Towards Improving Collaboration between the South African Police Service and the Metropolitan Police Services

by

Gareth Newham & Themba Masuku

Gareth Newham is a former Project Manager in the Criminal Justice Programme at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Themba Masuku is a Senior Researcher in the Criminal Justice Programme at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

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Executive Summary

The arrival of Metropolitan/ Municipal Police Services (MPSs) in some of the major cities or metropolitan areas of South Africa can be seen as an expression of the acceptance that local authorities have a greater role to play in terms of reducing and preventing crime. While these agencies would continue to be responsible for fulfilling local authority's long-held obligations with regards to traffic and by-law enforcement, they were also tasked with an additional mandate termed 'crime prevention'. Common logic held that extra capacity in the cities where some of the countries highest crime rates were recorded would provide much needed support to the South African Police Service (SAPS), who previously had the sole responsibility for the policing approach to crime prevention. To facilitate the role played by the two agencies, the founding legislation stipulated that police coordinating committees would have to be established and over the past few years, both the SAPS and MPSs have slowly begun to develop relationships and to work together in various ways.

This report contextualises the objective of inter-agency collaboration through an overview of international literature. It highlights the increasingly recognised need for closer partnerships between law-enforcement agencies as a means to enhancing local level crime prevention initiatives. There is much that can be learned for South Africa as a result of these initiatives in other countries. In particular, this report considers some of the international experiences and research in relation to understanding the different types of

inter-agency engagements, the potential benefits of closer collaboration, some of the key challenges that undermine such initiatives, the necessary elements for effective partnerships, and the importance of regularly assessing collaborative initiatives. The literature review provided a framework for exploring the dynamics of collaboration between the SAPS and the MPSs in South Africa.

The next part of this report presents the findings of a series of interviews with representatives of the various MPSs and SAPS at both a policy and operational level. A key issue to emerge was that there are different and competing perceptions as to what the 'crime prevention' focus of the MPSs should be. There are various ways in which the term "crime prevention" can be interpreted. Consequently, local level political prerogatives related to crime combating and the manner in which these local law-enforcement agencies were established have resulted in competing 'visions' of what the MPS's should primarily be doing.

The report then presents the findings on the study of collaboration between the SAPS and various MPSs at both a policy and operational level. The study consisted of in-depth interviews with participants to the National Forum for Municipal Police Services and operational level commanders. The interviews focused on the strengths and challenges in relation to the following key areas: the existence of a shared vision, the nature of participation in joint structures, how agreements are reached, communication, resources and the monitoring and evaluation of jointly defined objectives.

The final part of this report presents a number of proposals that could be considered by the primary role players as the basis of further contained initiatives that could enhance inter-agency collaboration. These proposals were developed from the lessons identified in the international literature review and an analysis of the views of participating interviewees. The proposals are as follows:

- Promoting a collaborative vision and objectives by clarifying the 'crime prevention' mandate of the MPSs;
- Enhancing the legal authority and resources of the NFMPS;
- Conducting a review of, and strategic planning process for the NFMPS;
- Improvements in collection and sharing of 'good practices' amongst role-players;
- Specific proposals for enhancing communication between and within agencies from policy to operational levels;
- Increasing the focus on monitoring and evaluation;
- Improving the use of training to promote effective collaboration.

1. Introduction

Metropolitan/ Municipal Police Services (MPSs) are a relatively new feature in the South African policing and law-enforcement landscape. These agencies have been established to give impetus to the recognition that local authorities have an important role to play in the creation and maintenance of safe and secure communities. While local authority responsibilities with regards to traffic and by-law enforcement have remained the core mandates of these agencies, 'crime prevention' has been added as a further responsibility.

'Crime prevention' is also a key mandate for the South African Police Services (SAPS). It therefore makes sense in the localities where MPSs have been established, that both agencies collaborate effectively so as to coordinate their capacity and maximise their impact in achieving their crime prevention objectives. To date, MPSs have been established in Johannesburg, Tshwane, Ekurhuleni, eThekwini, Cape Town and Swartlands. At the time of writing, it appeared that initiatives were underway to establish further MPSs in other localities such as Neslon Mandela Metro, Mafikeng, Potchefstroom, Rustenburg, Pietermariztburg and Mangaung.

Achieving effective and sustainable collaboration between independent agencies can be a difficult and complex challenge. Importantly, it needs to be recognised that it is an ongoing process and not a single event. Fortunately however, there are a number of local and international experiences from which lessons can be drawn. Indeed, cooperation and collaboration between the SAPS and MPS has already been taking place in various forms around the country and at both policy and operational levels. Moreover, the international imperative for inter-agency collaboration amongst police departments has grown in importance over the last decade. Given the complex nature of crime and disorder in all societies around the world, greater attention has been placed on initiatives in which different public, private and civil-society sector organisations have learned how to work together to promote community safety. The increasing specter of international terrorism has given further impetus towards learning lessons of building and sustaining collaborative relationships between law enforcement agencies.

This report is the result of exploratory research that was undertaken in response to the Belgium Support Programme Result Area. The terms of reference for the project was to 'Conduct research and a literature review in respect of: identify[ing] obstacles hampering cooperation/ coordination in the SAPS [and] Municipal Police Services environment at all levels in an effort to enhance service delivery at station level.' Initially, the following broad objectives were proposed for this research:

- Broadly clarifying the current status quo in relation to the organisational and functional environment relating to the cooperation/ coordination of the SAPS and MPS (i.e. existing communication and reporting lines/structures as well as operational cooperation/ coordination practices/structures);
- The identification of obstacles in respect of the above, as well as proposals on how to overcome the identified obstacles;
- Proposals in respect of performance indicators and processes to be developed to determine effectiveness of SAPS and Municipal Police Services cooperation and impact on service delivery at station level;
- Determining information on existing sharing structures that would enhance service delivery and improve collaboration between the South African Police Service and the Municipal Police Services at station level;
- A literature review of police station/ local level and international best practice models in respect of cooperation/ coordination.

Given that MPSs exist in six metropolitan or municipal localities, and the terms of reference called for research into a number of complex areas (i.e. inter and intra-agency communication lines and structures, operational practices and obstacles, performance indicators for impact on service delivery), any one which could be a major research

undertaking on its own. It was therefore clear that the research objectives would have to be further refined given the limited budget and short time period available for this project.

In discussions with the SAPS project manager, it was agreed that the research would have to be exploratory in nature with the aim of providing a broad basis against which further work could be undertaken in the following year. The key objectives were therefore further refined to:

- Present insights into key issues related to inter-agency collaboration/cooperation/coordination for law-enforcement agencies based on an international literature review;
- Broadly present the status quo and identify key challenges related to inter-agency collaboration at policy level with a focus on the National Forum for Municipal Police Services (NFMPS);
- Broadly present the status quo and identify key challenges related to inter-agency collaboration at operational level;
- Present proposals that could assist with enhancing collaboration at both policy and operational levels.

The aim of this report is to present the findings of the research that was undertaken to fulfil the above mentioned objectives. The structure of this report is as follows:

Firstly, the research methodologies that were used to collect data for this report will be briefly discussed.

Secondly, the findings of the literature review that was undertaken with regards to international best practice and experiences of inter-agency collaboration will be presented.

Thirdly, the findings of the research into the NFMPS will be presented with a particular focus into the key strengths and challenges as identified by some of the participants.

Fourthly, the findings of the research in respect of operational level collaboration will be presented. The focus of this section will be on the key challenges that emerged from the research.

The final section will present proposals for overcoming some of the identified obstacles and improving collaboration between the SAPS and the Municipal Police Services. The proposals presented will take into consideration both the findings of the international literature review and the primary research conducted amongst the various stakeholders.

It must also be mentioned that initial work on the issue of SAPS and MPS collaboration has been undertaken previously as part of a scoping project for the Belgian Technical Cooperation funding. A report was produced entitled, *Improving Collaboration between the SAPS and Metropolitan Police Agencies* (Newham, 2003). That document explored some of the key issues related to inter-agency cooperation, identified a range of broad contextual challenges to SAPS and MPS collaboration and then to presented a number of projects that could be undertaken as part of the Belgian Development Cooperation funding over a three year period. To avoid duplicating the information in the former document, this report will

provide new information on the issue of SAPS and MPS collaboration. It is therefore recommended that the earlier report is read in conjunction with this report.

It is also important to recognise that promoting collaboration between the SAPS and MPS will be an ongoing process that will require sustained attention so as to improve the impact on service delivery. Indeed, the process has already started and as will become apparent in this report, that there are plenty of examples where constructive communication, cooperation, coordination and collaboration is occurring. This report however, will largely focus on presenting some of the key challenges that emerged in the research. It should therefore be seen as a discussion document to assist the various SAPS and MPS role-players in identifying and highlighting the issues that are thought to be the most important to address in relation to enhancing collaboration.

2. Methodology

The key methodologies used for this project included the following:

- A review of international literature and documents related to the collaboration of law enforcement agencies.
- A review of documentation relating to the NFMPS (i.e. minutes and protocols).
- Interviews with MPS and SAPS participants at the National Forum for Municipal Police Services (NFMPS).
- Interviews with operational level commanders within the SAPS (provincial, Area and Station level) and five of the MPSs.

The literature review on inter-agency collaboration involving police departments was initially undertaken so as to identify the types of issues that were considered important and necessary for effective collaboration to occur. Most of the international literature that could be accessed in this regards comes from English speaking countries (i.e. USA, the UK, Canada, etc). A wide range of examples of successful inter-agency collaboration initiatives relating to crime prevention are available. In particular, a useful handbook on building and sustaining collaborative relationships was identified from the Office of Community Orientated Police Services in the United States Department of Justice (see references).

The literature review helped to develop two draft interview questionnaires that would be used by the interviewers as guiding questions to elicit data from key role-players at both policy and operational levels (see annexures at the end of the report for the schedules used).

Subsequently, the researchers in consultation with the SAPS project manager identified the key individuals to be interviewed for the project. These individuals represented both the SAPS and MPSs at both a policy and operational level (a list of interviewees can be found in the 'References and Interviews' section of this report. Information was obtained from the interviewees primarily through an in-depth interview or a written submission to the questions in the interview schedule (see annexures at the very end of this report). A total of 16 people contributed to the research findings presented in this report. Given the time limitations for this project it was not possible to interview the full range of SAPS and MPS officials in each locality and at each level. Nevertheless, the issues raised in this report should be seen as a starting point for further deliberations and identifying initiatives

towards enhancing collaboration.

At the policy level, the focus of the research was on the National Forum for Municipal Police Services. Fortunately, minutes and other documentation from the forum were available, as were a number of interviewees familiar with the development and operations of the structure. With regards to the focus on operational collaboration, there are a large number of structures throughout the country at which SAPS and MPS members met. Time and budget constraints, however, meant that the views and experiences of relatively few operational level officials could be canvassed. The method of analysis was therefore to highlight key issues and challenges that appeared common to most of the localities. It is for this reason, that the specific MPSs are not mentioned or linked to any of the key challenges or concerns that were raised.

It was emphasised to the participants, and it needs to be emphasised in this report, that this research project could only present a 'broad overview' of the issues. In order to really understand the collaborative arrangements within a particular municipal area, far more detailed and focused research would need to be undertaken. It may be preferable for future research into the issue of collaboration at operational level to choose a few particular case studies (e.g. Johannesburg, Cape Town and eThekweni) and to undertake an in-depth examination of the nature of the relationship between the agencies. A combination of methodologies such as a document review, observations, interviews and focus groups can be undertaken to identify good practices and assess the nature of obstacles at all relevant structures. Practical proposals for improving collaboration could then be made with respect to each locality and general policy related proposals could then be extracted.

3. Lessons for Inter-Agency Collaboration

Typically, the international literature that could be sourced tends to focus on inter-agency partnerships for developing and managing effective 'crime prevention' programmes. This literature focuses on how police organisations can work in collaborative partnerships with other public and private sector organisations to achieve very specific goals (e.g. reduce domestic violence or armed robbery in a particular suburb; or prevent youth crime at a particular high school, etc). Increasingly, arguments have been made that political leaders at local level (mayors) should take more responsibility for mobilising and coordinating various government structures and civil society organisations towards crime prevention initiatives (Bureau of Justice Assistance, 2001)

More recently, the literature on inter-agency collaboration between law enforcement agencies has tended to focus on the issue of combating terrorism following the attacks on the United Stated of America on 11 September 2001. The literature in this regard focuses on how different law enforcement agencies throughout the USA and Canada started to learn how to develop collaborative relationships to better share intelligence and information that would help identify and prevent terrorist attacks (see Brian, 2002; Perez-Rivas, 2001).

With relation to models for collaboration, the literature is quite clear that there is no 'off the shelf' model that can be simply followed to ensure effective collaborative partnerships. This is because inter-agency collaboration is a dynamic process used to achieve particular long-term goals. The collaboration effort will also have to respond the needs and circumstances of the particular role-players involved and this will change from partnership to partnership.

While there are good examples of 'toolkits' that can assist organisations in developing collaborative partnerships, these documents refer to principles, approaches or steps that can be used to guide and assist agencies in developing effective working relationships as opposed to particular models or collaboration (Rinehart, Laszlo and Briscoe, 2001). Whether these relationships develop adequately and result in effective collaboration is more a consequence of the commitment of the leadership in each of the agencies attempting a collaborative agreement rather than anything else.

The following section highlights some of the key issues to emerge from the literature review.

3.1 Defining the Terms

It has been found that part of the challenge of achieving effective collaboration between different stakeholders is that often the term is often not fully understood. This confusion has to do with a number of terms that are necessary for, or related to, collaboration but refer to different types of interaction. Indeed, the Terms of Reference for this study uses the words 'communication', 'cooperation', 'coordination' and 'collaboration' are all used interchangeably. However, these words all mean different things and therefore it is important to distinguish between the words and their meanings so that all stakeholders are clear what they are involved in and what they may be referring to.

One way of looking at these words is that they lie on a continuum of interagency engagement moving from merely talking to each other (communication) on one end, through to full partnerships to achieve jointly identified objectives (collaboration) on the other.

A continuum of inter-agency engagement
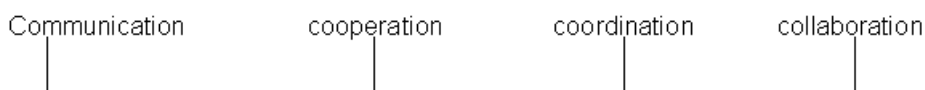
Communication: This term simply means that different agencies make a point of sharing information that might be relevant to each other. The Concise Oxford English dictionary (2002, p. 288) defines the word 'communicate' as 'share or exchange information or ideas'. For example, if the SAPS were going to have a 'Crackdown Operation' in the inner-city, they may merely inform the MPS about the date and time that this would be occurring.

Cooperation: This term refers to two agencies working 'jointly towards the same end' (Concise Oxford English Dictionary, 2002, p. 312). With regards to interagency initiatives cooperation would typically refer to an informal level of agreement. For instance, the SAPS would inform the MPS about a Crackdown Operation and would ask that the MPS hold their roadblocks at certain intersections during the operation to enhance general police visibility in an area. Cooperation can relate to a once-off event or be ongoing, but does not necessarily imply any fundamental changes to the way that an agency works.

Coordination: The Concise Oxford English Dictionary, (2002, p. 313) defines coordination as bringing 'the different elements (of a complex activity or organisation) into

a harmonious or efficient relationship'. Here it is noticeable that coordination requires more than informal agreements and the notion of a 'relationship' comes into play. For instance, it might be decided on between the SAPS and MPS that to prevent duplication they should coordinate their daily patrols. Commanders formally reach an agreement and meet regularly to plan patrol rosters so that instead of both agencies patrolling the same streets, general police visibility can be enhanced over a greater area. Further agreements are also reached to ensure that calls can be dispatched from a central place to the relevant agency patrolling nearby.

Collaboration: This term refers to a much closer and ongoing working relationship between two or more agencies. Collaboration of this form is defined as occurring when 'a number of agencies and individuals make a commitment to work together and contribute resources to obtain a common long term goal' (Rinehart, et al, 2001, p. 5). Earlier definitions relating to inter-agency collaboration highlight that collaboration should be seen as a process (a means to an end) that is undertaken to, 'reach goals that cannot be achieved acting singly or, (at a minimum), cannot be reached efficiently' (Bruner, 1991). For true collaboration to take place the partners involved can then identify resources, responsibilities and time lines that can be drafted into an action plan. It must also be recognised that, 'a new way of doing things' may be required from the role-players concerned.

For the purposes of this report, the word 'collaborative' will be used to describe the objective of the project. At this juncture it is important to note that some of the literature suggests that 'collaboration' is not always necessary when cooperation or coordination between agencies may be sufficient to solve common challenges. Rinehart, et al , (2001, p. 7) propose that as a 'rule of thumb' law enforcement agencies should develop collaborative relationships when:

- Stakeholders have a common long-term goal;
- They are committed to working together as a team; and
- They cannot achieve the goal more efficiently as independent entities.

Essentially, it could be argued that the common long term objective for both the SAPS and MPS is to build a safer city characterised by a crime free environment and social order (i.e. absence of traffic and by-law violations). Clearly, there is commitment between the SAPS and MPS to work together as a team and as will also be detailed later on in this document, neither agency could achieve the ideal of a safer city as an independent entity. Consequently, the ideal relationship between the SAPS and MPSs would be one of collaboration. However, as the continuum of inter-agency engagement presented above tries to demonstrate, collaboration is more likely to occur as a consequence of a range of prior inter-agency engagements (i.e. communication, cooperation and coordination).

3.2 Benefits of Collaboration

Since 'crime prevention' emerged as a concept, much has been written about the benefits of inter-agency collaboration. It has been argued that to promote safer cities and communities both crime and social disorder have to be tackled. Given the link between the two (see Wilson and Kelling, 1997), any agency that specialises in tackling only one of the two problems will have limited success. Because of the nature of specialisation of the SAPS in dealing with serious crime and the MPSs with their focus on social disorder problems such

as reckless driving, illegal dumping, graffiti etc), the impact of their interventions could be enhanced by collaborating together to achieve the single aim of crime prevention. The US Justice Department argues that effective inter-agency collaboration and community partnerships can provide the following six key results (Rinehart, et al, 2001);

1. Accomplish what individual organisations cannot do alone;
2. Prevent duplication of organisational efforts;
3. Enhance the power of advocacy and resource development for community safety initiatives;
4. Create greater public recognition and visibility for the community safety initiatives;
5. Provide a more systematic, comprehensive approach to addressing community crime and disorder problems;
6. Provide more opportunities for new projects.

As part of further research (or study tour) it would be useful to identify successful examples of collaboration involving more than one law enforcement agency. England, Canada, Australia and the USA are all English speaking countries where increasing focus has been paid to inter-agency collaboration. However, even a careful study of other success stories will not necessary mean that collaboration model studied can be simply documented and implemented. The reasons for this will be presented in the next section.

3.3 Challenges to Collaboration

Challenges or obstacles to the establishment and sustainability of effective collaborative partnerships have been well documented. It is difficult enough to ensure problem free communication and coordination amongst different components of a single organisation let alone between two totally separate and individual entities. Some analysts have noted that given the many differences between various organisations, '… partnerships often remain more "rhetoric" than "reality".' (Bowling and Foster, 2002, p. 1002). Nevertheless, it is useful to note some of the potential issues that commonly present challenges to successful collaboration. In doing so organisations may be able to prevent of minimise their impact from early on in a partnership initiative.

A study by Hambleton, Essex, Mills and Razzaque (1996) point to some of the factors that are typical barriers to collaboration:

- Vested interests of the different agencies might not necessarily be compatible with each other;
- Short-term thinking which may prevent agencies from thinking about the bigger picture or strategy;
- The sheer complexity of some tasks, and
- Divergent professional and organisational cultures.

Bowling and Foster (2002) add the following:

- Single agency performance indicators;
- Differing power relationships and priorities.

Since it is expected that these challenges would apply to most inter-agency collaborative

efforts, the participants in such an initiative should identify which of these challenges exist and in what particular form. This could assist them to develop appropriate mechanisms for dealing with and overcoming these challenges.

3.4 Requirements for Collaboration

Clearly, building and sustaining an effective community policing programme requires much more than merely a decision to work together. Havenstein (1996) proposes a number of key issues that need to be considered that can help frame a collaborative effort, including:

- **Incentives** - Central and regional levels of government can stimulate collaboration by providing funding for such initiatives or requiring strong evidence of joint working as a condition of funding.
- **Leadership** – There has to be strong leadership for collaboration in all of the agencies concerned. It is unlikely that the lower ranks of an organisation will work well together if this leadership is lacking. Entrenched departmental and professional attitudes that prevent collaboration may need to be challenged and this will only be possible if driven by the leadership of the participating agencies.
- **Commitment** - Successful collaboration requires those involved to view joint working as more than an 'add-on' to their other ongoing activities. While officials may be committed, unless collaborative activities are part of job descriptions, other work pressures may diminish commitment.
- **Cultural realignment** - Effective collaboration requires the management of change. Established ways of doing things will often need to be replaced if significant progress is to be made. The new systems or approaches should be developed by the role-players concerned to ensure buy-in.
- **Network roles** - Collaborative initiatives can be sustained by practitioners carrying inter-agency activities alongside other responsibilities. However, in a situation where collaboration needs to be pushed forward quickly it can be very useful to identify individuals to play particular roles to develop relationships with those in other organisations. These individuals can be seconded into multi-agency teams which may operate out of separate offices.

A more recent publication by the US Department of Justice identifies nine critical components of an effective collaborative arrangement, which are (Rinehart, et al, 2001):

1. Stakeholders with a vested interest in collaboration must be included;
2. Trusting relationships among and between partners is critical;
3. Partners must be bound by a shared vision and common goals for the collaboration;
4. Partners must have similar expertise;
5. Teamwork strategies must be decided jointly;
6. There must be free and open communication between partners;
7. Partners must be motivated and should all strive to ensure that the collaboration is a success;
8. There are resources and means dedicated by all partners to implement and sustain the collaborative effort;
9. There must be an action plan to be followed.

It is argued that by having these components in place, the collaboration can avoid the

disorder, apprehension, fragmentation, disorganisation, slow pace, discouragement and unfocused achievements that can affect many problem solving and other community policing partnerships (ibid).

Thus, the process of building and sustaining collaboration is circular in nature. The process begins with developing a shared vision and ends with developing, implementing, and assessing the action plan. Trust is considered core to the relationship, with each of the other components acting as essential elements of the whole. Trust is the hub, with stakeholders, shared vision, expertise, team work strategies, open communication, motivated partners, means, and an action plan serving as spokes of the wheel. If any one of the pieces is weak the wheel will not roll properly and the collaboration will not progress (ibid).

While the above principles do not necessarily represent a model, they provide useful frameworks for identifying the challenges confronting a particular collaborative initiative. Later on in this report, the above components will be used as a tool against which to frame the types of obstacles that emerged during the research.

3.5 Monitoring and Evaluating Collaboration

A number of authors highlight that partners need to continually reassess the collaboration and, if necessary determine what action should be taken to strengthen one or a number of components in the collaboration. Routinely examining what is working and what is not working is essential to building, motivating, and sustaining a collaboration that can achieve results (see for example Harris, 2003; and Rinehart, et al, 2001).

Inherent in the issue of monitoring and evaluation is the issue of using performance indicators (PIs). These are measurements of empirical fact that serve as objective markers of the achievement of specific goals and objectives. However, the PIs are only developed when agreements have been reached on what is to be monitored or evaluated. It is one thing to monitor and evaluate the process of building a collaborative relationship between two policing agencies and another to monitor or evaluate the impact of this relationship on crime and safety. The former is far easier to do than the latter, largely for the reason that most of the factors that have a direct impact on the increase or decrease in crime rates are social in nature and have nothing to do with policing. Consequently arguments have been made that the PIs used to measure police performance should focus more on actual police activities and community perceptions of these, rather than being based primarily on crime statistics (Bayley, 1994; Legget, 2003).

Nevertheless, the literature provides a broad analytical framework for appraising inter-agency collaboration which can be used as a checklist for performance evaluation by practitioners. According to Havenstein (2004), 'Successful examples of collaborative working balanced two key requirements: effective delivery of function; and adequate arrangements for accountability'. Consequently, an evaluation procedure should include the following focus areas:

The effectiveness of collaboration

- Objectives - what are the reasons for having the inter-agency arrangement? Is it designed to: make policy, influence policy, make decisions about the use of public

resources, focus on a practical outcome, implement a project, or to share information and expertise?

- Value for money - Does the expenditure of effort and resources on inter-agency collaboration represent good value for money?
- Responsiveness - How responsive are the joint arrangements to the needs of different participants?
- Stability and flexibility - How resilient are the arrangements in the face of changing circumstances?

Accountability of collaboration

- Political accountability - How do elected politicians hold those engaged in inter-agency working to account? Is responsibility for decision-making clear?
- Financial accountability - In inter-agency arrangements where decisions on spending are made, how is financial accountability maintained?
- Relating to the public - How can citizens hold those engaged in inter-agency collaboration to account? How can citizens be more directly involved?

To be useful and effective it is important that the approach to monitoring and evaluation is agreed upon and developed by participants to an inter-agency collaborative arrangement. Participants need to realise that it is not the aim of a monitoring and evaluation to find fault and apportion blame for shortcomings. Rather, it is to identify obstacles timeously and in a manner that can result in improvements to the collaborative initiative. Only if all parties are involved in developing the assessment approach and instruments will monitoring and evaluation be successful.

4. Collaboration between the SAPS and MPSs

This section of the report will present the findings of the interviews into the current state of collaboration between the SAPS and MPSs at both a policy and operational level.

4.1 The Crime Prevention Mandate and Varying Visions

One of the key issues to emerge from the research was the question of the role of the MPSs in crime prevention. The legislation providing for the establishment of the MPSs had left this aspect of the mandate undefined. Consequently there were a number of different interpretations emerging from the various role-players as to what exactly 'crime prevention' means for an MPS. Indeed, the challenge of defining the words 'crime prevention', is an international one, and "… is a question which has stretched not only police historians, but also the modern police, and it is a problem caused by the tremendous elasticity of the term "prevention."" (Gilling, 1996, p. 101). A common question that has been asked internationally relating to inter-agency collaboration for 'crime prevention' is "Just how easy is it for agencies used to doing their own thing, and framing the crime problem on their own terms, to work with each other?" (Ibid, p. 109).

Indeed, these international experiences have been replicated in South Africa. As some of the interviewees stated, the 'crime prevention' mandate in the legislation establishing MPSs did not define what they would be expected to do in this regards.

There are also significant differences in the background and make up of the various MPSs. For instance some of these agencies were made up largely of previous traffic officials while others consisted of different local officials. Moreover, the local level councils tended to see the MPDs as a way of extending their control over their areas under their responsibility.

The above factors have contributed to the emergence of different points of view, or visions as to the purpose of having a MPS. Three particular understandings were identified during the research as to what the MPSs should be doing. These are expanded on below:

MPSs as self contained crime combating agencies

This vision of MPSs is that they will eventually become fully fledged crime combating police agencies. Part of this vision can be seen in the desire amongst some of the MPS to have greater policing powers (i.e. investigative and intelligence gathering). This vision is reflected in some of the emerging structures within some of the MPS that are primarily focused towards crime combating (e.g. anti hi-jacking units). Some interviewees mentioned political pressure from within councils to move toward greater crime combating activities and to move away from traffic and by-law enforcement. Amongst some SAPS interviewees there was a feeling that the MPSs did not undertake sufficient crime combating or policing style 'crime prevention' activities.

MPSs as traffic and by-law enforcement agencies

This vision sees the MPS as primarily involved in traffic and by-law enforcement activities, while on occasion joining the SAPS on crime prevention activities. For instance, where a member of the MPS sees a crime being committed he or she should make an arrest and hand over the suspect to the SAPS, thereby contributing to crime prevention. Alternatively, when the SAPS engage in specific crime combating and prevention operations, the MPS will play a supportive and corresponding role with regards to traffic and by-law enforcement. (e.g.. when the SAPS raids buildings or shebeens, the MPS are involved to issue notices relating to by-law contraventions. Similarly when the SAPS hold road blocks the MPS will be involved in issuing fines for traffic law contraventions.) The key argument is that to avoid confusion in the minds of the public, the SAPS should be the agency that focuses on crime while the MPS should have a totally separate focus on traffic and by-law enforcement.

MPSs as traffic and law-enforcement agencies with a 'crime prevention' approach

This point of view is slightly similar to the above one but sees a more sophisticated crime prevention approach to the MPS role relating to traffic and by-law enforcement. In this vision, the 'crime prevention' mandate of an MPS is expressed through its traffic and by-law enforcement activities. As was mentioned by some of the interviewees, most of the MPSs traffic law enforcement activity focuses on issuing tickets for speeding or if motorists are caught talking on cell phones or not wearing safety belts. This approach to traffic enforcement will largely result in revenue collection with perhaps some deterrence in the respect of these specific violations. Similarly, by-law enforcement consists primarily of issuing notices and perhaps fines where regulations are contravened.

The argument was made that the crime prevention mandate of the MPSs should be

expressed *in the manner* that it conducts traffic and by-law enforcement. The primary aim should be to create social order. A strong argument is made in the 'broken windows' theory that crime and community disorder are linked (Wilson and Kelling, 1997). Community disorder occurs when there is illegal dumping, rowdy or drunk people on the streets and vehicles showing no regard for speed or safety. It is argued that this type of environment contributes to a sense amongst communities that there is an absence of social control and encourages the belief among would-be criminals that they may get away with crime. On the other hand, communities which can call on an authority to timeously tackle basic social and traffic disruptions will be more likely start to take responsibility for creating social order as they know that they will receive back up from the law-enforcement authorities if needed.

Merely issuing fines and notices to traffic or by-law offenders will not on its own promote social order or prevent crime. Instead, MPS officers should use contraventions of traffic and by-laws as the first step to engage with people in a more far reaching manner. For instance, the MPS should use traffic and by-law contraventions as a means to stop and check for further criminality (i.e. outstanding arrest warrants, check if the vehicle is stolen, and search for illegal firearms, drugs or stolen property). MPS officials may be better placed than SAPS to identify social disorder 'hot spots' which may not be identified by SAPS statistics because of a lack of formal crime reporting in an area. Joint operations could then be held with the SAPS, where the MPS check for by-law contraventions and the SAPS conduct search and seizure operations in the area identified by the MPS.

As was highlighted in the literature review, one of the nine critical components for effective collaboration is that "partners must be bound by a shared vision and common goals for the collaboration" (Rinehart, Laszlo, and Briscoe, 2001). However, the difference in vision that emerged in the research was one of the fundamental challenges confronting the working relationship between the SAPS and MPS. These competing points of view contributed to or compounded a number of the challenges that are outlined below.

4.2 Policy Level Collaboration

This section will present the findings relating to the operation of the National Forum for Municipal Police Services (NFMPS).

Background

The need for some form of consultation and collaboration at a national level became apparent early on in 2001 around the time that the JMPD was established. At that stage it became clear that municipal police agencies were to become a reality of the law enforcement landscape of South Africa. Durban and Johannesburg MPSs were already in existence and plans were underway to establish metropolitan policing agencies in Tshwane and Ekurhuleni.

The overlapping legal mandate for 'crime prevention' alerted some to the reality that both agencies would be required to work together. Furthermore, the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD) was expected to play a civilian oversight role over both the SAPS and MPSs. This role consists primarily of investigating all police action or custody related deaths, and to investigate or monitor investigations into complaints of criminality or misconduct made against SAPS or MPS members. Moreover, the SAPS can investigate

criminal cases against its own members or against members of the MPSs.

The overlaps of legal mandates led to a workshop at which it was agreed that there was the need for a formal protocol to regulate the working relationships between the various agencies. It was also recognised that there would be value in establishing a national forum that could continue to handle issues of common concern between the SAPS, MPS and ICD. Initially however, the meetings of the forum were often tense affairs as participants were sensitive about their territory and independence. Moreover, there was some suspicion from local political authorities who thought that the forum may compromise the independence of their MPSs. While there were ups and downs to the forum meetings, almost four years on and the structure is still in existence and stronger than ever before.

Current Situation

In general, all the interviewees who had attended meetings of the National Forum were all in agreement that it was both positive and necessary that such a structure was in existence and that it had an important role to play. It was clear that the need for a policy coordinating structure was appreciated by all.

Since the beginning of 2004 the forum has become more formalised and established. A document entitled 'Framework for the Co-operation of participants in the National Forum for Municipal Police Services' (2004) was developed and circulated. This document does the following:

- It sets out the intended purpose and primary objectives of the forum
- It briefly provides background to the forum
- Presents specific statutory mandates, functions and powers of the primary stakeholders namely the MPS, ICD and SAPS
- It motivates for a wider cooperative framework by referring to particular statutory and policy documents.
- Presents the key objectives, principles and values that will guide the work of the forum;
- Briefly sketches the processes, representation, and functioning of the forum.

All participants are expected to sign an agreement adhering to the framework. At the time of writing there was a general in principal agreement amongst all role-player to signing the document.

Some of the key strengths and challenges that were identified during the research are presented below. In some instances interviewees highlighted some issues as strengths while other interviewees highlighted challenges. Therefore both will be presented.

Vision and Objectives

The framework document outlines the objectives of the forum as follows:

- To jointly determine strategic direction and priorities on a national basis within determined strategies;
- To advise principals on policy matters;

- To deliberate and consult on policing and training standards applicable to MPS's;
- To create a communication mechanism between the SAPS, ICD and MPS's;
- To define solutions to address jointly identified problems; and
- To share best practices; but
- Excluding agreements, guidelines or policies relating to operational matters.

That there are clearly articulated objectives, guiding principles, values, and procedures for the functioning of the forum is a key strength. This was seen as being of assistance in guiding the role-players in relation to their deliberations and activities as part of this forum. It was stated that the explicit exclusion of local level operational matters from deliberations in the forum would assist in ensuring that it remains focused on policy and strategic matters of concern to all of the primary stakeholders. Some of the objectives were seen as particularly necessary (for instance, standardising the ranking system between the MPSs and the SAPS, and the development of unit and training standards.)

According to respondents the forum had adopted a 'problem-solving approach' to matters. It was argued that this forum provided a very useful platform for role-players to identify certain operational problems that could be solved at a policy level. The collective experience of the participants meant that a considered and useful response could be given to most of the problems that were raised. In addition, because all participants had the opportunity to participate in finding a solution, it was more likely that agreements would be adhered to.

Other positive issues that were highlighted included: relationship building, improved networking, the informal sharing of best practices and in some instances resources. Examples were given where the forum had led to assistance being provided to MPSs in relation to such issues as, responsibilities in relation to crowd control, the Domestic Violence Act, the establishment of civilian oversight committees, and the accessing of resources (e.g. where ammunition could be sourced for shooting practice).

As highlighted earlier in this report, while there may be general agreement in the need for a national forum, there were some concerns expressed that certain issues were not on the agenda. For instance, it was mentioned that there is insufficient discussion and deliberation as to the role of the MPS in crime prevention. There was also not enough discussion of strategies and policies which could facilitate greater knowledge throughout SAPS and MPSs of the need for cooperation and collaboration. For instance, some of the decisions reached at the forum were not being effectively filtered down to all levels of either the SAPS or MPSs. Moreover, the forum did not have much profile amongst most of the managers and officials of both the SAPS and MPS at the local level.

Some of the interviewees suggested that the Forum was largely a 'talk-shop' and that so far it had provided little in the way of concrete support or guidance. They pointed out for instance that they had generally not received any practical policy or strategic frameworks for promoting collaboration between the two agencies. Similarly, there was little in the way of formally presenting best practices so that all participants could benefit. Part of the problem may be that the various MPSs are at different stages of development and are moving in different directions. It may be therefore that the Forum is able to respond to some of the varying needs of its primary stakeholders better than others.

Participation

Initially when the forum started it consisted only of the SAPS, ICD and two of the MPSs. Since that time however, the number of participants has grown substantially. From the minutes of the latest meeting held at the time of the research, it was apparent that 39 people attended the meeting. Amongst the participants were the Chiefs and senior managers from each of the MPSs, senior SAPS managers from the national office and relevant provincial offices, senior national and provincial ICD representatives, and senior representatives from the national and provincial secretariats of the department of Safety and Liaison.

It was stated during some of the interviews that participation on the forum has improved since its establishment. In the early days of the forum not all the MPDs were represented, however it appears that there has been recognition from most of the MPSs that there are benefits to be had from participating in the meetings (as mentioned above). This assertion is reinforced by the attendance of very senior officials from the participating agencies.

One of the emerging challenges is that the Forum may become too large to be managed effectively. This may be exacerbated if more MPSs are established as has been indicated earlier. Given the current informal nature of the NFMPS it may prove difficult to secure the attendance of all other MPSs. From the minutes it was apparent that the Swartlands MPS was currently not attending the NFMPS.

Some interviewees stated that there may be a need for the mayor or executive of City Councils to participate at the forum. They reasoned that although MPS Chiefs may in principle agree to decisions reached at the forum, they may later receive conflicting instructions or resistance from their local level political bosses. Experience of substantial political interference from local level councils was raised as a challenge that leaves the Chief of the MPS with almost "no decision-making authority".

It was also suggested that the Department of Transport should attend meetings as they have a bearing on one of the core mandates of the MPS (traffic law enforcement).

Reaching Agreements

The NFMPS is not a decision-making structure as it has no legal authority. Agreements are reached which could theoretically go to the SAPS National Commissioner for ratification; however it appears that this procedure has never been followed. That forum was an informal voluntary body that it lacked legal authority was raised by some of the interviewees as problematic, because agreements could not be enforced. It was also felt that the lack of legal authority undermined accountability. Some interviewees pointed out that although some issues had been on the agenda for most of the life of the forum, they had yet to be resolved. In some instances role-players did not uphold the agreements that had been reached at earlier meetings.

Some interviewees mentioned that initially there was a sense in the forum that the SAPS was the "big brother" and that the MPS representatives were there to be told what to do. However, this approach has changed so that all representatives on the forum were at the time of the research, being treated as equal stakeholders. This was reflected in that agreements reached at the NFMPS were achieved through consensus. According to

respondents, it was more likely that these agreements would be implemented if the various representatives took ownership of the agreements reached.

Recently, all MPS Chiefs have gathered to meet the day before the NFMPS meetings. It was stated that this was to provide them with the opportunity identify common areas of concern and achieve collective consensus on positions that they would adopt at the forum. Some interviewees stated that the meeting of the MPS Chiefs aided decision-making. It was argued that it helped focus discussions on key strategic and policy issues that were of concern to all MPSs and gave them some collective weight on the forum.

On the other had, some interviewees were critical of the MPS Chiefs pre-NFMPS meeting. It was stated that positions were taken by the Chiefs on issues that may be legitimately challenged by new information that would emerge at the NFMPS meeting. However, as the MPS Chiefs wanted to present a united front on agreements between themselves previously, flexibility to forge a new position during the NFMPS meeting was undermined.

A concern was also raised that "position papers" were not used sufficiently to aid the discussions and reach agreements. It was suggested that draft documents on key issues should be circulated for discussion. The documents should outline the legal framework, current policy positions and alternatives which could then be debated with specific positions being agreed to. It was argued that this would assist with the implementation of decisions as a document would clearly explain the reasons behind certain strategic or policy decisions.

Communication

It was generally agreed by the interviewees that the Forum was very valuable in promoting communication between the various role-players. Certainly, it assisted relationship-building with representatives of other organisations. These relationships promoted the sharing of ideas and good practices across different parts of the country. These relationships also made it easier for participants to contact each other for advice and assistance where necessary in-between the quarterly meetings.

Some of the interviewees thought that communication could be improved through a slight change in procedure requiring all participants to make an input. It was felt by some that the more senior people dominated the discussions. It was also stated that the agenda was too rigid and insufficient discussion was allowed on some items. For some interviewees, the meetings were sometimes too short and the eagerness with which participants wanted to leave the forum was indicative of their inadequate commitment to the stated principles of the forum.

A concern was raised about the closed nature of the meeting of the MPS Chiefs, which was not open to any other person unless specifically invited. It was felt that this undermined transparency and the implementation of agreements. If issues raised at the NFMPS were referred to the meeting of the Chiefs, other role-players would not be privy to thinking and discussions behind agreements reached in this forum. It was argued that this was likely to hinder implementation by senior managers in the MPSs.

Concern was also raised at the lack of profile that the NFMPS had throughout both the

MPSs and SAPS at operational level. Most managers and members of the SAPS and MPSs agencies were not aware of the existence of the NFMPS nor were they aware of the discussions and decisions taken at this forum.

Resources

Given the informal nature of the NFMPS, it did not have its own budget. Thus the forum lacks the sustainable capacity needed to undertake more elaborate initiatives towards building collaboration (i.e. research, monitoring and evaluation, etc).

The Belgian Technical Cooperation funding was seen as a positive boost to the NFMPS. Towards this end the funding could be used towards various initiatives that could improve collaboration between the role-players. For instance, funds were available to contract research or develop systems into ways of improving inter-agency collaboration.

Currently, the "nodal point" of the forum was within the SAPS in the National Crime Prevention Division. This meant that agendas, minutes and other documentation would be provided and circulated from this centralised location. Meetings were rotated amongst the various MPSs who provided the venue and refreshments.

Some interviewees argued that was a need for an established budget that could drive the NFMPS initiatives. A suggestion is that if all role-players were to contribute to the budget of the forum, it may lead to a greater commitment to finalise issues so as to achieve value for money.

Monitoring and Evaluation

The minutes could provide a starting point for an evaluation of aspects of the forums work. Initiatives are listed, as are agreements and occasional shortcomings (i.e. documents not received or inputs on documents not forthcoming).

Other than the minutes, it was stated that there was no formal monitoring or evaluation system to assess whether the agreements or decisions reached by the forum were being effectively and timeously implemented within the participating agencies.

If issues were not resolved by the dates agreed upon then these issues would be held over to the following quarterly meeting. Due to the informal nature of the forum it was suggested that role-players could not be held to account. However, it was important to note that the main role-players did not always have the authority to reach certain agreements on behalf of their organisation. For instance, the SAPS National Commissioner would have to be the one to sign the 'framework agreement' on behalf of the SAPS. For the MPSs, agreement would have to be reached by the Mayoral committees. Consequently, participants to the forum were hamstrung in relation to some issues due to factors beyond their control.

4.3 Operational Level Collaboration

According to the interviewees, operational collaboration was understood to mean interactions that took place between members of the SAPS and relevant MPS as a result of the following:

- as a result of formal provincial, area or local level structures (committees, planning meetings) to promote liaison, coordination, or joint operational planning;
- as a result of specific formal joint operations between the SAPS and MPS (e.g. operation crackdowns), and
- the *ad hoc* engagements that take place as a part of daily activities undertaken by the respective agencies.

At the time when MPSs were established, the SAPS members at operational level received most of their information about these new structures through the media, rather than through a formal announcement or introduction. Consequently engagement started to occur gradually as the MPSs started to become increasingly established over time and find their feet.

Although the research highlighted some critical feedback, it is acknowledged that interviewees pointed to a number of improvements over the past year or so. There are also many instances where the SAPS and MPSs are currently working very well together and good practices would be easy to identify. Unfortunately the scope of this research did not allow for detailed documentation of all the types of practices but the following emerged during the research:

- **Joint operational planning and implementation:** There are examples of successful joint operations that have taken place between all of the MPSs and the SAPS. Some of these joint operations involved the policing of large public events such as conferences or sports events. Others related to specific anti-crime operations such as crackdown operations.
- *Joint training:* Earlier this year 115 newly recruited Johannesburg Metropolitan Police (JMPD) officials underwent a three-month training programme at SAPS police stations under the supervision of field training officers. Indications thus far are that this has led to a greater understanding between operational members about each other's agencies;
- **Service level agreements:** As part of the Johannesburg City Safety Strategy, formal agreements have been reached that frame the roles and responsibilities of the MPS and SAPS in relation to achieving the objectives of the strategy.
- **Contact and liaison points:** The appointment of specific senior managers to act as consistent contact and liaison people to sort out problems that may not be dealt with adequately by immediate commanders;
- **City performance contracts:** of MPS Chiefs that include cooperation with other agencies;
- **Sharing of information:** Most of the MPSs receive crime statistics and intelligence briefings from the SAPS;
- Sharing of technology: Both agencies have technology and other resources that they share on occasion.

These examples demonstrate lessons which can be shared countrywide. The next section of the report will present some of the common challenges experienced with regards to collaboration at operational level.

Different understandings of the roles of the MPSs in crime prevention
The issue of differences in opinions as to the MPS approach to their 'crime prevention' mandates was mentioned earlier in this report. Regarding the crime prevention mandate of the MPS Some of the manifestations of opinion were that some SAPS managers thought that the MPSs should have nothing to do with serious crimes or should be "absorbed" into the SAPS. On the other hand others thought that the MPS were not doing enough crime prevention type activities. Some MPS officials were of the opinion that that they should be less concerned with crime combating and focused more on traffic and by-law enforcement. However, others thought that they should be enhancing their abilities to undertake crime combating activities as part of their 'crime prevention' mandate.

Gaps in Commitment to Collaboration
During the interviews most participants could identify problematic areas where they felt there was not adequate acceptance, commitment or a shared vision towards promoting inter-agency collaboration. Generally participants to the research stated that members at the lower levels were getting used to each other and were able to work well together. A few specific incidents were mentioned where conflict had arisen as a result of miscommunications or unrealistic expectations between members of the two agencies, but these appeared to be the exceptions rather than the rule.

From the perspectives of a number of interviewees it seemed that it was at the middle to senior management levels that more needed to be done to foster collaboration. A number of interviewees made statements along the lines that, "the biggest failure of collaboration was to get the top structures working together". Particularly when it came to the issue of strategic planning there appeared to be little collaboration. SAPS managers stated that they were not invited to attend MPS strategic planning sessions, with such statements being echoed on the part of some of the MPSs. A particular challenge mentioned was that in some circumstances the SAPS have subsequently modified their strategic operational plans without informing the MPS. This had an impact on the resource requirements expected from the MPS without them having had an opportunity to be part of the updated SAPS strategic planning session.

The Challenge of Organisational Culture & Territorialism
Part of the challenge appeared in some circumstances to be as a result of organisational culture and issues of territory. Some MPSs felt that there were those in the SAPS that did not take them seriously and perceived them to be "junior partners." This view was confirmed by some SAPS respondents who believed that the MPSs wanted to "go it alone" or "run before they could walk". Some allegations of an unwillingness to collaborate with officials of the other agency were made from both sides. Other statements were made that the MPS and SAPS had different objectives driving their activities. In particular, some of the SAPS perceptions were that the MPSs were primarily driven by the need to collect revenue for the city to which they report. From the MPS side, there were perceptions that some of the SAPS officials were not willing to accept that the MPS were involved in policing activities.

Joint Participation

There are a number of structures and forums where participation from both the SAPS and MPS (and often other role-players) occurs. These include the following:

- meetings held by the MEC for Public Safety (e.g. quarterly review meetings)
- Provincial Police Coordinating Committees
- Area Police Coordinating Committees
- Area Crime Combating Forums
- Station Crime Combating Forums
- Joint Operational Coordinating Committees
- Area Community Policing Boards
- Community Police Forums
- Community Safety Forums

Depending on the locality, members of both agencies attended these meetings. Most of these structures were established and chaired by the SAPS, but in some instances an MPS has established a 'community safety forum' where SAPS representatives would attend. It was clear that, at all areas where MPSs have been established there are a substantial number of forums at which collaborative arrangements could be enhanced. However, it is clear that not all these structures relate to the notion of collaboration as defined earlier in this report. Often the above structures were more focused on issues of communication or liaison and in some instances on coordination (i.e. where the SAPS and MPS representatives provide information about operations that they intend holding in the coming months) rather than 'true' collaboration.

Problems with representation
Some of the key challenges related to operational collaboration as stated by the SAPS is that the MPS representatives who attended the meetings of some of the above-mentioned structures included the following:

- That they were too junior in rank to make the necessary decisions that should be taken at the meeting to enhance collaboration;
- That the representative changes at each meeting undermining continuity;
- That the MPS representative attending the structure was only responsible for a particular region. Consequently, important information was not related to other MPS regional commanders.

From the side of the MPS, some of the obstacles to collaboration include:

- That there were too many meetings and that MPS representatives were spread too thin. In some MPS jurisdictions there may be a number of different SAPS Area level localities and a large number of police stations. Each SAPS Area will establish Crime Combating Forums, Joint Operational Committees and Community Policing Boards. Similarly, at station level there would be Station Crime Combating Forums and CPFs.
- That some of the meetings did not achieve much and were "talk shops" where statistics were read out related to crime and policing operations but that there are no clear objectives and no decisions were taken.

Communication

Several challenges relating to communication between the SAPS and MPS were identified:

A lack of clarity of roles and responsibilities
Respondents cited examples of misunderstandings that were as a result of inadequate communication about the roles and responsibilities between SAPS and MPS officials. For example, in some instances there had been confusion as to who should take responsibility at an accident scene or in the event of the need for crowd control. Sometimes this lack of clarity led to conflict. For instance, MPS officials had refused to assist SAPS officials with the processing of an arrested person who has been handed over to a police station. The SAPS officials involved had not been aware that MPS officials were not trained to handle these responsibilities, nor was it in their mandate. Another example is where SAPS officials have refused to accept people arrested by MPS officials because the arrests were "illegal". Effective use of Area Crime Combating Forums and joint training were cited as ways of solving some of these kinds of problems.

Inadequate station level communication
In some instances there appeared to be inadequate communication between SAPS commanders at station level and local MPS commanders. Examples were given from both sides where phone calls had not been returned or exchanges had been acrimonious. Some complaints related to a failure of MPS to inform SAPS station level managers of events or activities that were being held in a station precinct area. Some of these problems were attributed to individual personalities while a suggestion was made that protocols around station communication could assist in preventing problems.

Inadequate coordination relating to statements about crime in an area
There appeared to be sensitivity on the side of the SAPS about the MPS spokespersons making statements to the media regarding the crime situation in a particular area without referring to the SAPS. The SAPS viewed this as inappropriate as MPS officials received a bulk of their crime information from the SAPS and therefore all public statements relating to the general crime situation should emanate from the SAPS. From the MPS point of view, they are entitled to speak about crime as its prevention is one of their mandates. Both agencies made statements that the information received or released from the other was on occasion incorrect. Joint meetings between appointed media spokespersons of both agencies could solve such problems. Protocols or guidelines on statements to the media about policing and crime could also alleviate some of the concerns expressed.

Slow response to problem solving
While it was agreed that problems emerging between the SAPS and MPS were usually quickly resolved by the relevant operational commanders, it was clear that this was not always the case. Where problems were raised at the various collaborative structures long after an incident had occurred, it was sometimes too late to do anything about it. A good practice identified in this regard was for both agencies to appoint dedicated senior officers whose responsibility it was to resolve issues as they emerge. This person would serve as the person to whom all lower level operational commanders should refer to if problems arise. A further suggestion was that specific time should be allocated on the agenda of the meetings of various joint operational committees to reflect on the types of problems that have emerged and to identify trends and develop a strategic approach to resolving them.

Inadequate Resources
Part of the challenges facing most MPSs in fulfilling all three of their mandates was the relative scarcity of resources. From the side of the MPSof whether they had the resources available or not. In some localities it was stated that joint operational planning had been undertaken between the SAPS and MPS at Area level, but had subsequently been changed by internal planning at SAPS Provincial level in meetings where the MPS was not invited. Unplanned for demands on resources often led to shortfalls for their other activities.

SAPS representatives complained that sometimes MPSs had not lived up to promises made regarding providing resources for specific operations. Agreements were made that the MPS would send a certain number of people and vehicles to a joint operation but on the day far fewer people and vehicles arrived at the parade or did not arrive at all. There seemed to no procedure in place for monitoring these situations and preventing there re-occurrence. Other complaints were made that agreements had been reached with the MPS to deploy officials at police stations and to use similar communication channels and networks in order to improve our communication (i.e. a joint 10111 for both the MPS and SAPS in order to ensure that both agencies can respond to any crisis much speedily.) However, despite such an agreements it was said that the MPS would later renege citing a lack of resources.

These problems may partly be explained by lack of communication or inadequate level of participation at joint structures.

Monitoring and Evaluation

Inconsistent Debriefings
In general it was stated that all joint operations were followed by a de-briefing session were successes and problems were highlighted. In these sessions, the various members were also able to discuss what worked, what did not work and why. However, concerns were raised these debriefing sessions were happening on an ad hoc basis whereas they needed to be held following the completion of every joint operation.

Inadequate inter-agency performance indicators
There were accusations from both the SAPS and MPSs that they were on occasion not adequately credited for their contributions to operations. The MPS complained that for instance the SAPS would record all arrests made in an operation as a success in their reports including those that had been made by MPS officers. The SAPS, on the other hand, alleged that while a MPS may have only contributed a relatively small amount in terms of resources and personnel to an operation, that they would include all arrests and successes in their statistics. While this is a complex issue, it may be useful to explore ways of measuring agency specific inputs and outputs in joint operations. This would assist providing commanders with a better sense of where joint operations are working best and where greater attention needs to be paid and why.

Absence of formal systems for identification of shortcomings
It was stated that the evaluation systems following operations tended to be more focused on the positive (recording what had been achieved) than the negative (what were the shortcomings). This was illustrated using a hypothetical example. An operation was

planned so that agency X would contribute 100 personnel and 20 vehicles and agency Y would also provide 100 personnel and 20 vehicles. However on the day of the operation, both agencies only produced 80 personnel each and 10 vehicles each. A report on the operation would merely state the numbers of personnel and vehicles that took part in the operation. There was no system of tracking operations over time against planned resources and targets against the outcomes. In this way, there was no monitoring and evaluation as to why certain planned resources had not materialised in operations. While it is important to measure what had been achieved, it is also important to assess this against planned expectations if operational effectiveness is to be enhanced.

5. Overview of Key Challenges to Effective Collaboration

The US Justice Department's analytical framework is presented below as a comparative matrix in order to highlight some of the key challenges that emerged against the particular critical requirements for effective collaboration (Rinehart, et al, 2001).

Important Criteria	Policy Level (NFMPS)	Operational level
1. Stakeholders with a vested interest in collaboration must be included.	No representation from Metro Executive Councils on the forum.	Stakeholders not included in some SAPS or MPS meetings where strategic decisions were made that could affect the operational activities of the other body.
2. Trusting relationships among and between partners is critical.	Generally trust was seen as good and improving.	There were instances of poor relationships between SAPS & MPSs at local level.
3. Partners must be bound by a shared vision and common goals for the collaboration.	There are different opinions/ visions as to the crime prevention mandate of MPSs.

While NFMPS has a framework for cooperation, there are some concerns that key issues relating to collaboration are not discussed. | Not all stakeholders at local and operational level fully support or see the need for collaboration. |
| 4. Partners must have similar expertise. | Currently senior managers are participating in the NFMPS. | At some local level forums, there are indications that officials who attend are too junior ranking and therefore cannot make decisions or ensure compliance with agreements reached. |

5. Teamwork strategies must be decided jointly.	Generally NFMPS makes decisions by consensus. Questions remain as to the extent to which agreements reached are implemented and communicated throughout the various organisations represented.	While there were plenty of meetings where both the MPS and SAPS meet to plan and debrief joint operations, some indications that there needs to be greater cooperation in the development of strategies that may affect both agencies.
6. There must be free and open communication between partners.	The NFMPS meetings were seen by some as too rigid and contained. Some issues were discussed at the Chiefs meetings and not at the NFMPS – raised issues about transparency.	There were instances where information was not shared at local level, and it was alleged that commanders deliberately withheld information from other agencies as a result of 'territorialism'.
7. Partners must be motivated and should all strive to ensure that the collaboration is a success.	Generally members of NFMPS were motivated to collaborate. However, lack of adequate monitoring & evaluation meant that problems were not always identified and rectified.	There were some examples where stakeholders were not motivated to collaborate and appeared to have little interest in doing so.
8. There are resources and means dedicated by all partners to implement and sustain the collaborative effort.	NFMPS lacks the resources to fund a secretariat. Sustainable funding are required for various initiatives that could be undertaken by the forum to promote collaboration.	MPS do not always deliver the promised resources to joint operations. MPS complained that SAPS demands depleted MPS resources.
9. There must be an action plan to be followed.	NFMPS had a framework for cooperation setting out principles but no action plan that established specific objectives to advance collaboration between the primary role-players.	Operational plans existed for specific joint operations. However, there were no specific action plans developed by the various Police Coordinating Committees for promoting collaboration between the role-players.
10. Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E).	There was no M&E system for tracking the work and implementation of agreements reached by the NFMPS.	There was no or inadequate M&E systems for tracking or reporting on multi-agency resource contributions towards joint operations.

6. Proposals

The proposals presented here include suggestions as to what could be done to improve collaboration at a policy and operational level in the short term to medium term. The

proposals that will be presented below should be read in conjunction with those outlined in the document entitled 'Result Area 7: Improving Collaboration between the SAPS and Metropolitan Police Agencies' (Newham, 2003).

6.1 Promoting a Collaborative Vision and Objective

Essentially, in order to promote a collaborative vision, a clarification of the 'Crime Prevention' mandate of the MPS is required. The NFMPS could be the forum at which this debate is initiated and which could assist in forging a common vision. A sub-committee could be formed to develop a discussion document which clearly articulates how and what kind of crime prevention activities a MPS could undertake within the current legal and resource constraints. This would assist the NFMPS to focus its initiatives on ensuring that collaborative relationships are based on a shared understanding and vision of the role of MPSs in 'crime prevention.' Moreover, the forum could provide political and organisational leadership with the insights and arguments which may be needed to promote a clear and common vision.

6.2 Enhancing the legal authority and resources of the NFMPS

One of the key shortcomings of the NFMPS was its lack of legal authority to ensure compliance with its agreements and protocols. It is proposed that this issue is taken up with the Minister for Safety and Security as part of a review of the SAPS Act. The NFMPS could initiate a process to draft a set of regulations for incorporate in the Act that would:

- Give effect to the establishment and composition of the NFMPS.
- Prescribe the functions and duties of the NFMPS.
- Describe the operational and decision making procedures.
- Outline appointment and representation.

Currently, there is donor funding which can be utilised to assist the work of the forum. However, plans should be developed to ensure that it has the resources and capacity to continue its work after current funding ceases to exist. Funds could possibly be obtained through contributions from the budgets of the participating member organisations. For example, protocols, sub-committee reports, practical guidelines for enhancing operational collaboration or performance monitoring tools for interagency projects could be stored and made easily accessible by a full-time NFMPS secretariat.

While the process of revising the SAPS Act may take some time, legal authority in relation to aspects of the current work of the NFMPS may be resolved by invoking section 64L of the SAPS Amendment Act of 1998.[1] This section could assist giving legal authority to standards of policing that have been agreed to by the NFMPS.

6.3 A Review and Strategic Planning for the NFMPS

It would be useful to undertake a review of the NFMPS which has been operating since 2001. This could be part of a strategic planning process for 2005. Draft terms of reference of the review could be developed by a sub-committee and a budget drawn up (possibly as part of the Belgian Technical Cooperation funding).

As stated in a previous proposal (Newham, 2003), a strategic planning exercise for the NFMPS could be undertaken to identify specific long, medium and short objectives. The objectives should be related to overcoming the key obstacles that have been identified.

A key outcome of the strategic workshop could be an action plan that would link the key principles as presented in the 'framework for cooperation document' to achieving measurable objectives. In this way, each annual strategic review could easily consist of an evaluation to further guide the forum.

6.4 Improving Information collection and sharing

One of the stated objectives of the NFMPS is the sharing of good practices. From this research it appears that this knowledge-sharing largely takes place informally and that not all role-players benefit from it. The ideal would be for a system to be developed whereby good collaborative practices could be submitted by the role-players for consideration by the forum. Assistance could be sought from universities or other research organisations to evaluate and document initiatives where inter-agency collaboration, coordination or communication was seen to be working well. The results in the form of documents (electronic or hard copy) could be stored by the NFMPS secretariat for quick and easy access by whichever role-player required them.

Similarly, international and local literature on how to build and sustain collaborative partnerships could be collected on an ongoing basis. When sub-committees of the NFMPS are formed to develop various proposals for consideration by the forum, they would have a library of information at their disposal.

It would also be useful for NFMPS sub-committees to draft relatively detailed reports on their deliberations and proposals. A simple template for how such reports could be compiled could be developed. These reports could then be circulated to forum members and others in the participating organisations for consideration and input. Such reports will ensure that a greater number of people who need to implement agreements reached at the forum are able rapidly inform themselves of the thinking and arguments behind proposals. Such reports will allow for better communication and implementation of common agreements. Furthermore, such reports could also enhance the institutional memory of the forum, as well as provide a historical record for new members.

6.5 Enhancing Inter and Intra-agency Communication

Effective communication is a key challenge facing most organisations let alone inter-agency initiatives. Communication challenges in such relationships are typically twofold. Firstly, there is the challenge of horizontal communication, (i.e. amongst the senior level role-players or stake-holders party to inter-agency arrangements). The challenge is to make sure that all role-players (SAPS and MPS participants) and stake-holders (secretariats, city council executives), receive information pertinent to matters under consideration (e.g. a cooperation protocol).

It is suggested that a specific contact person for each of the senior level role-players and stake-holders is identified. Their contact details should be recorded in a central database. They must be well aware that they are responsible for receiving documents and notifying

the principal of what has been received. Documents that are distributed should be given a reference number for tracking purposes. Upon distribution from a central nodal point or secretariat the date, time and method (fax or e-mail) should be recorded and filed. In this way, communication obstacles can be better identified and rectified by principals if information is not received. An annual list of what has been circulated (including document reference numbers and dates circulated) and should be kept so that role-players can ensure that they have received all the documents and new participants can easily establish what information they need.

The second challenge relates to vertical communication (i.e. throughout the hierarchical levels within a particular organisation). Once agreements, protocols or guidelines for implementation are finalised, it should be up to the senior principal to ensure distribution using internal channels. As in the model presented in the above paragraph, specific contact people (chairpersons or participants of collaborative structures – i.e. operational commanders) need to be identified and files kept of what was sent to them and when. In the case of collaborative structures closer to operational level (i.e. Police Coordinating Committees, Crime Combating Forums, or Joint Operation Committees) a standing item on the agenda of meetings should be 'NFMPS Documents'. This would allow operational commanders of the agencies to a collaborative relationship to compare what has been received in relation to the strategic collaborative structure (i.e. the NFMPS). Moreover, this would give greater profile to the NFMPS and could encourage (if so communicated) the participants of operational level collaborative structures to submit their structure as an example of good practice.

Thirdly, there is basic communication at operational level which is more about commanders of each agency informing each other about particular initiatives. In order to build relationships and allow for better coordination it is important that members of each agency are able to contact each other on a daily basis. Whether this is about the MPS having a 'road show' that will pass through the precincts of various SAPS police stations or about patrol officers in both agencies being able to speak to each other on hand held radios if immediate assistance is needed for whatever reason. Protocols and best practices in relation to this type of communication should be considered by the NFMPS so as to assist operational level commanders to better communicate with each other.

6.6 Focus on Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E)

Assessing the functioning and impact of inter-agency collaboration is critical if it is to become both effective and sustainable. Typically, M&E systems rely on performance indicators (PIs) which are objective measures of fact to assist in assessing whether specific and clearly identified objectives are being achieved over time. There are a number of different ways of engaging in M&E initiatives and different approaches have to be used in accordance to what is being assessed.

It is proposed that the development of a monitoring and evaluation system is identified as a particular project to be initiated by the NFMPS. An expert could be sourced to assist with this project. There are two issues it should be concerned with. Firstly, the extent to which the NFMPS is able to achieve its stated objectives. Secondly, the extent to which a basic M&E system can be implemented by operational level structures to determine the extent to which inter-agency communications and agreements are upheld. At this level, a specific

focus of such a project could be on developing performance indicators for assessing collaboration within particular localities. This could include a system that captures such measures as number of official contacts between officials of the agencies, meeting attendance, joint operational resources and measurable contributions to joint operations.

If a standardised system was in place in all localities, benchmarks could emerge to assist the role-players at each locality to assess their levels of collaboration. Such benchmarks would then provide specific targets or objectives for collaboration in localities that establish their MPSs at a later stage.

6.7 Training for Collaboration

Training can play and important part in the building of relationships in different ways. Firstly, training curriculums on inter-agency collaboration could be developed for officials in agencies who are expected to work together. For instance training course curriculums for both the new recruits of the MPSs and the SAPS could be slightly expanded to include information on the other agencies such as their mandates, structure, ranks, and activities, etc. In this way new SAPS recruits will become familiar with MPSs as part of their initial training and visa versa.

Furthermore, information about collaboration in relation to key principles, structures (such as the NFMPS, police coordinating committees) agreements, protocols or initiatives could be included as part of management training courses for SAPS and MPS managers. Alternatively, specific short training courses in the principles and 'good practices' of interagency collaboration could be developed for those officials that are designated to serve on structures such as the NFMPS and Police Coordinating Committees.

Already there is an initiative to train new JMPD recruits in various SAPS functions at station level. This kind of initiative could result in a range of benefits for building a collaborative relationship. MPS officials would learn the craft of policing and associated rules and regulations. This would allow them to better understand how their activities could support and assist the SAPS. Moreover, the personal relationships that would be established would also later on assist in promoting a better understanding amongst SAPS members as to the role and function of the MPS at operational level. An evaluation component has been built into this programme that would be important to share the outcome with the NFMPS and from there with other MPSs that would like to undertake a similar initiative.

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Interviews

South African Police Service Interviews

Billings, A.P. (Director) Deputy Area Commissioner Operations, SAPS Area Johannesburg
Interview conducted on 27 October 2004

Clayton (Director) Provincial Head of Crime Prevention, and Director Naidoo, of KwaZulu-Natal
Written submission received on 12 October 2004

Groenewald, L. E. (Superintendent) Station Commissioner for SAPS Pretoria North, SAPS Area Pretoria.
Written submission received on 12 October 2004.

Groenewald, B (Assistant Commissioner) National Head Office SAPS.
Interview conducted on 26 October 2004

Hugo, H (Senior Superintendent) Provincial Head of Crime Prevention Western Cape
Interview conducted on 12 October 2004

Kweyama (Director) Area Head of Crime Prevention, SAPS Area Johannesburg
Interview Conducted on 27 October 2004

Louw, D. (Director) Station Commissioner for SAPS Hillbrow, Area Johannesburg
Interview conducted on 25 October 2004

McClaren (Director) Deputy Area Crime Prevention for SAPS Area Pretoria
Interview conducted on 5 October 2004

Zangwa (Director) Station Commissioner for SAPS Jeppe, Area Johannesburg
Interview conducted on 12 October 2004

Metropolitan Police Service Interviews

Armstrong, T. (Advocate, Head of Legal Support), Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department.
Interview conducted on 1 October 2004.

Davids, P (Divisional Chief Operations) Cape Town City Police Department.

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Malaza, T.M. (Deputy Chief) Durban City Police Department
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Pelser, E. (Director, Office of the Chief), Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department.
Interview conducted on 20 October 2004.

Sharnick, C. (Deputy Chief) Cape Town City Police Department.
Interview conducted on 1 November 2004.

Van Rooyen, B. (Director, Deputy Head), Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Police Department.
Interview conducted on 27 October 2004.

8. Interview Schedules

National Forum for Police Cooperation (NPCF)
Interview Schedule

The aim of this interview is to establish the current strengths and challenges facing this forum for promoting effective collaboration between the SAPS and MPSs. The following questions will explore different issues relating to improving policy synchronicity and the functioning of the NFPC (referred to in this document as the "forum"). The aim of the research is to make proposals that will strengthen the collaboration between the two organisations in combating crime and enhancing service delivery. Please answer these questions as best as you can? If there are issues that are not raised by these questions but you feel are important to take note of to improve collaboration, please feel free to highlight them. Thank you for your participation in this research. It is much appreciated!

1. Vision/Purpose

1. What is the purpose of the National Forum for Police Cooperation?
2. Has the purpose or scope of the NFPC changed since its establishment? If so please explain?
3. How does the forum decide on which policy issues to focus? Please explain.
4. Which are the most important policy issues that it has to deal with?
5. Which issues has it been most successful in addressing? Please give practical examples and elaborate.
6. Which policy issues have not been adequately addressed as yet? Please give practical examples and elaborate.
7. What do you think are the key challenges facing the forum with regards to developing common policy?
8. Are their any other structures that could play a role in strengthening collaboration between the SAPS and MPS?

2. Policy and Strategy Development

1. Where are policies and strategies developed in your organisation?
2. Do representatives of other police structures (e.g. SAPS or MPD) attend your

organisations policy and strategy development processes?

3. Are the issues raised by the forum taken into consideration in your organisations policy and strategy development processes?
4. Do you have any other ideas as to how policy and strategy could be better synchronised between the SAPS and MPSs?

3. Decision-making

1. Can the forum reach agreement on decisions to be taken or can it only make recommendations?
2. How are decisions made? Please give examples of key decisions to have emerged from the forum.
3. How long does it take the forum to reach a decision?
4. What are the challenges facing the forum in reaching decisions?

4. Participation

1. Who are the most important representatives to attend the forums meetings?
2. Are the right people attending the forum meetings? Please explain.
3. Are there structures that are currently not represented who should send a representative? Please elaborate.
4. How often does the structure convene and is this adequate for collaboration and effective communication? Please explain your answer.

5. Communication

1. How are decisions taken by the forum communicated throughout your organisation?
2. Where has the communication been successful for collaboration between the SAPS and the MPS and give practical examples?
3. Where has communication not been successful and give practical examples?
4. What are the challenges to ensuring effective communication between the forum and its representatives?
5. Do you have any recommendations as to how communication between the SAPS and the MPSs can be improved?

6. Monitoring and Evaluation

1. How does the forum ensure that its decisions are communicated effectively?
2. How does the forum monitor the impact of the decisions taken?
3. Can you suggest any performance indicators that could be used to monitor the communication and implementation of agreements taken at the forum?
4. Do you have any other ideas as to how agreements taken by the forum could be better communicated and implemented?
5. Do you have any ideas as to how collaboration between the SAPS and MPSs could be monitored and evaluated.

7. Recommendations

1. Do you have any ideas as to how the forum could better play a coordinating role?

2. Are there any other issues that you would like to raise about the role and functioning of the forum?
3. Do you have any other ideas as to how policy could be better synchronised between the SAPS and the MPSs?

Operational Cooperation and Collaboration between the SAPS and MPS Interview Schedule

The aim of this interview is to establish the current strengths and challenges facing the collaboration between the South African Police Service and Metropolitan Police Service's at operational level. The following questions will explore different issues relating to this topic. The aim of the research is to make proposals that will strengthen the collaboration between the two organisations in combating crime and enhancing service delivery. Please answer these questions as best as you can? If there are issues that are not raised by these questions but you feel are important to take note of to improve collaboration, please feel free to highlight them.

Thank you for your participation in this research. It is much appreciated!

1. Nature of Collaboration

1. Can you give examples of successful collaboration between the SAPS and the MPS? Explain what makes the examples successful?
2. Can you give examples of where collaboration between the SAPS and MPS is not successful? Explain what the key challenges/problems are?

2. Forums for Collaboration and Communication

1. If problems for collaboration between the SAPS and MPS occur, where or at what level are these sorted out, if at all?
2. Are their regular meetings between members of the SAPS and MPS?
3. Where do these meetings take place?
4. What is the forum called?
5. How often do such meetings take place?
6. How long do the meetings last?
7. What is discussed or reported on at these meetings?
8. Is there a set agenda?
9. Who are the representatives to attend the forums meetings?
10. Are the right people attending the forum meetings? Please explain.
11. Are there organisations or structures that are currently not represented who should send a representative? Please elaborate.
12. Are there any shortcomings around the participation or representation on such forums?

3. Joint Operational Planning

1. How often are you involved in joint operations between the SAPS and MPS?
2. Does operational planning take place in the regular forums or are specific operational planning meetings held?
3. At what level are joint operations authorised and reported to?

4. How many people attend operational planning meetings between the SAPS and MPS?
5. Who are the representatives to attend the forums meetings?
6. Are the right people attending the forum meetings? Please explain.
7. Are there organisations or structures that are currently not represented who should send a representative? Please elaborate.
8. Are there any shortcomings around the participation or representation on such forums?

5. Communication

1. What are the challenges to ensuring effective operational communication between the SAPS and MPS?
2. Can you give examples of communication been successful for collaboration between the SAPS and the MPS and give practical examples?
3. Where has communication not been successful and give practical examples?
4. Do you have any recommendations as to how communication can be improved?
5. Do you ever receive any information or guidelines relating to collaboration between the SAPS and MPS?
6. How is operational planning communicated to your organisation?
7. Are minutes kept of the planning discussion and decisions taken?
8. How and where are problems in the collaboration between the SAPS and MPS communicated?

6. Monitoring and Evaluation

1. How is collaboration between the SAPS and MPS is generally evaluated?
2. How are problems with regard to collaboration identified, and where and how are these communicated?
3. How are specific joint operations between the SAPS and MPS monitored? (Is there one overall commander or does each organisation have different roles and respective commanders?)
4. Once a joint operation is completed, how is its success evaluated?
5. Is there a distinction between the activities/ successes of the SAPS and the MPS?
6. Can you suggest any performance indicators that could be used to monitor the collaboration between the SAPS and MPS?

7. Recommendations

1. Do you have any other ideas as to how collaboration between the SAPS and the MPS operational level could be generally improved?
2. Are there any other issues that you would like to raise about collaboration between the SAPS and the MPS at operational level?

Note:

[1] Section 64 L (1) of the SAPS Amendment Act states *inter alia* that, "The National Commissioner may determine national standards of policing for municipal police services …"