

PARTNERS AGAINST CRIME:

From community to Partnership policing

Sarah Oppler, Contract Researcher, Crime and Policing Project, Institute for Security Studies

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INTRODUCTION

Partnership policing developed during the 1980s when the model of police paternalism that was embedded in community policing, evolved into a new concept of independent agents working together in partnership with formal structures. This form of policing conforms to the ideal of a 'multi-agency approach' whereby the police, the public, elected officials, government and other agencies work in partnership to address crime and community safety. Increasingly, comparative experiences suggest that the approach of incorporating a professional police service and a responsible public seems to be the most effective and fruitful way to create a safer environment. Countries that have established, or are in the process of establishing the 'partnership approach', are, in particular, the United Kingdom, Australia, Holland and South Africa. With no single model to fit these different contexts, those involved in policing are constantly having to use their initiative to formulate 'what works' for them. Each country is tailoring the concept to suit its own environment, people and crime problems. Basically, this is the essence of how partnership policing should be operationalised on a local level. Success stories have shown that, to create safety in all communities, local players must adapt the various partnerships to their own needs. The principle of local solutions for local issues is very important to the development of partnership policing in South Africa, where such diverse communities live side by side.

Partnership policing is not a new concept in South Africa, but a new and sometimes controversial term. Does it fall under the auspices of community policing or does it replace community policing in its own right? Though many believe that partnership policing still remains an element of community policing, this paper supports the notion that partnership policing has evolved from community policing and therefore has status as an independent model. But, partnership policing initiatives – particularly in a country like South Africa that is still in the throes of political transition – carry both advantages and disadvantages. This paper seeks to explore these issues on the basis of information gathered through participative research and semi-structured interviews.

The development of the partnership approach in South Africa varies from area to area and from police station to police station. There are successful partnerships that are well established, partnerships that are dysfunctional and areas that have no existing partnerships. The critical success factor for policing partnerships has more often than not been active local community leadership and a dedicated station commissioner. Where no action has taken place, the recurring problem with power relations remains prevalent, an issue that will be touched upon in the paper.

Empowerment of the community is a fundamental element of the partnership approach. With the police policy guidelines for establishing police/community partnerships in place, and as a result of the current upsurge in crime, partnership policing is developing apace. However,

there are still various areas that have to be addressed. Firstly, the South African Police Service (SAPS) is undergoing a rapid transformation, but there is still a lot to be done to lay the foundations for partnership policing. The major issue of concern is the continuous red tape adhered to by the higher levels in the police service. At local level, the police and communities are generally ready for the introduction or development of the partnership approach. At the national level, however, the rules and regulations do not cater for action taken by the police/community partnership at grassroots levels. Secondly, the lack of involvement of local government structures in the partnership approach at local level is a major shortcoming. Thirdly, preventing crime through education is an area that has received inadequate attention. The way forward for South Africa is to share, learn and absorb national, as well as international 'best practices' that can help to resolve problem areas. Communication skills, initiative and proactive involvement of communities in creating a safe environment, are the key elements for developing partnership policing in South Africa.

UNDERSTANDING PARTNERSHIP POLICING

Critics of community policing, such as Gordon, have argued that, "[c]ommunity policing is an attempt at surveillance and control of communities by the police, under the guise of police offering assistance." Though Gordon's argument is a cynical one, it highlights past perceptions of community policing. Since the 1980s, the discourse surrounding community policing has increasingly been displaced by the emerging practice of the community as a network of expert agents and independent actors who enter into partnership with the police.

Looking back to the 1960s and 1970s, the formative discourse of community policing was very much cast in the model of the welfare state, and community police practices were articulated by the agencies concerned with social welfare.3 Though the public were involved in crime prevention through neighbourhood watch organisations and Police Consultative Committees, they still depended on police expertise. During this period, many local projects in Britain operated within such a framework, placing the police in the central and co-ordinating role of providing their 'clients' (both offenders and community members) with assistance.4 In a classic example, the Victoria Police in Australia launched a 'We Care' campaign in the late 1970s, depicting the police in a variety of social service roles. It focused mainly on the police assisting non-criminals, such as the elderly and children, attending to distressed victims, comforting victims of burglaries, and so on. Macdonald noted that, "the police were moving more towards being social workers than police officers." 5 While the emphasis on the multiagency approach between community police and the relevant bodies of the 1960s and 1970s remains, there has been a shift in the content and meaning of such an approach. This was precipitated by various changes within society, among them the ascendancy of a 'consumer' discourse, the decentralising of state services and the cultural emphasis on individual enterprise and responsibility. 5 These elements have substantially contributed to the reshaping of the discourse of community policing during the 1980s and 1990s.

During the 1980s, community responsibility was substantially reconsidered. A series of police-originated commentaries emerged that broke away from the vision of the public 'welfare' client depending on the police, to a new model of 'partnership' and 'shared responsibility'. This is supported by Avery: "The prevention of crime and the detection and punishment of offenders, the protection of life and property and the preservation of public tranquillity are the direct responsibilities of ordinary citizens ... It is destructive both of the police and public social health to attempt to pass over to the police the obligations and duties associated with the prevention of crime and the preservation of public tranquillity. These are the obligations and duties of the public, aided by the police and not the police occasionally aided by some public spirited officer."

This shift towards the partnership approach has already occurred in the United Kingdom, Canada, France and the United States. In this regard, for example, the relationship between a professional police service and a responsible public in Australia is summed up in the words of the Chief Commissioner of the Victoria Police: "Together we are in partnership – police and the people of Victoria – partners against crime." Though critics emphasise that this partnership is an illusion at grassroots level, it provides an image of empowerment of the community. Furthermore, as argued by O'Malley and Palmer, "it constructs members of the public as active agents pursuing a localised, increasingly [consumer oriented] service

delivery."10 Thus, the model of police paternalism towards 'welfare clients' has been transformed into the new contractual image of 'working together' in partnership.11

Over the past ten years, there has been an explosion of media campaigns and training manuals for the public, educating individuals about the partnership approach. Typical examples are the booklet, Partnership in Crime Prevention, published in 1990 by the British Home Office, that provides examples of successful schemes for crime prevention in different parts of the country, together with an analysis of the apparent reasons for their success; and the Australian publication, Security and You and Safer Communities. Social groups, such as home owners, women, small business proprietors, young people and other categories of citizens 'at risk' are provided with advice and specific techniques to minimise the risk of criminal victimisation.

The partnership approach to policing emphasises that relations between the police and public should be consultative, and extend into the process of planning. Furthermore, the community and its leaders must be involved in determining the policing needs of the locale, the style of police work that would be effective and appropriate, as well as desirable or undesirable forms of police intervention. 12 Hence, partnership policing may be defined as the police taking "a proactive leadership role in bringing disparate community groups such as the public, elected officials, government and other agencies together to focus on crime and community disorder problems. "13 Ultimately, the new role of the police is that of an 'accountable professional practitioner' and a community leader who harnesses community resources to tackle the problems leading to crime and disorder. 14 Police professionalism is being recast in its new mould. In the case of the police in England and Wales for example, McLaughlin has pointed to official policy changes involving "the re-conceptualising of policing as a service and the redesignation of the community as customers [linked with] the prioritisation of customers' needs." 15

The new role of the 'neo-liberal' community is that of empowered individuals who voice their opinions, offer their expertise and take responsibility for their actions. Though this may be idealistic, it creates a sense of a responsible and empowered community. A professional police service and a responsible community in an open and honest partnership presents one of the most fruitful routes towards achieving a safer living and working environment.

PROMOTING A PARTNERSHIP APPROACH

"Partnership goes to the heart of what is meant by community safety." 16 Although this sounds like an advertising jingle, it highlights that no one agency alone can succeed in reducing crime. This is acknowledged by Sir John Smith, who expressed the view that, "[a]ny comprehensive strategy to reduce crime must not only include the contribution of the police and the criminal justice system but also the whole range of environmental, social, economic and educational factors which affect the likelihood of crime." 17 In this regard, it is the aim of the National Crime Prevention Strategy (NCPS) to establish partnerships between government organisations and to a lesser extent private organisations in addressing crime.

The basis of the partnership must be the recognition of all participating agencies that they have something to gain by working together. Just as partners within a business context recognise their joint responsibilities, each participating agency must be able to make a contribution towards combating crime. However, it must be recognised that there is no single model of a partnership that applies to all contexts. Examples of partnerships will naturally vary in their objectives, resources and results. The principle of finding local solutions to address local issues is important. Each partnership should tailor the following six elements to adhere to its local environment:

- structure;
- leadership;
- information;
- · identity;
- durability; and
- · resources.

The partnership approach emphasises the following principles in the creation of a successful partnership:

- There should be an equitable distribution of power. A powerful agency should not impose its views, priorities and objectives upon others with less power. 18
- Trust is a vital component in making a partnership flourish. An effective partnership, as in all human relationships, is built upon mutual trust, honesty and the sharing of information and views.
- The fundamental factor in the successful application of the partnership approach is the involvement of local government at a local level. As a provider of a range of services that has a direct impact upon the causes of crime, such as education, housing and recreation, the local authority has a major role to play.

Comparative case studies of the partnership approach highlight that, without the full participation of local government, the prevention of crime is clearly inhibited. 19 Thus, the partnership concept has many components that must be present for it to be efficient. Each partnership is unique, and its applicability is defined by the specific context in which it is operating.

CASE STUDIES OF PARTNERSHIP POLICING

Although the case studies are drawn from international examples, thus not reflecting the South African environment, they provide some principles and ideas that can be applied to the South African context.

THE WANDSWORTH PARTNERSHIP.20

The policing partnership in the London borough of Wandsworth has already provided positive results that directly impact on the quality of life of local people and is the envy of other boroughs. The partnership has established many projects that include key roleplayers from the community in the partnership. The partnership project between the Metropolitan police and Wandsworth Council resulted in the launch of the partnership charter, with the purpose of outlining the key tasks for the year ahead in 1993. Since the launch of the charter, the work undertaken by the partnership expanded to the point where a forum for greater discussion and consultation was required. To meet this need, the council has formed a crime prevention and public safety sub-committee in 1994, that is advised by the police and the Wandsworth Policing Consultative Committee.

A further project has been the production of a series of leaflets highlighting simple crime prevention measures for local residents and businesses by the crimewatch section of the partnership. The representation of racial minorities as roleplayers in the partnership was consistently problematic. The partnership therefore conducted a conference in 1995 designed to explore crime prevention needs within the borough's minority communities. As a result, a special partnership reference group has been created to address certain issues and to further improve relations between the partnership and community groups.

CLEANING UP KINGS CROSS.21

The Kings Cross area of London, a fairly typical inner city area with a population of some 16 200, falls within the boundaries of Islington and Camden Councils and four police divisions. Long known for problems linked to street prostitution that dated back to the 1840s, Kings Cross underwent a marked change around 1990 with the increased influx of drugs. The area had effectively become a market place for the purchase of crack cocaine, heroin and sex, with far-reaching effects on the community. Local children were particularly at risk from discarded syringes and other drug paraphernalia.

In October 1992, prompted by pressure from the local community, an agreement was reached to develop a partnership between the two local councils (Islington and Camden), the Metropolitan Police, British Transport Police, other agencies, such as Islington Safer Cities, and local community representatives. The partnership formulated the following aim: "Through Partnership, to bring about a fundamental and positive change to the present image of Kings Cross and to improve the quality for those who live or work or travel through the area."

Within this framework, the police set their own objectives:

- to reduce crime (drugs, prostitution and associated criminality); and
- · to reduce the fear of crime.

Following a sophisticated police intelligence operation against the 150 drug dealers operating in the area, the Kings Cross Partnership was officially launched with the arrest of a large number of drug dealers, supported by highly visible uniformed patrols. The partnership helped to create a long term joint strategy that united key agencies with a commitment to share information and expertise in pursuit of a common goal.

Joint action continued between the various agencies in the partnership. After co ordinated representations from police and local residents, Camden Council restricted the licences of fast-food outlets that offered night-time cover to drug dealers and prostitutes. The police and Camden Council also targeted a hotel in which suspected drug dealing took place. The hotel was closed down and the dealers were arrested. Police crime prevention officers are now working with the two councils and the private sector to illuminate areas where drug dealing and prostitution take place by securing doorways and alleys, improving lighting, designing a closed circuit television system to meet the area's needs, and removing street furniture known to provide cover for dealers.

The impact of the partnership has been immense. Kings Cross has become a safer and cleaner place to live and work in. Police have regained control of the streets and residents believe that crime can be overcome. Robust enforcement continues, with some 120 suspected dealers arrested since the start of the partnership and a conviction rate of 96 per cent. Specialist training has been given to all officers who deal with drug education in local schools. A free Kings Cross newspaper, funded by the Safer Cities organisation, Islington and Camden Councils and the Metropolitan Police Service, has been circulated to homes and businesses in the area, giving details about partnership aims and action. Further editions are planned, in the hope that it will be sponsored through partnership with business. Although still in its infancy, partnership in Kings Cross holds the promise of dealing with the root causes of drug abuse within an inner city area, as well as its more obvious symptoms.

From the above case studies it appears that partnership policing is proving to be the way forward for dealing with crime in problem areas in London. With local agencies all working together, the root causes of crime within a particular area can be addressed effectively.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF BUSINESS TO PARTNERSHIP POLICING

The business sector has three main contributions to make to the development of safer cities through the partnership approach. Firstly, most businesses suffer considerable losses as a result of criminal behaviour. In promoting and developing the partnership approach, it is important for business communities to acknowledge that crime is a risk to their enterprise and its stakeholders. Every business is part of a local community. Therefore, it should be in their own interest to help minimise the impact of crime within the community in order to reduce its impact on business. Secondly, businesses have the opportunity to contribute directly and indirectly to the quality of life in their local community. In tackling the major social issues of crime, it is appropriate to invite business leaders to offer their ideas and their managerial and problem-solving skills to local partnerships. Thirdly, local, national and international businesses have proved to be very useful sources of short term project funding through charitable donations and sponsorships. However, the potential for further development is limited by general economic factors and the intense competition for business sector funding from a wide range of sources.22 Though there are factors that may inhibit business involvement, the business community is a major partner in the partnership approach. The following example illustrates how business has been involved in helping to create a safer environment.

THE DUTCH EXPERIENCE: SECURITY THROUGH PUBLIC-PRIVATE PARTNERSHIPS.23

Enschede-Haven industrial site in Holland covers more than 300 hectares. It is close to a state highway, on the Twentekanaal, and is transected by a railway line. Four hundred companies are located there in two hundred and fifty industrial buildings. Due to the location of the site, crime became a daily problem.

At the insistence of entrepreneurs, the police itemised recent criminal incidents on the industrial site. Partly on the basis of this itemisation, the police concluded that it would be effective and desirable to deal with crime on the industrial site on a project basis and by means of a partnership approach. This led to the establishment of the Reduce Crime Enschede-Haven project by the police and the business community. It was set up to perform the preventive surveillance needed on the site. Participants selected by the Regional Employment Agency, received a basic security diploma on completion of the training course. During the project phase, the police were accompanied by a trainee during their evening, night and weekend surveillance shifts on the industrial site. To compensate for the irregular hours worked, the trainees received a small salary in addition to unemployment benefit. A few months later, a government security firm agreed to employ the previously trained unemployed persons.

The project proved successful. Sound communication and co-operation were established between the business community and the police, crime was reduced, and the local unemployed were used resourcefully and found long term employment. However, a current problem facing Enschede-Haven is that due to the substantial decrease in crime, companies are threatening to end their participation. This may become a problem for successful partnerships. One way of avoiding the resignation of various agents from a partnership is through an initial emphasis that the project is a long term commitment and that, without all the agents' continued involvement, the partnership will not be able to function to the best of its ability and problems with crime would be likely to recur.

While business is a major roleplayer in partnership policing, it is fundamental that the partnership should consider the business community as an active partner and not just as a source of funds. Business involvement in a partnership must not be on the premise of promoting and increasing the financial benefits of the enterprise. The partnership should be a balance between creating a safer environment and achieving business objectives. This is particularly important to put into practice in the development of the partnership approach in South Africa, where the business community is getting actively involved in crime prevention initiatives. The Business Against Crime (BAC) initiative, started in South Africa in 1996, was originally a lobby group focusing on business involvement in crime prevention. Now seen as an implementing body, it appears to have become stretched beyond its means. Muted voices of criticism are now being heard. The Weekly Mail and Guardian recently argued that "while [BAC] would have been helpful to the [SAPS], particularly with regard to supply of technology and expertise, indications are that it has been co-opted by the political establishment and its critical voice is no longer heard."24 In turn, BAC's desire for central co-ordination seems to inhibit partnership policing at a local level, rather than allowing it to develop to its fullest.25 Expectations have been raised at local level, but have not been fulfilled, leaving many partnership initiatives disillusioned with centralised business involvement.

THE STATUS OF PARTNERSHIP POLICING IN SOUTH AFRICA.

At present, partnership policing in South Africa falls under the auspices of community policing. In some parts of the country successful partnerships are now well established, but in a considerable number of others there is either no partnerships at all or activities which appear to be ad hoc and unco-ordinated. The prescribed SAPS framework and guidelines for the establishment of police/community partnerships are seen as the best way forward for policing in South Africa. The partnership approach is seen as a co-operative effort to facilitate a process of problem-solving, as well as to determine community needs and policing priorities through consultation. However, it must be emphasised that these policy guidelines are only the legal framework in which to enforce the concept of partnerships. With a country in transition and public organisations not in a strong position, public/private partnerships are an inevitable occurrence. Therefore, partnership policing is not such a new term in South Africa. It should be argued that before the 1994 transformation to a 'new' South Africa, public/private partnerships had already emerged. The spawning of the private security industry in the 1980s and the development of neighbourhood watch schemes in the white areas were certainly partnerships attempting to combat crime. These restrictive partnerships were only forged with certain interest groups, namely the white communities in the country. The police and the private security industry worked in synergy. While private security firms policed the white

suburbs, the former South African Police (SAP) concentrated on policing apartheid. Thus, the fundamental danger of any restrictive partnership is the undermining of the civil liberties of a particular group.

However, the concept of partnership has changed after the 1994 elections, with public/private partnerships becoming legitimate, accountable and transparent. South Africa is making great strides in developing more and more partnership projects between various community interest groups and the police. The national implementation of Community Police Forums (CPFs) was a fundamentally important move towards getting the police and the community to work in partnership. Each operational CPF has formed partnerships with other community interest groups in its area. The partnerships are tailored to the needs of the local community. For example, a partnership between the youth and the police has developed in Orlando, Soweto, establishing a youth subforum to address the high youth crime rates in the area.26 In Gallo Manor, a northern suburb of Johannesburg, the domestic workers of the area have formed a subforum to work in partnership with the police to counter the problem of burglaries.27 The Benoni SAPS, in partnership with the local chamber of commerce, has created a business watch with a kiosk in the centre of town, to encourage the reporting of and action against crime in the Central Business District.28

Beyond local partnerships, there are several national projects in operation or in the pipeline. The 'Adopt a Cop' project of the SAPS is proving to be a successful partnership between schools and the police. Each school in an area 'adopts' a policeman/woman from their local police station. The particular 'cop' establishes a relationship with the school by attending events, talking to the children about the concept of safety and security, as well as being a listening ear for any problems that the children may have. This project has helped significantly with the reporting of child abuse.29

Business has also involved itself in various partnership initiatives with the police. Firstly, McKinsey, an international management consultancy firm, is working in partnership with the most needy police stations across the country. McKinsey is offering its expertise to help develop strategic plans tailored to overcome the specific problems of each police station. The initiative, 'Project Lifeline', has already been successful in helping a number of police stations to overcome their logistical problems so that they may focus on problem-solving and service delivery.30 Secondly, Business Against Crime (BAC) has proposed further partnerships between the police and the business community through the 'Adopt a Station' project. The project proposes that a local business is matched to its local police station so that business expertise can be used in police training, resources, maintenance, as well as fleet management. As yet, the project has not been operationalised, but it will be interesting to observe the results once it has been implemented. Thirdly, many of the CPFs are forming Section 21 companies, whereby local businesses sponsor or donate funds for various projects aimed at creating a safer environment. The project has proved to be very successful for many police stations and CPFs. The financial resources thus realised have been fundamental in establishing and maintaining successful projects. 31 However, many of these successful initiatives are short term solutions to the long term problem of curtailing crime. The challenge remains to maintain these initiatives and involve local government at a local level.

Although there are many positive elements in the development and establishment of the partnership approach in South Africa, there are specific problems that still need to be addressed. The internal structure of the police service has to be revised. There must be increased empowerment of police officials at local level. The present procedures of having to get permission from national level for any decisions made at local level is time consuming and inefficient. 32 Furthermore, middle management at the majority of police stations is proving to be unprofessional and disorganised. Employees at this level have not been carefully selected. Many are not dedicated to the job of developing partnership policing, and to provide an efficient service to the community. 33 Thus, it has become a vicious circle. With the absence of the internal structure for individuals at management level to take initiative vis-à-vis crime prevention, the provision of a professional service remains questionable.

A recurring problem is the lack of participation by local government structures in the CPFs. As mentioned earlier, without the support of the local councils in the partnership approach, the

hope of creating a safer environment is minimal. Local governments include many roleplayers who can successfully intervene in issues that precipitate crime. Basically, local authorities need to be introduced within the police framework provided by the Constitution, in order to make them accountable locally.

Community empowerment is another issue that constantly raises its head. The equal sharing of power in the partnership approach is proving almost impossible to put into practice. Realistically, there will always be a discrepancy in power between the police and the community, because power will ultimately remain in the hands of the state agencies. 34 It is unrealistic to assume that police/community partnerships will reach a consensus without conflict. Confrontation between the police and the community is a positive step towards defining a power relationship. The two problems of local government and power are not alien to South Africa. International experiences with partnership policing are confronted with similar issues.

The concept of partnership policing is in full operation in South Africa, even though it is known to most as community policing. The majority of individuals involved in policing agree that the partnership approach is the only way forward to develop a safer environment in which to live and work. Predictably, partnerships in the future will become multi-faceted with increasing numbers of roleplayers becoming involved. Yet, inadequate structures or guidelines have been produced to support the increase in partnership initiatives.

THE WAY FORWARD FOR SOUTH AFRICA

South Africa's partnership policing is still in its infancy. In order for the partnership approach to become more advanced and successful, several areas need to be developed. Firstly, those involved in partnership policing must focus on local government. There needs to be empowerment at a local level, where the councils take an active and leading role at a senior level. This can be achieved by the publication of a 'code of practice', agreed upon between the various central government departments and local government, the police and correctional services. The code would set out best practices in terms of the organisation, structure and functions of the partnership approach, and the role of the police, correctional services and the local councils within it. The active participation of local councils will encourage a wider acceptance of responsibility among the potential partners in the partnership approach and will discourage the community from assuming that the police can and will do all that is required. However, if local councils get involved, the ad hoc manner of developing local partnerships and projects has to be replaced with a structured plan. The partnership should set clearly defined objectives and aims at the start of any activity, measuring the achievements of these at the start and finish of the activity and reporting on how far they have been met.35 The following general guidelines for developing a crime prevention programme for local partnerships are applicable.

Defining the problem

Prepare crime profiledata collectionconsultationanalysis Review policy and practice

Deciding what to do
Prioritise problems
Develop options
Appraise options

Prepare operational plan

• Implementing the programme Plan action

Obtain resources

Take action

Monitor progress

 Assessing what has been achieved Evaluate impact

Review programme36

Secondly, reducing crime through education is another area that needs urgent attention. Research in South Africa and in other countries provides evidence that factors linked with offences include family background, experience at school and personality traits. Furthermore, persistent truants are more likely to be involved in offending, as are those who generally associate with other offenders. Effective family support and control can help young people to avoid criminal activities in the first place, and equip them to lead a life as law-abiding citizens. Clearly, there is a need for the development of partnerships between parents, schools, provincial departments of Education, the police and provincial departments of Health and Welfare to do everything in their power to reduce the opportunities for offending, and to examine how young people can be prevented from going astray. Local forums incorporating these bodies need to be established to help address youth crime in South Africa.

Thirdly, a further way forward for South Africa and partnership policing would be to establish which partnerships are successful and the reasons for their success, both nationally and internationally. The sharing of best practices through case studies of the partnership's evolution and success, is an important resource to be utilised. 37 South Africa must take the opportunity to use European and American experiences as benchmarks for its own development. For example, the issue of maintaining the momentum of a partnership initiative consistently proves to be a problem in both the United Kingdom and South Africa. A British Home Office survey produced the following themes that can contribute to the maintaining of a partnership:

- the need for greater communication and understanding of the duties and functions of other agencies;
- the importance of drawing in voluntary and non-government organisations;
- the value of dedicated staff and sound training;
- the role of central government; and
- the need for greater resources, funding and leadership.

Clearly, South Africa can learn from the wider experience of other countries that have embraced the partnership approach. Those involved in partnership policing in South Africa must absorb and attempt to put into practice such international key lessons, so that the partnership approach can be developed further.

Finally, it must be acknowledged by all those participating in the partnership approach that preventing crime is as important as tackling its consequences, and that the concept of partnership is central to the Government's crime prevention strategy. All roleplayers involved in creating a safer environment must be determined to do everything possible to prevent crime and create safer communities by promoting partnerships between the police, local government and the private and voluntary sectors.

ENDNOTES

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- 35. Home Office, 1994, op. cit., p. 29.

- 36. Home Office, A Practical Guide to Crime Prevention for Local Partnerships, HMSO, London, 1993.
- 37. At present ,the Institute for Security Studies, Business Against Crime and the South African Police Service are working in partnership on documenting best partnership initiatives from across the country to alleviate crime. It will be published as part of the ISS Monograph Series by the middle of 1997, translated into five South African languages and distributed nationally to station level officers, business representatives, community police forums, subforums and community interest groups.
- 38. Metropolitan Police, op. cit., p. 11.