*

This common law overlaps with section 3 of the Criminal Law Àct 1967, which applies to the prevention of crime and effecting, or assisting in, the arrest of (suspected) offenders. Section 3 reads:

> *"A person may use such force as is reasonable in the circumstances in the prevention of crime, or in effecting or assisting in the lawful arrest of offenders or suspected offenders or of persons unlawfully at large."*

Reasonable force in case of self defence, defence of another, defence of property,

prevention of crime or lawful arrest is determined by asking two distinct questions: (1) was the use of force necessary in the circumstances, i.e. was there a need for any force at all? and (2) was the force used reasonable in the circumstances? The following excerpt from Palmer v R [1971] AC 814 further guides the assessment of whether or not the force was reasonable:

> *"If there has been an attack so that self defence is reasonably necessary, it will be recognised that a person defending himself cannot weigh to a nicety the exact measure of his defensive action. If the jury thought that that in a moment of unexpected anguish a person attacked had only done what he honestly and instinctively thought necessary, that would be the most potent evidence that only reasonable defensive action had been taken [...]"*

The above has more recently been codified in section 76 of the Criminal Justice and Immigration Act 2008.

As for using force against those committing crime, prosecutors are expected to exercise particular care in the assessment of reasonable force, as a witness to violent crime might be justified in using extreme force to remove a threat of further violence. In order to conduct a proper assessment, prosecutors should keep in mind the amount of a time a person had to make a decision on whether or not to act against whoever was believed to be committing a crime.

Civilian powers of arrest were amended in 2005 by the Serious Organised Crime and Police Act of 2005. The civilian's powers of arrest, as amended, can be found in section 24A of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984. This section states that members of the public may only make arrests for indictable offences and that there are two specific conditions that are applicable: (1) there have to be reasonable grounds to warrant the arrest for a specific reason and (2) that it is impractical for a police constable to make the arrest. The act provides four reasons for the possible arrest of a suspect by civilians: (1) to prevent physical injury to the suspect or any other person, (2) to prevent physical suffering by the suspect, (3) to prevent the suspect from stealing or damaging property, and (4) to prevent the suspect of escaping before a police constable can make an arrest. It is important to keep in mind however that any force used during such a civilian arrest might be unlawful and that any force used to resist the arrest might be lawful.

4.1.3 Sub question 3 – Objectives of neighbourhood watch

Perhaps the objective that is overarching all the others is the one that is mentioned on the front page of the 2015-2020 Strategic Plan:

"Bringing neighbours together to create stronger, friendly, active communities where crime and anti-social behaviour are less likely to happen."

(Neighbourhood & Home Watch Network, 2015, p. 1)

The three pillars that present the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network's main objectives/priorities are visualized in figure 4 below.

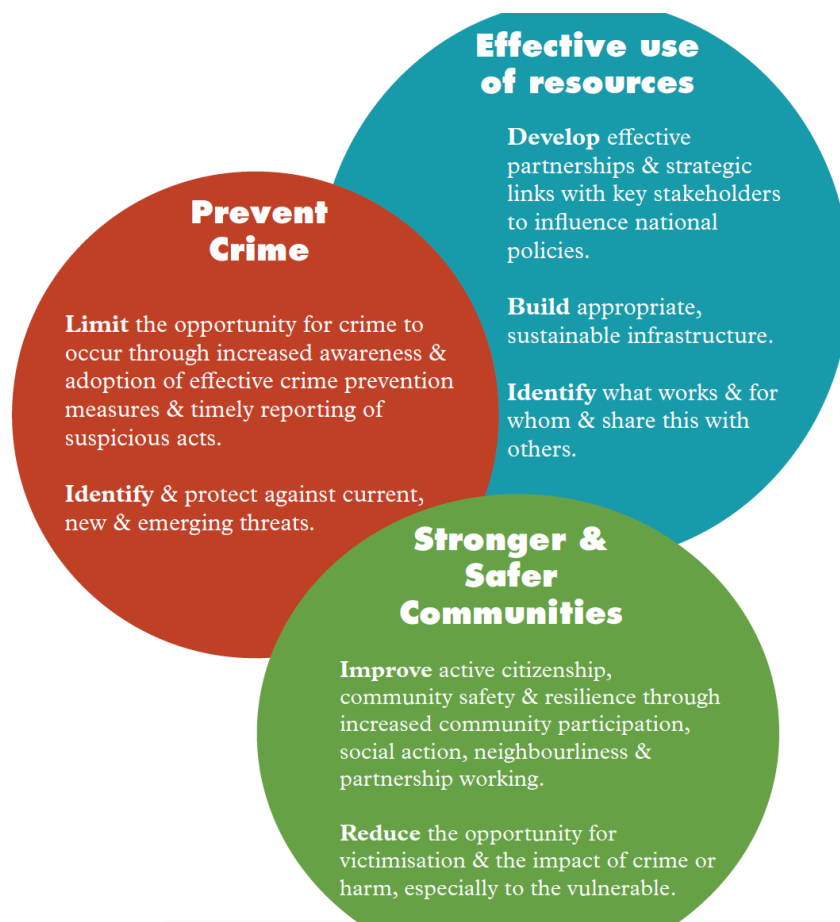Figure 4 NHWN Objectives (Neighbourhood & Home Watch Network, 2015, p. 5)

The desired outcome of the 'prevent crime' pillar includes the reduction of the opportunity for crime to occur, the encouragement of prompt reporting of crimes, suspicious behaviour and other concerns that members of the general public might have, and the increased ability of the general public to both identify threats and protect

themselves and other therefrom (Neighbourhood & Home Watch Network, 2015, p. 7).

By 2020, the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network claims this will have provided encouragement and support towards an approach to crime prevention that is nationally coordinated. It will boost cooperation between national and regional partners, policy makers and other partners. It will empower the general public, and neighbourhood watch members specifically, to identify and tackle crimes and suspicious behaviour by reporting it to the authorities. It will have led to the creation of a knowledge base containing best practices, toolkits and other materials that will cater to the neighbourhood watch member's needs, as well as a mechanism to measure both impact and effectiveness across the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network. Finally, it will have helped communities threatened by high crime rates identify ways of protecting themselves from becoming victims of crime or anti-social behaviour (Neighbourhood & Home Watch Network, 2015, p. 7).

The 'stronger and safer communities' pillar rather focuses on enabling communities to take ownership of their neighbourhood, as well as giving them a sense of purpose. This process should be recognized, supported and valued by partners such as the police and other agencies. Communities should feel capable of anticipating and identifying threats, as well as being able to take the necessary actions to counteract those threats. Trust between the police, authorities and communities, therewith also giving their partnership more legitimacy. Communities should adopt a sense of responsibility and efficacy, whilst receiving support from others to help them be safe and more resilient (Neighbourhood & Home Watch Network, 2015, p. 8).

Results by 2020 will include the development of further strategic links, gained recognition, and support for the contribution of the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network to building stronger, safer and more resilient communities. Safer, more resilient communities will be built by a framework of government and other partners, thanks to the continued support of the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network. Strategies will have been devised to both define the needs of vulnerable and difficult to reach communities and individuals, as well as providing them with tailor-made support. In collaboration with partners, Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network will ensure maximal collective efficacy, effectiveness, and use of resources in order to ensure that everyone will benefit from the stronger and safer communities, whilst remaining wary of the financial implications. Last but not least, Neighbourhood and

Home Watch Network will have ensured that community members have access to credible information and knowledge on how to join and participate in local community forums and initiatives (Neighbourhood & Home Watch Network, 2015, p. 8).

The final pillar, 'effective use of resources', revolves around the effective utilization of the available resources in order to make sure that the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network remains efficient, credible, valued and influential. The enormous resource that the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network's volunteer members represent should therefore be used to strengthen and assist the police and other partners wherever and whenever necessary in order to prevent and reduce crime. Effective use of resources should also help achieve greater community participation and resilience, therewith helping to create safer and more close knit communities. Activists within the community should be strengthened and supported by the network in order to undertake the objectives of the movement more effectively. In the process, volunteers should also be made to feel appreciated and valued using a national volunteer's framework, enabling them to partake in whatever level of the network they should choose. The public sector at large should be made aware of the network, therewith increasing the network's chances of being viewed and valued by the public sector as innovative, dynamic and an integral part of civil society. At the same time, the network should cooperate with the private sector in order to maintain its status as a leading national charity offering unique opportunities to its members and society as a whole (Neighbourhood & Home Watch Network, 2015, p. 11).

According the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network, by 2020 this will have led to strengthened leadership, resources and infrastructure that will allow the network to respond to local, force, regional and national needs. This will also facilitate a review and development of the existing infrastructure and membership base that will aid in the creation of clearly defined roles and responsibilities. This, in turn, will lead to increased and/or improved transparency, delivery and accountability throughout the network. Capacity and sustainability will have been built, including the necessary, appropriate and sustainable financial support. The network will have ensured that it is capable of providing the necessary resources to the applicable levels within the network. An analysis and evaluation of 'what works' with regard to neighbourhood watch will have been performed and, finally, the brand will be reviewed in order to ensure that all involved with the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network are aware of and apply the brand guidelines, the brand is fit for purpose and measures up to

professional standards across the network (Neighbourhood & Home Watch Network, 2015, p. 11).

The above naturally represents the objectives of the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network as a national organization, without going into too much details as to the objectives of the actual neighbourhood watch schemes. The 'Running a neighbourhood watch scheme' document (OurWatch, n.d.) provides advice to local schemes on how to set aims and objectives for your local scheme. The four steps include the identification of local problems, the decision making process required to decide what the scheme can do to counteract these problems, the possibilities of how to execute your ideas and finally asking yourself whether your activities will actually help solve the problems.

Below is a representation of the objectives set by the Merseyside Neighbourhood Watch schemes (Liverpool Neighbourhood Watch, n.d.):

"Merseyside's Neighbourhood Watch has 4 main objectives:
- *Cut opportunities for crime and anti-social behaviour by improving security, increasing vigilance and increasing crime prevention awareness*
- *To help detect crime by promoting prompt reporting of suspicious and criminal activity and encourage effective communication.*
- *Provide reassurance to local residents and reduce the fear of crime by empowering and encouraging communities to take ownership of local issues*
- *Encourage neighbourliness and closer communities by helping to establish Community Spirit and improve police/community liaison"*

the Westminster Neighbourhood Watch association (Westminster Neighbourhood Watch, n.d.)

"Aims & Objectives

1) To support and assist Westminster Neighbourhood Watches in their role of reducing crime and improving the quality of life for those who live and work within the borough.

2) To act as a forum for sharing information, experiences and ideas, and spreading best practice among the local Neighbourhood Watches.

3) To raise awareness of Neighbourhood Watch.

4) To act as a collective mouthpiece for Westminster Neighbourhood Watch groups and a channel of communication with Westminster City Council and the Metropolitan Police Service."

and the Manchester Neighbourhood watch schemes (Manchester Neighbourhood Watch, n.d.):

"Its main aims for Neighbourhood and Home Watch Schemes are to:

- *Reduce crime, anti-social behaviour and fear of crime*
- *Provide reassurance to local communities*
- *Improve residents' quality of life"*

4.1.4 Sub question 4 – Organization of neighbourhood watch

4.1.4.1 Funding

As mentioned above and reiterated in the 2015-2020 Strategic Plan (Neighbourhood & Home Watch Network, 2015, p. 28), the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network is partially funded by the Home Office. Nevertheless, with government resource shrinking and funding falling consequently, the Network has had to adapt in order to acquire the necessary funds from the private sector. According to its website (OurWatch, n.d.), the Network did manage to secure funds from Home Office to purchase a public liability insurance for all its members.

4.1.4.2 Means/manpower

The following structure diagrams in figures 6 through 10 seem to make it clear that the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network's only function is to facilitate neighbourhood watch schemes by administrating and organizing the network comprising government, police, neighbourhood watch members and other parties and agencies. As mentioned above and according to its own 2015-2020 Strategic Plan (2015, p. 11), the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network currently represents 3,8 million households, 173.000 volunteer coordinators, 43 volunteer Neighbourhood & Home Watch police force area representatives, 43 Police Force single points of contact, 10 volunteer Neighbourhood & Home Watch regional representatives, and 7 volunteer trustees supported by 5 paid staff. Figure 5 provides a complete overview of the whole network, whereas figures 6 through 9 zoom in on the specific relationships with the government, police, force level associations and sponsors.

NHW STRUCTURE DIAGRAM
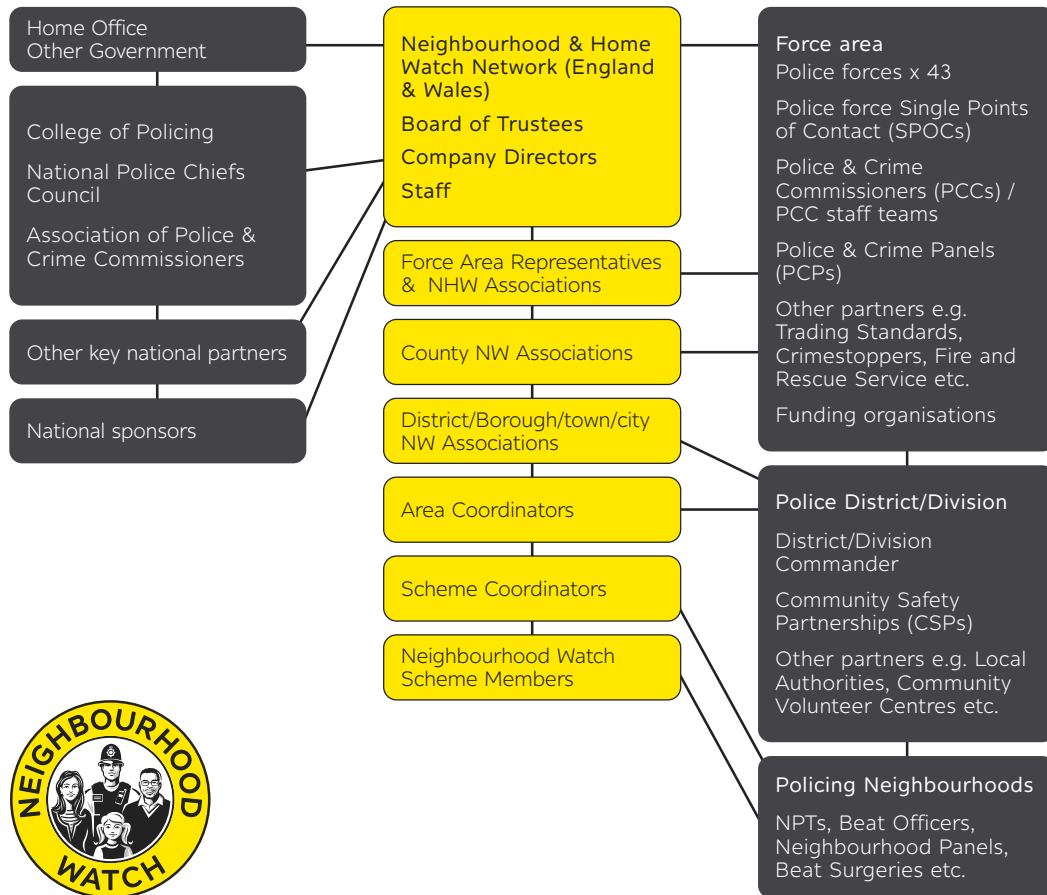
Figure 5 NHWN organogram (OurWatch, n.d.)

Government

Figure 6 represents the relationship of the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network with local and national government organizations. As is mentioned above, the Network receives annual funding from the Home Office and in turn helps the Home Office tackle crime, making them a vital partner to the government.

On a more local scale, the Neighbourhood Watch Associations work more closely with local authorities in order to tackle local crime issues, reduce crime and make communities safer and neighbourhoods nicer places to live in. Local volunteers also regularly partake in Community Safety Partnerships and other local government initiatives (OurWatch, n.d.).

Figure 6 NHWN government relationship (OurWatch, n.d.)

Police

The Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network believes that it is important to maintain a good relationship with the police, both at a local, force and national level. Such a strong relationship between the two will ensure the reduction of crime and 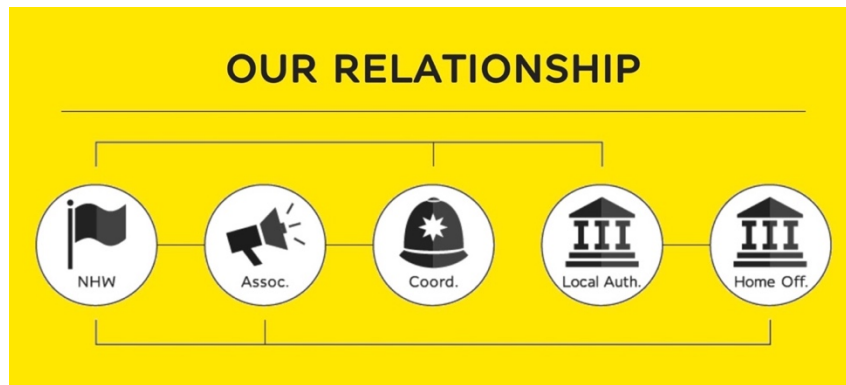will keep people safe in their neighbourhoods. Figure 7 delineates the relationship between the Network and the police at all levels.

At ground level, local neighbourhood watch members will help make sure that the police tend to the wishes and demands of the community, whilst providing the police with invaluable information on criminal activities and possible suspects.

One level up, at force area level, every police force has what is known as a 'single point of contact' or SPOC that deals with neighbourhood watch issues. This is done through liaising with the force area level Neighbourhood Watch Association.

At the highest level, nationally, the Network is part of the so-called Citizens in Policing family, which includes Cadets, Special Constabularies and Police Support Volunteers. In addition, it works close with the National Police Chiefs Council, the College of Policing and the Association of Police & Crime Commissioners (OurWatch, n.d.)
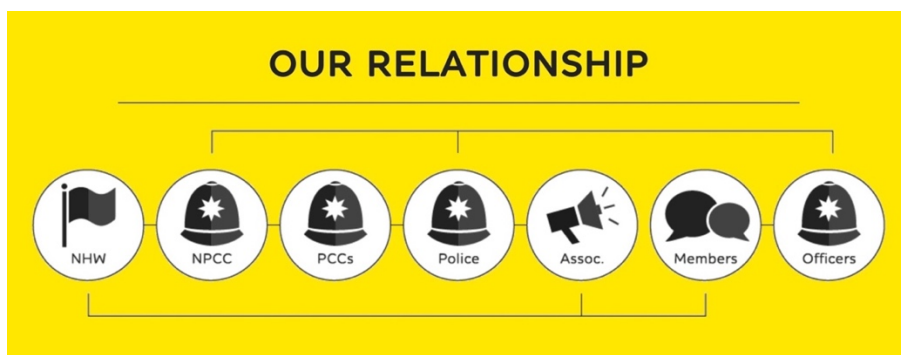

Figure 7 NHWN police relationship (OurWatch, n.d.)

Force level

So-called Force level Neighbourhood Watch Associations operate in the same geographical area as a specific police force, hence their name, and are believed to be key to maintaining the Neighbourhood Watch's driving force at a local level. These associations provide the necessary guidance and policies that allow neighbourhood watches to operate within their specific area. Whenever a new scheme is initiated, the Force level association decides on the processes the scheme needs to follow and ensures that it builds a positive working relationship with the police at force level.

As such, the Force level associations receive ample support from the national Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network to ensure their continued operation at high standards. If a certain force area is lacking an association, the national Network will jump in to assist in the creation of one, as these associations form the main points of contact for the Network. Rather than communicating directly with individual members, the Network delegates that task to the associations, leaving the association to decide how, when and where to communicate with its members (OurWatch, n.d.).
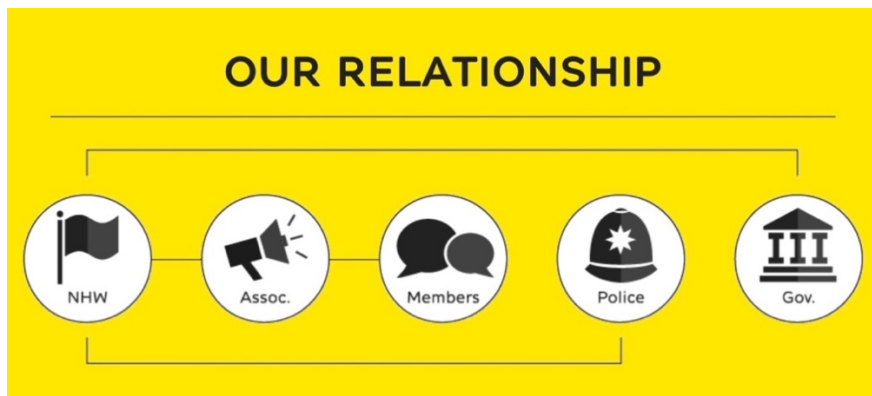
Figure 8 NHWN force level relationship (OurWatch, n.d.)

Sponsors

As mentioned above, the Network receives funding from the Home Office, however with financial means becoming more scarce at government level, it has been forced to find private funds as well. As such, the following figure 10 represents the relationship between the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network, the Force level associations, their members, and potential sponsors and, in turn, their potential customers (OurWatch, n.d.)
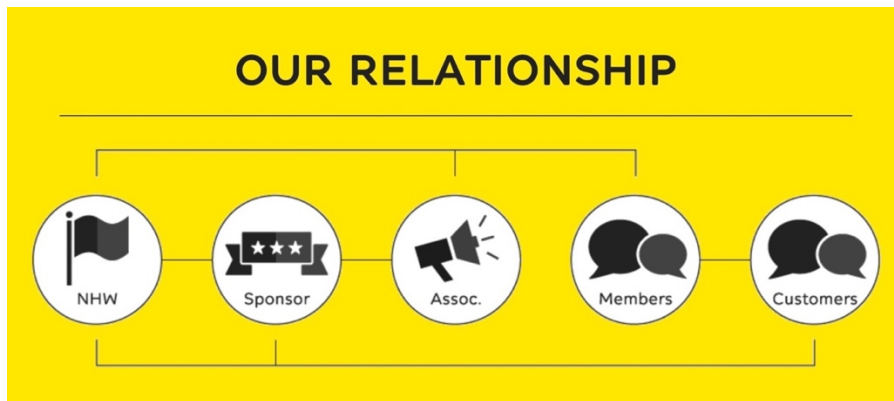
Figure 9 NHWN sponsors relationship (OurWatch, n.d.)

4.1.4.3 Modus operandi

Although there is not a lot of information on what these neighbourhood watches actually do on a day to day basis, the following excerpt from the Manchester Neighbourhood Watch schemes (n.d.) covers the absolute basics:

> *"These targets are achieved by:*
> - *Sharing information with the community, the police and other agencies*
> - *Supporting others, especially vulnerable neighbours*
> - *Being receptive to information and advice from police and other agencies*
> - *Passing information to the police and other agencies."*

The Vincent Square Neighbourhood Watch Scheme, which falls under the Westminster Neighbourhood Watch Association, offers the following list of its activities, therewith offering insight into the type of activities individual schemes might be involved in (Vincent Square Neighbourhood Watch Scheme, n.d.):

> *"*
>
> - *Vigilant about servicing the safety and security needs of residents, businesses and community in Carey Place, Chapter Street, Esterbrooke Street, Hide Place, Regency Street and Vincent Street.*
> - *Resolve NWHT Scheme concerns and provide best practice.*
> - *Welcome individuals, families and businesses to NWHT Scheme.*
> - *Continue our work in partnership with Safer Neighbourhoods Police teams and Panel, London Fire Brigade, Suzy Lamplugh Trust, Community*

Protection, City Inspectors and Councillors at Westminster City Council; London Neighbourhood Watch Association, local and other Neighbourhood Watches, Westminster South Licensed Premises Group Pubwatch and other agencies.

- *Continue to roll out Kidz AGAINST crime and chess clubs in South Westminster.*
- *Continue in our role as a Crime Prevention and Fire Safety Champions.*
- *Arrange Crime Prevention and Property Marking events.*
- *In partnership with London Fire Brigade, continue to roll out fire safety talks and events in patch.*
- *Host peer visits with other Neighbourhood Watches.*
- *Provide Your Call Counts fridge magnets.*
- *Expand the Watch.*
- *Develop/maintain this site and Westminster Neighbourhood Watch Association site.*
- *Update and disseminate information via @NHWTScheme on Twitter.*
- *Write and circulate NWHT Scheme's OUR NEWS Newsletter.*
- *Write articles for various publications."*

For those involved with the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network, a document containing ethics and standards guidelines has been developed. This documents provides a short overview of the network's general objectives and aims, as well as a list of member's overall responsibilities, ethical standards and integrity guidelines, the interests that members should serve, the standard of service they should strive for, the way they should treat other people, basic principles for the operation of organized groups of members as well as force level associations and sanctions for non-adherence to these guidelines.

Members of the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network are covered by a public liability insurance, as mentioned in the section on funding. This insurance provides cover for emergency planning committees and emergency neighbourly acts, as well as personal accident cover for co-ordinators under the age of 80 years conducting activities on behalf of their neighbourhood watch scheme (OurWatch, n.d.).

4.2 Results - South Africa

4.2.1 Sub question 1 – History of neighbourhood watch

The history of neighbourhood watch in South Africa needs to be divided into a pre- and post 1994 era. Schärf (1989) describes community policing in South Africa during the final years of *Apartheid* in the 1980's. The pre 1994 part needs to be further divided in white, coloured en black. As such, I believe it is highly important to take note of the following excerpt from the conclusion of his article, which described the completely different notion of community, policing and community policing in South Africa:

> *"The notion of community policing in a highly polarized society has to be very carefully circumscribed in order not to be understood in the same vein as it is in liberal democracies, where it is commonly used to refer to a benign partnership between the police and the public. But even there the term sustains the fiction of a homogeneous public, undivided by racial, cultural, generational, gender and class differences. In the South African context both elements of the term, 'community' and 'policing', are problematized.*
>
> *There are many 'communities' even within what may otherwise appear to be homogeneous localities (for example, townships) and each lives out a particular vision of order, and is likely to have a particular relationship to the formal police force.*
>
> *The term 'policing' in South Africa has to be understood with its colonial ballast loading it with strong notions of conquest and para-military praxis, particularly when policing is directed at blacks. The context in which policing occurs is one where so much of the daily activities of blacks, particularly those of Africans in urban areas, are narrowly confined by laws that are widely perceived as unjust and are therefore the subject of popular political mobilization. Law enforcement in this environment is, therefore, to a large extent the defence of the status quo, which is white privilege. In terms of the prevalent counter-insurgency strategy taught to the police force, the enemy is not only a threat from outside the borders; the enemy is every person fighting against the status quo."*
>
> (Schärf, 1989, p. 231)

Keeping the above in mind, Schärf (1989, p. 206) describes how the emphasis of policing in South Africa in that era was on keeping blacks, and to a similar extent coloured, outside of white areas as much as possible and confining them to the, easy to police, townships. As a result of punitive, insensitive and corrupt policing within those townships, both blacks and coloured had, throughout time, set up their own local structures to police and even mediate and adjudicate (Schärf, 1989, pp. 220-222). In the black townships around Pretoria, these structures varied from street gangs to quasi-political organizations with a military structure, running street patrols and even setting up their own inquisitorial courts. In and around the Cape Town townships, these structures included committees that policed the hostels, *Amasolomzi* (ad hoc street patrols) and street committees (Schärf, 1989, p. 222). Although these street committees had allegedly been existence since the formation of black townships, their modus operandi changed as a result of the 1976 Soweto Riots (Schärf, 1989, p. 223).

The street committees were made up out of local residents and worked within and represented small areas. Before the riots, there was little to no political involvement in the street committees and their basic tasks were threefold. They ensured peace and order within their specific area, they represented the interests of the inhabitants of that specific area with the local authority in charge of their respective township and they mobilized street patrols whenever crime levels became problematic. The Soweto Riots caused a massive politicization of the street committees as many of its members were asked to stand in local elections (Schärf, 1989, p. 224). As a result, the street committees were often split ideologically and had to decide whether or not to continue their cooperation with the white minority government. Those that came under increasing ideological and physical attack from political opponents and those that did not often abandoned their policing duties and connection with the local community council in favour of merely hearing disputes between local residents (Schärf, 1989, p. 224).

In the same timespan, the coloured townships experienced a massive increase in gang related violence. As a result, residents not involved with gangs and with little or no faith in the state police began forming peace-keeper groups from 1978 onwards in order to deal with this gang problem. Their main activity was street patrols, especially during the night and over weekends, armed with torches, clubs and whistles. This often resulted in violent altercations with gang members and the community's support for these peace-keepers quickly diminished after the police

started arresting them for unnecessarily or mistakenly attacking youths for their alleged gang involvement. In addition, some of the peace-keepers alleged involvement with gangs severally damaged their reputation and, as quickly as they had developed, the peace-keepers had disappeared by early 1981 (Schärf, 1989, p. 220).

Unlike the peace-keepers in the coloured townships, street committees did continue to exist, albeit in a different form in many occasions. The politicization of townships meant that these street committees were now in competition with informal police belonging to different political parties (Schärf, 1989, p. 225). These informal police groupings reported to and brought suspects to equally informal people's courts. As they belonged to or were affiliated with different political parties these groupings and courts were often at 'war' with each other and were known for some of their cruel corporal punishments (Schärf, 1989, pp. 226-230). By 1985, the government took note of these people's courts and patrols, abolished them and allowed the former street committees to resume their former roles.

Contrary to the initiatives in the black and coloured townships, civil involvement in policing in the white areas was generally initiated by or at least supported by the police. As part of the 1977 Civil Defence Act, whites were encouraged to protect themselves from civil insurrections and to report suspicious behaviour or persons to the authorities. As a result, white women were encouraged to take shooting classes, radio networks between civilians and the police and/or military were established or enhanced and shooting clubs became omnipresent with ever increasing membership (Schärf, 1989, p. 217). Neighbourhood watches such as those in the United States and the United Kingdom were first introduced in the early 1980's and by 1984 the police started encouraging the white middle class to start and join such schemes. Shortly thereafter the Minister of Police instructed the police commissioners to actively encourage the concept, leading to a rapid growth and by 1987 322 neighbourhood watch schemes were reported to have been set up. Core concepts of those neighbourhood watches were the protection of private property, prevention of crime, surveillance of their area and general vigilance. Close cooperation with the police was described as 'essential' and the involvement of the police insured a national model that prevented other vigilante-type street patrols. The neighbourhood watch, much like the Civil Defence Act, was to encourage white civilians to remain vigilant and to report any suspicious behaviour or occurrences within their specific area. Actively patrolling

the streets was discouraged as this was believed to be intimidating and patrollers would have very limited powers to act once on patrol (Schärf, 1989, pp. 217-218).

In addition to the above, and especially applicable to South Africa's rural countryside, Steinberg (2005) describes the role of the Commandos or Territorial Reserve in South Africa from the late 1980's onwards. Under South African law at the time, every white male under 55 who resided in the countryside was available for conscription by the Commandos, who were part of the South African Defence Force. Whereas these Commandos were initially involved in policing the townships, their role later changed to a more intelligence driven one in the countryside. As their task became more focused on intelligence gathering, the whole family became involved and Commandos were tasked to create a network of white rural families to provide intelligence to the authorities. Although not quite a neighbourhood watch, we will discuss the policing functions these Commandos would assume after 1994 and their eventual abolishment below.

Between 1990 and 1994 South Africa went through what is generally known as its political transformation from *Apartheid* state to democratic state. Brogden & Shearing (1993) describe at length the upcoming transformation of the former South African Police Force and the former Homeland police forces into a new South African Police Service. They outline the militaristic form of policing the South African Police Force had adapted up until then, the racial segregation much of their policy was based on and they fought to uphold, the lack of training for non-white police officers and Homeland police officers and the likely challenges in regaining the trust of South Africa citizens, with whom Brogden & Shearing (1993) believe the police are completely out of touch. Despite their argument for the implementation of a public/private divide model (Brogden & Shearing, 1993; Ponsaers, 2001), the government rather opted for a community based model (Schärf, 2001, p. 75). From 1990 onwards, the government in waiting attempted to decrease the size and influence of the feared and criticized Security Police, however, ironically, from 1993 onwards substantial portions of Security Police personnel were transferred to the newly founded Community Policing Division.

This Community Policing division was to facilitate cooperation between the general public and the police in so-called Community Policing Forums (CPFs), which were to make citizens the eyes and ears of the police. This was a humongous task as community interests and needs were often worlds apart and the police was still hated

and mistrusted in large parts of the country. Initially, and perhaps unsurprisingly, these CPFs rather acted as a revenge mechanism, allowing the community to have some much anticipated revenge on the hated police force. Mostly as a result of police's preoccupation with the massive changes and transformation within the agency, these CPFs did not develop as anticipated and some communities rather reverted to vigilantism. Examples thereof were taxi drivers tracking down and punishing alleged criminals, the People Against Gangs and Drugs (PAGAD) movement which knowingly acted outside the framework of the law by assaulting street gangs and drug dealers and even community organizations such as *Mapogo a Mathamaga* who offered crime-fighting services at a fee, effectively turning them into private security companies. Unsurprisingly, the state did not devote many resources to these vigilante movements and rather focused their policing efforts and resources on threats against South Africa's image and state security, therewith protecting South Africa's image abroad and its tourism industry (Schärf, 2001, p. 78; Emmett & Butchart, 2000, pp. 178-181).

As for the rural areas, a meeting was held in the beginning of 1997 between the National Operational Co-ordinating Committee (NOCOC), which was in charge of coordinating the activities of the South African Police Service and the South African National Defence Force, and the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU). The resulting steering group that was formed from the meeting drafted the rural protection plan, which would be implement by President Mandela later in 1997. The Commandos, as mentioned above, were considered a key actor, alongside the SAPS, agricultural organizations, provincial and local government and others willing to play an active role in rural security. Mandela's successor, President Mbeki, however considered the Commandos an Apartheid relic and announced its abolishment. As a result, the Commando system would be phased out between 2003 and 2009 and replaced by new rural police outfits. Unfortunately, those never realised, leaving rural residents to look after their own security (Steinberg, 2005; Steinberg & Schönteig, 2000). During my work in South Africa, I would regularly encounter neighbourhood watch members who used to be Commandos, but decided to to join a *buurtwag* or *plaaswag* when the Commando system was abolished. With their (military) training and remnants of their government supplied equipment still in their possession, it had taken them little effort to convert their Commando group into a neighbourhood watch, albeit with fewer powers than they used to have.

4.2.2 Sub question 2 – Legal & governmental dispositions on neighbourhood watch

For the purpose of this section and the following sections it is important to note an important difference in South Africa between Community Policing Forums, which are established by the police as a result of legislation, and private neighbourhood watch schemes as initiated by the public with possible support of NGOs. It is however possible for private neighbourhood watch schemes to be involved with the Community Policing Forum. At the same time, some members of the community run their local neighbourhood watch under the flag of the local Community Policing Forum. Put simply, some Community Policing Forums act like neighbourhood watches and some neighbourhood watches are involved with Community Policing Forums. They are two different things though.

4.2.2.1 Governmental disposition

The 2015 white paper on police (The Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015a) and safety and security (The Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015b), although still drafts, both mention the Community Policing Forums, however absolutely no mention is made of neighbourhood watch. Both do mention street committees.

The white paper on police (The Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015a, p. 15) specifically mentions that *"community oriented policing remains the operating paradigm of the South African Police Service"*. In order to put this in to practice, the white paper states that SAPS and CPFs need to forge cooperative partnerships in order to facilitate regular communication and information sharing. In addition, other forms of volunteerism, such as street committees, are to be encouraged as part of the general crime fighting strategy as well as the creation of safe and healthy communities. These street committees, as well as other voluntary initiatives, need to be located within the CPF, rather than parallel to it or as a replacement thereof. The Civilian Secretariat for Police should therefor devise a partnership strategy that will allow the mobilisation of all role-players and stakeholders in order to strengthen communities and improve service delivery by the SAPS (The Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015a, p. 32). Local government involvement will be developed and encouraged through the creation of Community Safety Forums (CSFs). These forums are to enhance

cooperation and communication with the community, as represented by the CPF (The Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015a, p. 36).

The white paper on safety and security outlines the principles underlining these CSFs, including community engagement and accountability and strong community participation and consultation (The Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015b, p. 30). It further specifically states that *"all state parties should work with non-state bodies to establish safety needs and develop strategies to fulfil them"* (The Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015b, p. 34). The CPF's role on a local scale includes reciprocal responsibilities regarding crime fighting programmes, ensuring police accountability to the community, joint policing programmes and the identification of policing projects in collaboration with the police (The Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015b, p. 39).

The SAPS's 2014-2019 Strategic Plan (2014) makes no mention of neighbourhood watches or street committees, however it does refer to the community in several occasions. Perhaps the following excerpt represents the police's take on the community best (SAPS, 2014, p. 15):

"Crime is a social phenomenon that cannot be prevented by the police alone – hence partnership is critical in the fight against crime. To this end not only the community at large but other stakeholders within government, municipalities, businesses, civil society and other interest groups are needed to establish safe communities inter alia through community safety centres and safety programmes aimed at the protection of vulnerable groups. In this regard the role of Community Policing has to be revitalised to serve as a mechanism for sharing information between the police and the community and tapping into residents' knowledge and expertise. In order to understand the actual dynamics of policing in various circumstances, space will be created for critical dialogue, for intellectual partnerships and for cooperative research. This will lead to new and more informed police practice and finding solutions to the significant problems of contact crime and social disorder we face in South Africa."

Another interesting fact that is mentioned in the SAPS's strategy (2014, p. 24) is the *"Implementing functional Community Police Forums at all Police Stations"* objective, which indicates that CPF's are either non-present or dysfunctional around the country, something that is echoed by most respondents.

When asked about government cooperation or involvement with neighbourhood watches, one is quick to learn that circumstances throughout the country differ and are often a result of personal preference rather than policy. In addition, most respondents seem to consider government and police as two different entities. When asked about cooperation between government and neighbourhood watches, their answers are usually along the lines of 'the government does absolutely nothing', however they generally indicate a good working relationship with the police throughout the rest of the interview.

Respondent A states that the municipality largely ignores neighbourhood watches and that the CPF is largely inactive. So much so, that when the CPF does organize activities, it is dependent on the neighbourhood watch's cooperation. Nevertheless, they do cooperate with the police who provides the neighbourhood watch with intelligence. The municipality in fact, she says, is so useless that the neighbourhood watch is in the process of taking control of the government installed CCTV system in Vryburg.

In respondent H, F and B's areas, cooperation at a local level is obviously a lot better. They consider cooperation between the neighbourhood watches, CPF and SAPS as essential for successful operations and state that the police often organize joint patrols with the neighbourhood watch. Similar feelings are conveyed by respondent C, D and E, although D and E negate the role of the CPF whilst reporting good cooperation with the police. These respondents either don't mention the municipality at all or state that they play no significant role.

Both respondent F and K mention that government involvement in the Western Cape is far better than in the rest of the country and this seems to be supported by online sources stating that the Western Cape Government provides neighbourhood watches with training and equipment through the CPF, provided they are registered with one (All About Mzansi, n.d.; Western Cape Government, 2016). As for the rest of the country, respondent F states that a neighbourhood watch patroller has been shot dead in Pretoria some two years ago. When the NGO that respondent F works for queried the provincial government as to why there was no compensation for his family, the Gauteng Department of Community Safety argued that there were two issues preventing them from doing so. First, he had been out on patrol on his own and second, he had not registered with his local municipality as a patroller. Respondent F is adamant that most of the municipalities in the province will not even know what you

are talking about if you try and register as a patroller at their offices.

Respondent I, who performed research throughout South Africa regarding neighbourhood watches, echoes a lot of the information available in the government's and police's policy and strategy papers. He continues to state that this is how it is supposed to work, however local cooperation is dependent on mutual trust. Lack thereof or a troubled relationship between the government and the community or the police and the community will lead to poor cooperation. He stated that he always asks neighbourhood watches that he investigates whether or not they believe they will be able to continue their activities if one were to remove the police from the picture and so far, all of them had answered yes, as they were basically attempting to make up for a lack of police or policing anyway.

4.2.2.2 Legal disposition

The respondents generally made it clear that their is no specific legislation with regard to neighbourhood watches. The main legislation one should, however, be aware of is the interim Constitution that initially set up CPFs, the South African Police Service Act 68 of 1995 and the Criminal Procedures Act 1977. The applicable sections from this legislation can be found below. The self defence – defence, as in the UK, is based within common law case law and one will need to convince the court of the following to successfully plead the self defence:

1. there was an unlawful attack;
2. the attack was directed against an interest deserving of legal protection;
3. there was an attack on you, which requirement is satisfied by showing that the attack was either imminent or commenced but not yet completed;
4. the defence was directed at the attacker;
5. the defence was necessary to protect the interest threatened; and
6. there must be a reasonable relationship between the attack and the defensive act

"221 *Local policing*

(1) *The Act referred to in section 214 (1) shall provide for the establishment of community- police forums in respect of police stations.*

(2) *The functions of community-police forums referred to in subsection (1) may include-*

(a) *the promotion of accountability of the Service to local communities and co-operation of communities with the Service;*

(b) *the monitoring of the effectiveness and efficiency of the Service;*

(c) *advising the Service regarding local policing priorities;*

(d) *the evaluation of the provision of visible police services, including-*

(i) *the provision, siting and staffing of police stations;*

(ii) *the reception and processing of complaints and charges;*

(iii) *the provision of protective services at gatherings;*

(iv) *the patrolling of residential and business areas; and*

(v) *the prosecution of offenders; and*

(e) *requesting enquiries into policing matters in the locality concerned.*

(3) *The Act referred to in section 214 (1) shall make provision for the establishment by any local government of a municipal or metropolitan police service: Provided that-*

(a) *such a police service may only be established with the consent of the relevant member of the Executive Council of the province referred to in section 217 (1);*

(b) *the powers of such a police service shall be limited to crime prevention and the enforcement of municipal and metropolitan by-laws;*

(c) *the said member of the Executive Council of the province shall, subject to paragraph (b) and the provisions of the said Act, determine the powers and functions of such a police service; and*

(d) *the said Act shall provide that its provisions shall, as far as practicable, apply mutatis mutandis to any such police service.*"

"18 Objects of community police forums and boards

(1) The Service shall, in order to achieve the objects contemplated in section 215 of the Constitution, liaise with the community through community police forums and area and provincial community police boards, in accordance with sections 19, 20 and 21, with a view to-

> *(a) establishing and maintaining a partnership between the community and the Service;*
>
> *(b) promoting communication between the Service and the community;*
>
> *(c) promoting co-operation between the Service and the community in fulfilling the needs of the community regarding policing;*
>
> *(d) improving the rendering of police services to the community at national, provincial, area and local levels;*
>
> *(e) improving transparency in the Service and accountability of the Service to the community; and*
>
> *(f) promoting joint problem identification and problem-solving by the Service and the community.*

(2) This Chapter shall not preclude liaison by the Service with the community by means other than through community police forums and boards."

Sections 42, 27,48 and 49 of the South African Criminal Procedure Act 1977 as amended

"42 Arrest by private person without warrant

(1) Any private person may without warrant arrest any person-

> *(a) who commits or attempts to commit in his presence or whom he reasonably suspects of having committed an offence referred to in Schedule 1;*
>
> *(b) whom he reasonably believes to have committed any offence and to be escaping from and to be freshly pursued by a person whom such private person reasonably believes to have authority to arrest that person for that offence;*

(c) whom he is by any law authorized to arrest without warrant in respect of any offence specified in that law;

(d) whom he sees engaged in an affray.

(2) Any private person who may without warrant arrest any person under subsection (1) (a) may forthwith pursue that person, and any other private person to whom the purpose of the pursuit has been made known, may join and assist therein.

(3) The owner, lawful occupier or person in charge of property on or in respect of which any person is found committing any offence, and any person authorized thereto by such owner, occupier or person in charge, may without warrant arrest the person so found.

47 Private persons to assist in arrest when called upon

(1) Every male inhabitant of the Republic of an age not below sixteen and not exceeding sixty years shall, when called upon by any police official to do so, assist such police official-

    (a) in arresting any person;

    (b) in detaining any person so arrested.

(2) Any person who, without sufficient cause, fails to assist a police official as provided in subsection (1), shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding R300 or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months.

48 Breaking open premises for purpose of arrest

Any person who may lawfully arrest another in respect of any offence and who knows or reasonably suspects such other person to be on any premises, may, if he first audibly demands entry into such premises and notifies the purpose for which he seeks entry and fails to gain entry, break open, enter and search such premises for the purpose of effecting the arrest.

49 Use of force in effecting arrest

(1) For the purposes of this section-

> *(a) 'arrestor' means any person authorised under this Act to arrest or to assist in arresting a suspect;*
> *(b) 'suspect' means any person in respect of whom an arrestor has a reasonable suspicion that such person is committing or has committed an offence; and*
> *(c) 'deadly force' means force that is likely to cause serious bodily harm or death and includes, but is not limited to, shooting at a suspect with a firearm.*

(2) If any arrestor attempts to arrest a suspect and the suspect resists the attempt, or flees, or resists the attempt and flees, when it is clear that an attempt to arrest him or her is being made, and the suspect cannot be arrested without the use of force, the arrestor may, in order to effect the arrest, use such force as may be reasonably necessary and proportional in the circumstances to overcome the resistance or to prevent the suspect from fleeing, but, in addition to the requirement that the force must be reasonably necessary and proportional in the circumstances, the arrestor may use deadly force only if-

> *(a) the suspect poses a threat of serious violence to the arrestor or any other person; or*
> *(b) the suspect is suspected on reasonable grounds of having committed a crime involving the infliction or threatened infliction of serious bodily harm and there are no other reasonable means of effecting the arrest, whether at that time or later."*

4.2.3 Sub question 3 – Objectives of neighbourhood watch

With South Africa lacking a national charity such as the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network in the UK, it is somewhat more challenging to establish the objectives of neighbourhood watch. Nevertheless, I believe the answers provided by the interview respondents paint a general picture of the objectives of neighbourhood watch in South Africa. The following is a representation of their answer to the 'what are the neighbourhood watch's objectives?' question.

"I believe the main objective is to rid the area of crime and to prevent crime." (Respondent A, NGO coordinator for Vryburg in North West)

"The main objective is to prevent crimes by being visible, which is achieved through visible patrolling. This is the main and general purpose of a neighbourhood watch." (Respondent B, former defence force member, armed response officer and neighbourhood watch member)

"The number 1 objective is to be visible, visible policing. [...] We want to be visible in order to drive crime out of the community." (Respondent C, NGO coordinator for KwaZulu-Natal & South Gauteng)

"Their [the neighbourhood watch's] goal was to be the eyes and ears for the police, as well as perform visible policing." (Respondent D, NGO coordinator for the western Free State)

"The area where I am from is very rural and has an agricultural focus and as you know, we have a lot of farm murders. So our goal is mainly to keep those violent, criminal elements away from the farms. Besides that, our main focus is car theft and stock theft." (Respondent E, former Commando member, security consultant)

"I believe a neighbourhood watch's first objective should be to have eyes and ears on the ground and within local communication structures. We do things a little differently as we do not focus on one specific area, we rather use a birds-

eye-view and examine multiple neighbourhood watches which allows us to safeguard larger areas. [...] The main objective there is to be those eyes and ears, to set up proper communication structures, to identify crime areas, criminals and elements of crime and to terminate it, within the boundaries of the law or with help of officers of the law. The common objective is to secure a specific community and to keep the people within that community safe." (Respondent F, NGO national head of community safety)

"The neighbourhood watches that I'm involved with are mainly to provide a kind of ears and eyes for the police and the local security companies. We are not there to become a second police force or to take the law into our own hands. Our main objective is to provide the eyes and the ears for the local police station and assist them in trying to combat crime." (Respondent G, NGO coordinator eastern Free State)

"The neighbourhood watch's goal, all of the neighbourhood watches' goal, is the same. It is to secure their own area and to patrol it to ensure security and to fight crime by being visible. They basically act as the police's eyes and ears." (Respondent H, Colonel South African Police Service)

"I think the main thing is to create a safe environment that allows people to live a safe life, where kids can play in the streets and people can walk around in the afternoon, which at this stage isn't easy in South Africa. When it gets dark you tell your kids to come inside. The challenges include the manifestation of townships, like we have around Pretoria, which are a threat to your security. So the actions of the neighbourhood, of the neighbourhood watch, are meant to create a safe environment. [...] These structures differ and some have included other goals, such as cleaning parks." (Respondent I, former HAWKS and SAPS member, researcher)

"Neighbourhood watches have certain zones through which they patrol during certain hours of the day and night, which allows them to be visible and if there are any occurrences they can forward that information to the police or, if they were to encounter crime, like a burglary, they can respond to it." (Respondent

J, former defence force member, security consultant and private military contractor)

"Well, the main objective is crime fighting and crime prevention. Those people [involved with neighbourhood watches] want to make the community act pro-active rather than reactive. Some of these neighbourhood watches are already acting pro-active, but they are trying to bring the community together on all levels and from there they try to protect the community. From there they arrange patrols, practice exercises etcetera. But the main focus or main goal is crime fighting, to make your neighbourhood safer so you want to be there." (Respondent K, NGO national coordinator for community safety and coordinator North Gauteng)

The South Africa Police Service's (2011, pp. 73-75) manual on CPFs provides several examples of statements of objectives and aim of CPFs:

For the Greater Orkney Policing Forum:

"Aims

- *To determine the appropriate range of services that the police will provide to the community through a process of consultation*
- *To determine how these services will be provided in the sense of appropriate tactics and procedures*
- *To jointly identify and define potential problems and move to correct them*
- *To establish formal ongoing mechanisms for consultation and joint planning*

Objectives

- *Adaptation of policing strategies to fit the requirements of particular local circumstances*
- *Mobilization of all resources available to the community in order to resolve problems and promote safety and security*

- *Accountability to our community through mechanisms designed to encourage transparency*
- *Broadening of the policing focus from a reactive focus on crime control to a pro-active focus on the underlying causes of crime, violence and disorder"*

For the Soshanguve Community Policing Forum:

"The aims and objectives of the forum shall be:
- *In consultation with the community and the police to identify and seek solutions to effective crime prevention and problems that may flow from there*
- *Set up and maintain effective channels of communication between the SAPS and other such structures in order to ensure regular and liaison [sic]*
- *To embark upon educative campaigns in matters relevant to crime and its prevention and in this regard to be sensitive to the many and varied causes that contribute to crime*
- *To identify and address those factors that impact on crime patterns and law enforcement*
- *To facilitate maximum community participation in the activities undertaken by the CPF*
- *To initiate programmes to stimulate the participation of youths as individuals and as community members in crime prevention*
- *To liaise with other similar forums in order to share and exchange information, resources and jointly plan campaigns*
- *To take cognisance of national and international trends in effective crime prevention and community policing and to do whatever is necessary and consistent in achieving the aforementioned aims and objectives"*

For the Greenwood Park Community Policing Forum:

"The aims and objectives of the forum shall be as follows:

- *The creation of a spirit of co-operation, trust, transparency and accountability between the police and the community and vice versa*
- *To improve the understanding of the community of problems being experienced in other zones with particular regard to crime prevention and law enforcement*
- *To create mechanisms whereby the police can receive voluntary assistance from the community whether in form of manpower or in material or other assistance, when circumstances require such assistance*
- *To ensure that the channels of communication between all sections of the community and the police remain open at all times*
- *To hold meetings at intervals of not longer than six weeks at which the following may be discussed:*

Crime levels being experienced in any particular zone with particular reference to any type of crime that has become prevalent and to methods being employed to commit such crimes and the methods adopted by the police to combat such crimes.

Precautions considered to be advisable having regard to the prevailing crime levels and the types of crimes that have become prevalent and to the methods being employed to commit such crimes and the methods being adopted by the Police to combat such crimes.

Methods by which information relating to 1 and 2 above should be passed onto the community

Any other matter that relates to law enforcement, crime prevention and protection or policing in general within the area provided that if falls within the scope of the aims and objectives of the forum and provided further that no discussion of any particular case that is being investigated or is due to go to court and which is accordingly sub judice, will be allowed."

4.2.4 Sub question 4 – Organization of neighbourhood watch

4.2.4.1 Funding

The SAPS's (2011, p. 81) guidelines on CPFs suggest that, at the time the guidelines were written, no government funds were available to the CPFs. According to the document, it is *"envisaged that funds for the functioning of CPFs will in future be made available from the budget of the central and/or provincial government, these funds will most probably not be sufficient to cover all expenses and to allow for all the activities and plans of the CPF. A possible solution to this problem may be the establishment of a Funding Foundation"* (South African Police Service, 2011, p. 81).

The 2015 white paper on security and safety (The Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015b, p. 40) states that *"Funding for community safety programmes must be allocated from respective sector departments as part of their normal budgeting processes. Relevant departments must capture safety and security, crime and violence prevention programmes as part of their strategic plans. At local level, these should be captured in municipalities IDPs [Internal Development Processes]. The facilitation of community structures and public participation must be provided for in these processes."*

All the respondents confirm that there is no government funding for neighbourhood watches, although registered neighbourhood watches in the Western Cape allegedly do receive equipment from the government through the CPF, provided they are registered (Western Cape Government, 2016). Respondent A (NGO coordinator for Vryburg in North West) states that the neighbourhood watches she is involved with receive no outside funds and that members pay their own expenses. She mentions that businesses sometimes make donations, be it cash or free or discounted fuel. If patrollers are available but don't have the means to pay for the necessary fuel, fundraisers are initiated to enable them to participate. Respondent B (former defence force member, armed response officer and neighbourhood watch member) confirms the above and states that occasionally community members want to be involved with the neighbourhood watch but don't want to patrol themselves. They then contribute funds to allow others to do so. Respondent H (SAPS colonel) mentions that the local business chamber is actively involved with the neighbourhood watches in her area and provides them with funding.

Respondents C (NGO coordinator KwaZulu-Natal & South Gauteng), D (NGO coordinator western Free State), J (former defence force member, security consultant and private military contractor) and K (NGO national coordinator community safety and coordinator North Gauteng) mention the funding structure of the South African NGO AfriForum. As respondent F (NGO national head of community safety) explains, AfriForum has approximately 177000 paying members, 140 local branches throughout South Africa, and some 70+ of those branches have adopted AfriForum's neighbourhood watch model. All members pay a monthly membership fee, however those members that belong to a local branch will see 50% of their contribution flow back to their local branch, allowing it to build a financial reserve from which to fund the neighbourhood watch activities. In addition, local branches can apply to head office in order to receive additional funds for more expensive equipment, such as bulletproof vests. AfriForum's neighbourhood watch in Bloemfontein even managed to secure sufficient funds to buy its own 24/7 patrol vehicle (AfriForum, 2016).

4.2.4.2 Means/manpower

Again, because of the lacking national structure as present in the United Kingdom, it is difficult to establish an overall picture of the means and manpower of neighbourhood watches throughout South Africa. Nevertheless, I will attempt to present as realistically a picture as possible through the respondents and my own experience in South Africa.

> *"Vryburg neighbourhood watch has over 300 members. But about 200 of them are actively involved. They are separated into four groups and every group patrols for one week, meaning each group only patrols one week a month. They use green lights [flashing lights] and spotlights and one guy who works for Fidelity, you know, the security firm, has now arranged for the neighbourhood watch to get bulletproof vests and a bat. They also have magnets that they attach to their car doors to identify themselves as the neighbourhood watch. And radio's, which most people buy themselves, but the neighbourhood watch has bought some too and spread them amongst its leaders. We even have a mobile phone with an emergency number that people can call, which is passed around the group that patrols that specific week."* (Respondent A, NGO coordinator for Vryburg in North West)

"A neighbourhood watch can consist of 10 to 1000 people, depending on the community's willingness to get involved. Unless there are sponsors, all the materials, such as their vehicle, spotlight and fuel used by neighbourhood watch members are paid for by the members." (Respondent B, former defence force member, armed response officer and neighbourhood watch member)

"There are usually at least 15 people, but not all of them patrol. Especially the elderly do not like going out in the evenings and we don't want them to either. They remain involved by attending meetings, marketing the neighbourhood watch to non-members and a monthly contribution. [...] Unfortunately most people are rather apathetic ... they complain about their problems but once it gets to the point where they have to actually do something they rather leave it up to others. AfriForum has now developed a computer system that allows its neighbourhood watches to log incidents and other information. That information can then be accessed by their other neighbourhood watches. They also cooperate with C-Track, a car tracking agency. This means that AfriForum members can have a tracker installed in their car at a reduced fare and their neighbourhood watches receive equipment to track their patrols vehicles." (Respondent C, NGO coordinator for KwaZulu-Natal & South Gauteng)

"In small areas such as Petrus Steyn, there were only 8 people involved in the neighbourhood watch. In Parys, where those farmers were attacked in the beginning of the year, there we're talking about 60 to 70 people who are actively involved in doing patrols and such. You could say that numbers vary between 10 and 100, depending on the size of the village or town. Their main means are basically magnets, spotlights and their white [flashing] lights." (Respondent D, NGO coordinator for the western Free State)

"In Paulpietersburg, where I stay and which is a small village, we have about 60-70 within the actual village and another 100, 110 on the farms. So the village and farms combined have about 170 active members. We use our vehicles, spotlights, night vision equipment and we have our own tracking dogs. If there is a robbery or another serious incident, we have a private aeroplane that we can use." (Respondent E, former Commando member, security consultant)

"I suppose that, on average, there are about 150 active members in any given area. However, I suppose that the minimum, our smallest one is about 15 people, but most of them are far over 100, so I would go with 150 on average, which makes them very strong structures. We do struggle to formalize the structures. If you look at indemnity forms and codes of conduct, it is like the people don't recognize the risk they take by not signing it and as a result, they run a higher risk when out on patrol. What AfriForum has done is, we have entered the scene from the private side of things and we now offer life insurance, so that all of our neighbourhood watch members get a life insurance and a short term insurance specifically for security and neighbourhood watch activities. We also provide vehicle tracking at a discount through C-Track. We also provide our neighbourhood watch members with 24/7 legal support."
(Respondent F, NGO national head of community safety)

"Generally, when we have a mass-patrol [mass show of force, including multiple neighbourhood watches, private security firms and the SAPS], we have the whole neighbourhood working together and that will always be about 150 persons [sic] involved in a mass patrol, but let's say for weekly people people on patrol that is about 20-40 weekly on patrol. The big thing with neighbourhood watch is that the amount of people that you can mobilize when someone calls over the radio that help is needed. Then, at any time, up to a 100, 150 people can be mobilized. So roughly 40-50 are actively involved in these neighbourhood watches. We supply neighbourhood watches with radio's and spotlights and reflective jackets and also car magnets which they can use to identify themselves, as well as white lights that they can put on their cars when they are patrolling. We also supply them with bulletproof vests if requested."
(Respondent G, NGO coordinator eastern Free State)

"Per neighbourhood watch, I would say the whole neighbourhood is involved. On average there are 30 to 40 people that are actively involved and actually go out on patrols. Nevertheless, old people will man the radio's or act as secretary during a patrol and do all the administrative work. Women and the elderly will also provide food for those out on patrol. All of the neighbourhood watches use radio's or Zello [a smartphone app that acts as a two-way radio].

They drive around with white lights on their cars and their cars are usually marked with magnets on the doors." (Respondent H, Colonel South African Police Service)

"It differs from area to area. There's neighbourhood watches that have a team of people, who can afford to send someone else out for patrols every night and then in other places the same people have to go out and patrol every night. The more people there are, the more sustainable a neighbourhood watch is, if there's less people involved, especially during the winter when it's cold you'll see people loose interest, but you will also see a rise in crime. All the guys use magnets to identify themselves. And there's people that drive around with white or green lights." (Respondent I, former HAWKS and SAPS member, researcher)

"The size of villages and towns differs tremendously and, as a result, not all neighbourhoods in a town are necessarily involved with neighbourhood watch. My local neighbourhood watch consists of two vehicles that drive up and down the road, with only one person in the vehicle usually. They only drive on certain times when crime is known to happen. Neighbourhood watch, nine out of ten people are funding themselves. They might have a magnet, they might not. They might have a light; they might have a radio. Otherwise they might use their mobile phone. There's no standard bulletproof vest, they can't afford it. If they do have it, it usually comes from a sponsor." (Respondent J, former defence force member, security consultant and private military contractor)

"I would say, if you take all of them, there should be between 50 and 150 for a neighbourhood watch. It depends, it could me more, it could be less. There's usually a lot more members, around 300, but not all of them actively go out on patrols or respond to problems. There's a certain basic equipment that we provide for our neighbourhood watches. Spotlights, identification lights, magnets, reflective jackets, radio's, bulletproofs and we even provide insurance for our neighbourhood watch members. We also provide radio procedure training, teaching them how to talk on a radio. First aid training, practical patrol training, we now have brand new firefighting training. We train them in being

aware of their area's status, incident control, how to control incidents."
(Respondent K, NGO national coordinator for community safety and
coordinator North Gauteng)

4.2.4.3 Modus operandi

The modus operandi for South African neighbourhood watches revolves around one
thing and one thing only: patrols. Whether it be on foot, bicycle, motorcycle or in a car,
neighbourhood watches patrol their neighbourhood. Again, one will encounter local
differences, but generally a neighbourhood watch will patrol the neighbourhood during
certain parts of the day or night, whether it be in shifts or randomly. To facilitate these
patrols, meetings might be held with other role players such as the police, however
this is dependent on local circumstances. The following is a representation of the
answer provided by the respondents:

*"They [neighbourhood watches] patrol the village, usually between 20:00 and
03:00 or 08:00 and 04:00 or 19:00 and 03:00, it depends. If they detect a crime
trend they might adjust the patrol times. In Vryburg, for example, they started
doing patrols on Sunday during church, because they noticed burglaries took
place when people attended church. Every person patrols a two hour shift and
there's always two people in a vehicle. Sometimes, especially on Fridays when
more people are available, these shifts overlap, meaning there are multiple
vehicles on the road at the same time."* (Respondent A, NGO coordinator for
Vryburg in North West)

*"Everyone knows that we have people patrolling throughout the night, there's
vehicles coming and going with white lights, so they're noticeable and criminals
are aware."* (Respondent D, NGO coordinator for the western Free State)

*"Pro-actively, we divide our whole area into multiple controllable areas, each
with its own leader. We make sure that the people are trained to deal with
different situations, make sure that there is first aid training, we train different
scenarios and then of course we do our patrols and build intelligence networks
by talking to the locals. Reactively, we have an emergency plan that we can
activate. If there are people hurt, we need to go to them. We have a basic*

response plan, a response team and if we are unsuccessful, we'll have to open up our channels of communication and assist the police with information." (Respondent E, former Commando member, security consultant)

"Sometimes we cooperate with private security firms, sometimes we use helicopters, patrols, foot patrols, observation posts, it differs from area to area. In urban areas we mainly use vehicles, cars, but in rural areas we'll use motorbikes, horses and even bicycles." (Respondent F, NGO national head of community safety)

"Our neighbourhood watches all have radio's or Zello [a smartphone app that allows people to use their phone as a two-way radio] and each night they'll have everyone call in to make sure everyone is safe. If someone doesn't reply they'll physically go to his house and make sure he's okay. Then of course they do their normal patrols." (Respondent H, Colonel South African Police Service)

"Neighbourhood watches in some areas will have reaction teams with medical stuff, which they buy from their own money. They'll get trained in first aid and if there's a farm attack or an attack on a house, they will go out and perform whatever first aid they can until the actual ambulance shows up to take over from them." (Respondent I, former HAWKS and SAPS member, researcher)

"Their role is to secure the community, because the police does not have the necessary manpower or vehicles to keep the community safe. So their role is to patrol their neighbourhood. Drive the criminals out. [...] These patrols can be performed with cars or on foot. Sometimes we make use of an observation post. Some of them have a tactical unit or response unit that will respond to certain incidents. Some neighbourhood watches will arrange self defence training for its members, defence against knife attacks, anti-rape courses. Some neighbourhood watches even have their own disaster plan which they will practice once every three months." (Respondent K, NGO national coordinator for community safety and coordinator North Gauteng)

Those neighbourhood watches that have adopted the AfriForum NGO's neighbourhood watch model use an ethical code that all patrollers have to sign. This ethical code delineates the patroller's responsibilities, his/her legal position when making an arrest, his/her duty to be identifiable as a neighbourhood watch member, the preferred behaviour during patrols and guidelines for cooperation with the SAPS (AfriForum, n.d.).

As respondent G mentioned in the previous section, some of the South African neighbourhood watches perform regular 'mass patrols' that involve multiple neighbourhood watches, community groups, the South African Police Service, private security and ambulance companies and NGOs. On the 11th of July 2015, I was lucky enough to participate in one of these mass patrols in the Limpopo town of Bela-Bela. That specific night, over 500 people either patrolled the streets of a town that is normally patrolled by approximately 15 to 20 police officers on a shift, depending on availability. The combined neighbourhood watches had a command position inside the police station, allowing all the different neighbourhood watches to communicate with each other, something they are not always able to do because of their different operational styles. Some might use smartphones and smartphone apps such as Zello, whilst others use two-way radio's. An NGO provided all the patrollers with two-way radios, whilst also deploying radio amplifiers to allow all patrollers to remain in contact with each other and the command position. The SAPS had arranged for a special provincial task team to be present in order to assist with arrests and conduct specific operations within the unsafe parts of the local township. Although all connected to minor offenses, the combined efforts resulted in 20 arrests. There were no burglaries and no contact crimes that night, as white flashing lights could be seen throughout the village.

The mass patrol also highlighted the differences between the way different neighbourhood watches act. Some attended wearing bulletproof vests, others merely wore reflective jackets. Some carried weapons, others did not. Some adhered to a specific hierarchy, others acted on an equal plane. Some got along with the police quite well, others despised them and were vocal about how they would deal with offenses themselves, rather than call in the police. The mass patrol, to me, quite clearly illustrated the vast differences between neighbourhood watches in South Africa.

4.3 Case comparison

Now that we have answered the four sub questions for both the United Kingdom and South Africa, this section will provide a sub question by sub question comparison of the neighbourhood watches in those two countries in order to help answer the 'to what extent' part of the main research question.

The first sub question examined the history of the neighbourhood watches in the UK and South Africa between 1980 and present. Whereas the UK had been implementing community policing before 1980 and developing that model along with the first neighbourhood watches since 1982, South Africa shows a rather different development. After the failure of the first attempt to bring all UK neighbourhood watches under a national umbrella, the government was actively and financially involved in the establishment of the current Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network umbrella organization.

South African neighbourhood watches were introduced when the police were still very much applying a military model and it only involved the white population. Black and coloured townships developed neighbourhood watch-like structures to compensate for the lack of formal policing in the township. With the end of *Apartheid* and the democratic elections in 1994 the state police were reformed to apply a community oriented model, however constant struggles within the police led to worsened relationships with the community. The envisaged Community Policing forum that was to act as a type of umbrella to facilitate cooperation between the police, neighbourhood watches and other organizations never really took flight as indented and government's decision to disband the commando system drove more people to private neighbourhood watches to keep themselves safe.

The second sub question revolved around the governmental and legal dispositions surrounding neighbourhood watch. In the UK, the government actively encourages participation in neighbourhood watch programmes and has created both policy and legislation to facilitate such. Through the election of the police and police commissioners, community members now have a direct say in local police policy. Although there is no specific legislation regarding neighbourhood watches, citizens involved therewith do fall under the general legislation concerning self defence and citizen's arrests.

In South Africa, there is a rather large discrepancy between what the government's intentions seem to be in their white papers and what actually happens on the ground. The continued efforts of the government to represent Community Policing Forums as the vehicles to encourage and facilitate cooperation between the community, neighbourhood watches and the police conflict with the general feelings amongst the respondents that CPFs are more likely to be dysfunctional or dependent on the community for their functioning rather than supportive to the community. Then again, as with all the results on South Africa, respondents stress, and based on my experiences I am inclined to concur, that local factors make a huge difference. Nevertheless, government's intentions are yet to formalize on a ground level. Legislation wise, South Africa offers the same common law on self defence. The laws on citizen's arrest are somewhat more comprehensive, allowing the police to call upon citizen's help when necessary and giving the citizen more powers regarding the use of force and possible break and entry for the purpose of arrest.

The third sub question revolves around the objectives of the neighbourhood watches in the UK and South Africa. As a result of the national umbrella organization in the UK, their objectives are established at both a national and local level. At a national level, the objects are centred around the three pillars visualized in Figure 5, namely effective use of resources, prevention of crime, and stronger and safer communities. On a more local level, the Westminster Neighbourhood Watch Association's objectives and aims revolve around supporting the local neighbourhood watch schemes, acting as a forum for the sharing of information among watch schemes, raising awareness of neighbourhood watch and to represent the schemes in communication with the city council and police service. At a scheme level, objectives in Merseyside and Manchester include cutting opportunities for crime and anti-social behaviour to occur, helping to detect crime, providing reassurance and reducing fear amongst local residents, improving liaison between the community and the police, encouraging neighbourliness and increasing residents' quality of life.

South Africa, effectively lacking such national structure, doesn't have any objectives set at a national level. A wide variety of local objectives is thus presented, including the prevention and riddance of crime, visible policing, being the eyes and ears for the police, the creation of proper communication structures, the identification of crime areas, criminals and elements of crime, the safekeeping of the community, the creation of a safe environment, to provide information to the police and to respond

to crime. Examples of objectives and aims of various CPFs were also provided, although I reiterate that CPFs are generally dysfunctional. Their objectives included focusing on the joint identification and implementation of policing strategies or crime prevention strategies, co-operation, trust, transparency and accountability between the community and the police, the creation of mechanisms that will allow the police to receive the assistance from the community when necessary, to hold community meetings and to provide safety education.

The fourth and last sub question focused on the organization of neighbourhood watches in the United Kingdom and South Africa by looking at funding, means and manpower and their modus operandi. Funding in the UK is partially provided by government through the Home Office, however apart from that local schemes and the national organization are dependent on private sponsors. Government funding, apart from the Western Cape that seems to provide training and equipment to registered neighbourhood watches through the CPFs, seems to be non-existent in South Africa. All respondents claim that expenses are paid from the neighbourhood watch member's own funds. Occasionally, business will sponsor a neighbourhood watch or non-patrolling members will contribute to pay fuel for patrolling members. Alternatively, NGO's such as AfriForum provide funds for local neighbourhood watches through their national and local membership fees.

Means and manpower in the UK is based solely on information from the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network website and its strategic plan. According to the network, they represent some 3,8 million households, 173.000 volunteer coordinators, 43 Neighbourhood and Home Watch police force area representatives, 43 police force single points of contact, 10 volunteer Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network regional representatives and 7 volunteer trustees supported by 5 paid staff. Cooperation between the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network on several levels, from national to local, is represented through figures 6-10. If we were to assume that every volunteer coordinator represents one neighbourhood watch scheme, that would equal an average of 22 households per scheme. Again, because South Africa lacks a national structure it is next to impossible to put a figure on neighbourhood watch membership on a national scale. Estimates and indications of local membership however vary from 8 people to a 1000 people. Respondents however indicate that membership does not necessarily indicate active involvement. As their approach is more active than the UK approach, their arsenal of means includes vehicles,

motorcycles, bicycles, reflective jackets, car magnets for identification, spotlights, flashing white or green lights, bulletproof jackets and even helicopters and micro-light aircraft.

The UK neighbourhood watch's modus operandi appears to revolve around vigilance and information sharing. Targets, according to the Manchester Neighbourhood Watch, are achieved by sharing information with the community, police and other agencies; supporting others, especially vulnerable neighbours; being receptive to information and advice from police and other agencies; and passing on information to the police and other agencies. The list of activities provided by one of the schemes that falls under the Westminster association includes vigilance about servicing safety and security for the residents and businesses in their specific area, resolving concern and providing best practices, welcoming new members to the scheme, building and continuing partnerships with other organizations, organizing events to include kids, meet peer neighbourhood watches or hold fire safety talks. They also provide Your Call Counts fridge magnets, try and expand the neighbourhood watch, develop and maintain a website, manage a twitter account, write a newsletter and various articles for other publications. Activities are governed by an ethics and standards document provided by the Neighbourhood and Home Watch Network and members are covered by a public liability insurance, provided they meet certain requirements. This rather passive approach provides a sharp contrast with the South African approach. Modus operandi in South Africa consists of one thing: patrols. Neighbourhood watches patrol their neighbourhood, be it on foot, on a bicycle, on horseback or by car. They provide training for their members to deal with different situations and, occasionally meet with other organizations, including the police, to discuss crime trends or cooperation.

4.3.1 Explanatory factors

From the above section it is quite clear that there are indeed quite substantial differences between the neighbourhood watches in the UK and those in South Africa. This section deals with the 'why' part of the main research question, attempting to provide likely reasons for those differences.

The history of neighbourhood watch in South African and the United Kingdom as can be found above, forms an explanation to any differences between the two on

its own. Whereas neighbourhood watches in the United Kingdom developed hand in hand with a public police that had an ever increasing focus on community oriented policing, South Africa rather forced the concept on its white inhabitants during the final years of *Apartheid* and left the inhabitants of coloured and black town ships no other option than to form neighbourhood watch-like entities to police their neighbourhood. The public police, in the meantime, continued to enforce a military model that even allowed the actual military to police the townships. With the initial transitional phase and the eventual democratic elections in 1994, the South African Police Force would be transformed into the South African Police Service with a focus on community oriented policing.

Countless scandals, changes of leadership, corruption charges, criminal elements within the SAPS, acts of extreme violence and the initial troublesome project of incorporating all the homeland police forces into the former South African Police Force have left South Africans with little trust in their government or police's ability to keep them safe (IOL, 2012; The Guardian, 2015; ENCA, 2015b; The Guardian, 2010; The Telegraph, 2015; ENCA, 2014). Trust in the police in the UK on the other hand has been relatively steady for the past 30 years (BBC, 2014). The level of trust between the community and the government/police undoubtedly play a role in their ability to work together effectively.

Another factor that might explain the differences between neighbourhood watches in South Africa and those in the United Kingdom is the crime rate. On Numbeo's (n.d.) 2016 crime index, the UK is placed 56th on a list of the 117 safest countries based on a crime and safety index. South Africa on the other hand comes in almost last at the 115th spot. The difference becomes even more apparent when we take into account the type of crimes committed. For example, when we look at crimes reported between July 2014 and June 2015 in the UK, there were 569 cases of homicide, 408088 cases of burglary and 77220 thefts of motor vehicles (National office for statistics, 2015). South Africa, in 2015, recorded 17805 cases of homicide, 328074 cases of burglary and 55090 thefts of motor vehicles (Crime Stats SA, n.d.). It is important however to remember that lots of crime goes unreported in South Africa, as Diphoorn (2016) illustrates. True crime rates are thus more than likely to be higher in South Africa than in the UK.

Legislation regarding the use and ownership of guns might also play a role. Whereas the UK outlawed handgun ownership in 1997/1998, South Africa still allows

ownership of handguns and in 2007 it ranked 17th worldwide regarding civilian firearm holdings with estimates varying between 9,3 guns per 100 people and 17 per 100 people. England and Wales, in comparison, were estimated at between 3,3 per 100 people and 7,8 per 100 people (Small arms survey, 2007, p. 47).

With both violent crime and gun ownership obviously much higher in South Africa, one would expect the police to react quickly to crime. Unfortunately, this is not the case and where the UK police was chastised for being a few minutes late in 2013 (The Guardian, 2013), the South African police often take hours to show up, if at all (ENCA, 2015a). This is echoed throughout Diphoorn's (2016) research too, although she focuses on the manner with which private security firms have taken over the public police's duties. Nevertheless, she described various occasions where the South African public rather relied on private security firms because the police would take ages to arrive if they would even show up at all.

Finally, South African building style do not allow for the rather passive technique of monitoring one's surroundings from the relative comfort of your house. Most South African houses are surrounded by large fences or walls as a result of the high crime rates. Consequently, in order to remain aware of what is going on in a neighbourhood, one has to leave the safety and comfort of those walls and do patrols.

5. Conclusion & discussion

5.1 Conclusion

This thesis was centred around the following main research question:

To what extent does the UK neighbourhood watch differ from the South African neighbourhood watch and why?

Document analysis, desk research, participant observation and expert interviews were conducted in order to analyse and compare UK and South African neighbourhood watches and to suggest reasons for their differences in attempt to contribute to the knowledge on neighbourhood watches. In order to answer the first part of the main research question, namely to what extend do they differ, four sub questions were used. The answers to these sub questions were compared in section 4.3, accompanied with several possible explanatory factors in section 4.3.1 to account for the 'why' part of the main research question.

Within the confinements of this research, there can be no other conclusion than that there are considerable differences between neighbourhood watches in the United Kingdom and South Africa. The different historical development of the phenomenon in the two different countries led to a national umbrella organization in the UK, with clear national, regional and local objectives and relatively commensurate funding sources, means and manpower, and modi operandi throughout the country. Despite attempts to create a similar umbrella organization under the South African Police Service's Community Policing Forums after 1994, South African neighbourhood watches largely remain private local initiatives with individual objectives and differing sources of funding, means and manpower, and modi operandi.

Policy-wise, both the United Kingdom and South Africa indicate a willingness to cooperate with or incorporate the community into their policing strategies. However, whereas the United Kingdom has seemingly been rather successful in realizing their policy, South Africa has failed to do so. Although neither country has any specific legislation with regards to neighbourhood watches, South Africa's legislation offers more possibilities for the police to enlist citizen's support when necessary. Accordingly, citizens enjoy more leeway with regard to the use of force and break and

entry when trying to arrest a suspect. Legislation regarding self defence is similar in the two countries.

As mentioned above, I believe that the vast difference in the coming about of the phenomenon of neighbourhood watches in the UK and South Africa is one of the main reasons for the differences I have found. The UK's steady transformation into a model of community policing that includes neighbourhood watches compares like day and night to South Africa's necessitated neighbourhood watches during *Apartheid* and the private neighbourhood watches that remain after *Apartheid* as a result of the decommissioning of the Commando system and the failure of CPFs. In addition, differing levels of trust in the police and government, vast differences in crime rates, gun legislation, police reaction times and simple differences in building styles are among the contributing factors to the differences between neighbourhood watches in the UK and South Africa.

5.2 Discussion

This section is dedicated to discussion on the performed research. As part thereof, it will explain the assumptions that have been made and gaps that might warrant further research.

Although the research consistently refers to the UK, this in practice translates to the discussion of England and Wales, as Scotland's police service and neighbourhood watch schemes, although similar, are organized via different agencies. The research performed regarding South Africa was done with the intention of providing a general overview of neighbourhood watches throughout South Africa, although practical circumstances (distance, lack of means of communication) sometimes made that difficult.

All the experts that were interviewed for the purpose of this research were involved with at least two different neighbourhood watches, although most of them had experience with or knowledge on many more. I opted to withhold their identities with the hopes of encouraging them to speak frank and honestly. I felt this was especially necessary with the interviewee that is an officer with the SAPS and as such extended the courtesy to the others. Although much care was taken to quote the interviewees as accurately as possible, my selection from their answer might unintentionally come across as bias. For that reason, the document containing the transcripts of the

interviews is withheld from the general public, but can be requested in order to verify the quotes used.

Most of the information and sources used to conduct the research are public and easily accessible. Those policy documents that I received during my stay in South Africa and that are not openly available can be provided if and when necessary. The document containing the transcriptions of the performed interviews will be withheld from the general public, as that contains the names and functions of the interviewees. Nevertheless, I will state here that interviewees were NGO employees, (former) SAPS officers, and security consultants/researchers.

I hope the comparison performed in this research will act as a wake up call to the South African government and that it might lead to the creation of a successful, national, network of neighbourhood watches such as that in the UK. To truly regain the trust of the South African public, I believe responsibility for the formation of such a network should shift from the police and their CPFs to a NGO or national charity. I believe both the police and the community of South Africa can benefit therefrom.

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Appendix A – Interview blueprint

Introduction

- Introduce myself if and when necessary
- Explain purpose and objective of the research
- Explain role of the interviewee, request permission to record
- State research question and sub question that form subject of the interview
- Explain privacy/anonymity arrangement

1. **Legal and government disposition on neighbourhood watch**

- Are you aware of any specific laws concerning neighbourhood watches?
- If yes, please elaborate.
- If no, why not and what about laws concerning Community Policing Forums?

- What role, if any, does the (local) government play with regards to neighbourhood watches?
- If they play a role, please elaborate.
- If not, why not and what about government involvement in state initiatives like Community Policing Forums?

2. **Objectives of neighbourhood watch**

- What are the objectives of the neighbourhood watches you are involved with?
- How are these objectives established?
- Are you or your organization involved in the establishment of these objectives?
- Are there (sizeable) differences in the objectives of the different neighbourhood watches?
- If yes, how do you explain these differences?

3. **Organization of neighbourhood watch**

- How are the neighbourhood watches funded?
- How many people are involved with the neighbourhood watches?
- What are the means to their disposal?

- What exactly is the role of the neighbourhood watch and how do they execute that role?
- Is there a difference in the modus operandi of the different neighbourhood watches?
- If yes, what is the cause thereof?
- Is the police involved in the operations of the neighbourhood watch?
- How would you describe the relationship between the police and the neighbourhood watch? Does it differ?
- How would you describe the relationship between different race groups, surrounding the phenomenon of neighbourhood watch?

Summarize, conclude

Request permission to call back if necessary. Thank interviewee for time and effort.

In *Afrikaans*:

Inleiding
- Stel myself voor indien en waar nodig
- Verduidelik doel van die navorsing
- Verduidelik die rol van die persoon waarmee onderhoud gevoer word en vra vir toestemming om die onderhoud op te neem
- Stel die navorsingsvraag en enige subvrae wat deel vorm van die persoon se kennisveld
- Verduidelik die privaatheids/anonimiteitsreëling

1. Ingesteldheid van die wet en regering oor buurtwagte
- Is jy bewus van enige spesifieke wette in verband met buurtwagte?
- Indien jy is, brei asseblief uit.
- Indien nie, hoekom nie? Wat van wette wat Gemeenskapspolisiëringsforums aanbetref?
- Watter rol, indien enige, speel (plaaslike) regering met betrekking tot buurtwagte?
- Indien wel, brei asseblief uit.

- Indien nie, waarom nie? Wat van betrokkenheid by staatsinisiatiewe soos Gemeenskapspolisiëringsforums?

2. Doelwitte van buurtwagte

- Wat is die doelwitte van die buurtwagte waar jy betrokke is?
- Hoe is die doelwitte ontwikkel en vasgestel?
- Is jy of jou organisie deel van die vastelling van hierdie doelwitte?
- Is daar noembare verskille tussen die doelwitte van verskillende buurtwagte?
- Indien ja, verduidelik asseblief die verskille.

3. Organisering van buurtwagte

- Hoe word die buurtwagte befonds?
- Hoeveel mense is betrokke by die buurtwagte?
- Watter hulpmiddels is tot hulle beskikking?
- Wat presies is die rol van die buurtwag en hoe vervul hulle die rol?
- Is daar 'n verskil tussen die modus operandi van verskillende buurtwagte?
- Indien ja, waarom?
- Is die polisie betrokke by die buurtwagte se werking?
- Hoe sal jy die verhouding tussen die buurtwag en die polisie beskryf? Verskil dit?
- Hoe sal jy die verhouding tussen verskillende rasgroepe beskryf met betrekking tot die verskynsel van buurtwagte?

Som op en eindig

Vra vir toestemming om terug te bel, indien nodig. Bedank die persoon waarmee onderhoud gevoer is.