

**Point community members' perceptions of South African Police Service
prevention strategies for the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the
Point area, Durban**

by

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DECLARATION

I, Lennox Luzipo, declare that:

- (a) the research divulged in this dissertation, excluding where otherwise indicated, is my own, authentic research;
- (b) to my knowledge, this dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination purposes to any university or similar institution of higher learning;
- (c) this dissertation does not contain previous authors' data, images, diagrams or points of reference, except where these parts are particularly recognised as being cited from such authors;
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DATE:

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my supervisor, Dr J an Steyn, who is a role model of determination, pertinacity, patience and firmness. He motivated me to bring this dissertation to fruition and to achieve my personal objectives and stand on the shoulders of giants.

I also dedicate this dissertation to my prudent mother, who tenaciously urged me to focus on my academic work even though she barely touched primary school education. My mother's dreams are not an illusion but reflect the realities of life whose components must be treasured and given back to the acknowledged owners.

I furthermore dedicate this dissertation to my children, with the particular expectation that they might recognise and acknowledge that, irrespective of unfavourable circumstances, if a person applies himself/herself to a worthy cause, he/she will achieve completion despite many challenges.

ABSTRACT

The study was conducted to illuminate Point community members' perceptions of the South African Police Service (SAPS) strategies that are employed in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area in Durban, South Africa. The study employed a qualitative methodology using a descriptive-interpretive/hermeneutics research approach. This approach was deemed the most appropriate research style to address the research questions. The data were collected by conducting semi-structured interviews in conjunction with participant observation. People holding the following designations agreed to participate in this study: the SAPS Point Police Station Commander; the SAPS Point Crime Prevention Station Commander; an experienced senior legal representative; a senior State prosecutor; a community leader residing in the Point area; two Point business owners; two ordinary community members residing in the Point area; three members of the SAPS Point Community Policing Forum (PCPF); and a leader of the SAPS PCPF. All the research participants responded to semi-structured interview questions. These responses provided thick data that revealed Point community members' perceptions of SAPS prevention strategies for the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the area. Three sampling techniques were employed in this study, namely purposive sampling, convenient sampling and snowball sampling. The process of data analysis was achieved by identifying themes and categories. The interview questions established ten themes in response to the measuring instrument, and broader research questions. The findings indicated that marijuana was predominantly sold in tiny plastic bags by many street drug runners in the Point area. The study also found that people who consumed marijuana (also known, and referred to in this study, as 'dagga' or 'cannabis') and other illicit drugs handed the required amount of money to street drug runners inside take-away outlets or at any other assumed appropriate venue. The drugs were collected from where they had been placed in garbage bins or garbage plastic bags along any street chosen by the drug runner. It was also revealed that street drug runners in Point would not carry any illicit drugs such as cannabis on them while selling illegal substances. The extent of marijuana trafficking in the Point area was seen as substantial and the Point community was negatively overwhelmed by the illicit trafficking of cannabis. The following were identified as SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area: (a) consistent door-to-door campaigns concerning the effects that emanate from the abuse of dagga and other illicit drugs such as heroin, crack cocaine, ecstasy, mandrax, woonga, and/or nyaope; and (b) joint field operations conducted by Point SAPS police officials and SAPS police officials from other police stations. Point SAPS officials also conducted joint field operations with private security companies and the PCPF; (c) roadblocks; (d) patrols; (e) cordon and search operations; and (f) undercover operations. In addition, the study found that the rates of cannabis and alcohol abuse by young people were excessively high in the Point area. All the respondents felt that that SAPS strategies to curtail the use of illicit drugs in this area were relatively effective. However, it was commented that the illegal occupation of buildings in Point by slum landlords and tenants who allegedly trafficked in illicit drugs (with particular reference to cannabis) was an obstacle. The respondents argued that it would be impossible to effectively prevent the illicit trafficking of marijuana and other illicit drugs in this area. However, it was revealed that Point SAPS officials did not always use the same preventive strategy, and that different strategies were often employed in combination so as to prevent, curb, or circumvent the criminal activities of offenders. SAPS Point police officials neither followed up on unsolved cases nor on persons who were suspected of participating in organised criminal activities, with specific reference to trafficking in cannabis. Finally, the study found that visible policing in Point to some degree prevented the illicit trafficking of marijuana and other illicit drugs and that it also enhanced the formation of partnerships between the police and the community.

LEAD/INDEX TERMS: Point community, perceptions, SAPS prevention strategies, illicit trafficking of marijuana, marijuana, cannabis

LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

CCT	City of Cape Town
CDA	Central Drug Authority
CPF	Community Policing Forum
DSD	Department of Social Development
ILP	Intelligence Led Policing
MO	Method of Operation
MTSF	Medium Term Strategic Framework
NDMP	National Drug Master Plan
PCPF	Point Community Policing Forum
POC	Prevention of Organised Crime
PMG	Parliamentary Monitoring Group
SA	South Africa
SAC	South African Constitution
SAPS	South African Police Service
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States of America
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

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1.1 Introduction

According to SAPS (2016), the Minister of Police (at the time [currently Mr Fikile Mbalula]), Mr Nkosinathi Nhleko, stated the following during the Russia-Africa Conference in Durban (9 March 2016):

“It is just under a year that I addressed the Moscow Ministerial Conference on the influence of illicit drugs on global security and sustainable development. We meet in the tropical city of Durban, South Africa to continue this dialogue. Russia-Africa conference is of strategic importance in that it brings together the Russian civilization and the African nations in harmony and we are indeed determined in the pursuit of sustainable solutions to the problems that will consequently define our future. The fact that we are all gathered here is a testament to the resolve by the nations represented here to strengthen international solidarity [and] ties, and [to] consolidate efforts in addressing the world drug problem.

Our previous conference in the Russian Federation’s majestic capital sought to, amongst other things, reinforce and mainstream the international effort at fighting against the scourge of drug production and smuggling. Ladies and Gentlemen, this is a cause for concern and borrowing from Mr Vladimir Putin’s words: “This conference will help to make the law enforcement agencies’ fight against drugs more effective and will develop international anti-drugs cooperation”. Drugs affect human development in all civilizations. In Africa, our productive forces are regressed along with the long-awaited development of the continent. Those who trade in drugs are killing our nations as they actively market these substances to our civilizations. Kat, cannabis and alcohol are inflicting untold damage to our young”.

With reference to the above excerpt, the Honourable Minister of Police indicated that cannabis is one of the illicit drugs that is regarded as a nourishment for boundless destructive social problems among young people, but that its devastating nature is not limited to this group. In this context, an extensive literature review revealed that police scholars, researchers and academics around South Africa have not previously explored community perceptions of SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana at police station level. Therefore, with reference to Mr Nhleko’s speech, this study explored the perceptions of community members in the Point area, Durban, regarding SAPS strategies to prevent the illicit trafficking of marijuana. The investigation employed various methods to understand and describe the approaches employed by the SAPS in preventing persons from possessing, dealing and peddling in, smoking, and consuming marijuana in South Africa.

1.2 Research problem

The nature of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area is problematic. Illicit drug trafficking in South Africa, and especially trafficking in marijuana, is a huge burden on the taxpayer's shoulders (FGA, 2016). For example, in the period of 2014/2015, the South African taxpayer spent R3.5 billion on the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana (FGA, 2016). In this regard, various criticisms of the police and the perceived ineffectiveness of their operations to curb drug trafficking are regularly exposed in the media. What is often not revealed, is that the illicit trafficking of marijuana is mostly committed in conjunction with other crimes as part of organised criminal activities (Khan & Singh, 2014; Pheiffer, 2013). Moreover, there is confusion and ambiguity in Section 205(3) of the South African Constitution (South Africa, 1996) with regards to the objectives of the SAPS (Burger, 2007). However, Govender (2015) argues that the general public's criticism of the SAPS in relation to policing and crime prevention is mostly based on misconceptions, particularly because local police stations are ill equipped to tackle organised criminal activities as they lack competent intelligence personnel (Govender, 2015).

SAPS police officials who function at police station level are characterised by permeating flaws which affect their performance. Some of these challenges are improper training, moral deterioration, inadequate management skills, insufficient oversight, and an absence of consistent intra-organisation investigations (Govender, 2015). It was therefore important to determine what Point community members thought about the illicit trafficking of marijuana in this area, because the views and experiences of the community ought to be taken into account whenever police experts review and shape SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in their area of operation. It was also envisaged that Point community members' views and experiences would assist SAPS planners and policy makers in understanding the changing patterns in terms of how offenders commit crimes, with particular reference to the illicit trafficking of marijuana.

1.3 Rationale for the study

A literature search revealed that no previous study had focused specifically on an exploration of Point community members' perceptions of SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana in this area. One reason for this may be attributed to the fact that, in terms of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992, marijuana is not considered as dangerous as other dependence-producing substances such as crack cocaine, cocaine, heroin, or tik (Government of South Africa, 1992). This may therefore be the reason why very little scholarly attention has been given to SAPS strategies for the prevention of trafficking in marijuana, particularly at police station level. However, marijuana is used by many people from the lower classes or poor backgrounds because it is the cheapest available illicit drug. The irony is that the South African economy is heavily dependent on people from the lower classes and poor backgrounds who purchase basic goods from the retail sector and small manufacturers. South Africa's lower classes and marginalised (poorer) communities also pay for services that are provided by service providers, yet many members of the lower classes and poorer communities over stretch their limited budgets by spending much of their available disposable income on illicit drugs and marijuana. Furthermore,

no specific information could be traced in the literature concerning the strategies utilised by SAPS Point Station officers in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point precinct. There was therefore an urgent need to conduct this particular study in an attempt to close this gap. In this context, selected Point community members' perceptions were explored and the data that were obtained were analysed and evaluated.

As a point of departure, South African legislative definitions in terms of drugs and illicit drug trafficking were explored. In terms of Section 1(1) of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992, a drug *denotes* "... any dependence-producing substance, any dangerous dependence-producing substance or any undesirable dependence-producing substance ..." (Government of South Africa, 1992).

In the context of this definition, the current research project sought to explore, describe and analyse Point community members' perceptions of SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area. The researcher chose the research topic because incidents of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area escalated in the period 2015/2016, as is evidenced by the Point police station crime statistics for 2014 which indicate that 1 830 illicit drug offences under the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992 were recorded (KwaZulu-Natal SAPS Annual Crime Statistics, 2015). The intensification of the illicit trafficking of marijuana is not a new phenomenon, because the past informs this study that, at national level, the SAPS seized about 292 metric tons of marijuana in 2005, which was a huge setback to illicit drug traffickers (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2007). Furthermore, SAPS police officials carried out several operations which resulted in the seizure of a total of 292 metric tons of marijuana through the application of effective strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana. Also, during the period of 2014-2015, the SAPS confiscated about 440 269 288 kg of cannabis from illicit drug traffickers. These and subsequent seizures were achieved through the successful application of operational strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana (SAPS Annual Performance Report, 2014-2015). However, SAPS police officials often only seize marginal quantities of cannabis, that is, if the seizure of the aforementioned quantities of cannabis are compared with the yearly output of 4 528 metric tons that are harvested in South Africa (US Department of State, 2011). Furthermore, the illicit drug trade in South Africa is part of the organised crime, and this includes other criminal offences which are committed in an organised manner (Khan & Singh, 2014; Pheiffer, 2013). For example, in 2011 organised illicit drug traffickers in South Africa, particularly in Durban, concentrated on exchanging cannabis for stolen cars from the UK (Wilson, 2011). The strategies employed by the SAPS in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana will be critically and comprehensively discussed in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

As a way forward, drug trafficking is a phrase which appears repeatedly in this study, thus it is necessary to explain its components within the South African legal framework.

In terms of Section 28(iv)(a)(b) of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992, drug trafficking encompasses the following:

“...any action in the Republic of South Africa which is equivalent to a drug offence or an economic offence; or any deed or omission outside South Africa that, if it had happened within the boundaries of the Republic, would have been equivalent to a drug offence or an economic offence, or to be involved or interested in any such undertaking or commission” (The Presidency, 1992).

Furthermore, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime defines drug trafficking as *“...a global illicit trade involving the cultivation, manufacture, distribution and sale of substances which are subject to drug prohibition laws ...”*. According to the UNODC World Drug Report (2010), the illicit trafficking of drugs burdens many people with problems that are characterised by ripple effects.

Even though the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992 is inclusive of drug-related crimes, it does not define the practice of drug trafficking. The lack of a definition of drug trafficking creates a gap, resulting in ambiguity which undermines justifications to charge a person who is suspected of employing evasive methods of distributing illicit drugs. For example, ordinary postal services are used to convey illicit drugs from one point to another within South Africa. Therefore, although the above-mentioned Act is acknowledged, it is somewhat deficient in efficaciously tackling illicit drug trafficking in all its complex forms. However, illicit drug trafficking is more clearly defined in Section 16 of SAPS Act 68 of 1995 and in the SAPS Amendment Act 57 of 2008. In terms of Section 1(1) of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992, a drug denotes *“...any dependence-producing substance, any dangerous dependence-producing substance or any undesirable dependence-producing substance...”* (Government of South Africa, 1992). Moreover, Section 1(1) of this Act also stipulates that the term ‘dangerous dependence-producing substance’ denotes *“...any substance or any plant from which a substance can be manufactured [as] included in Part I of Schedule 2...”*, and that an ‘undesirable dependence-producing substance’ denotes *“...any substance or any plant from which a substance can be manufactured [as] included in Part III of Schedule 2...”*. With reference to the current study, the substance of concern that is referred to in Part III is known as marijuana. Marijuana is also known by street names such as ‘cannabis’ or ‘dagga’ (Basdeo, Lekubu, Montesh, & Sibanda, 2015; Minnaar, 2015). For the purposes of this study, the terms marijuana, cannabis and dagga will be used interchangeably.

The practice of illicit drug trafficking in conjunction with organised crime cannot be ignored, because other criminal activities are frequently intertwined with illicit drug trafficking. This statement is supported by a number of studies such as those by Khan and Singh (2014) and Pheiffer (2013). In an effort to show how organised crime and drug trafficking have to be viewed collectively as the foundation for the rationale of this study, a brief elaboration on organised crime follows below.

Organised crime is related to the current study in the sense that the illicit trafficking of marijuana is usually committed in conjunction with other offences by a group of offenders, or by a single offender. Such criminals execute certain criminal tasks and also commit other offences within a given period so as to achieve the objectives

of a particular criminal organisation. In this context, marijuana is an illicit drug in terms of Schedule 1 of the Prevention of Organised Crime (POC) Act No. 121 of 1998 (Government of South Africa, 1998), whereas the POC Act No. 121 of 1998 also addresses the prevention of organised crime. Therefore, the very same wording for these criminal acts which is contained in the Act itself supports this assertion. However, for the purpose of this study, organised crime is not defined in South African statutes because, in terms of Chapter 4 of the POC Act No. 121 of 1998, offences referred to in this chapter are viewed as gang related offences as they relate to criminal activities committed by gangs (Government of South Africa, 1998). Therefore, in order to understand that the legal basis of organised crime and its components that are vested in gang activities, Section 1(1)(iv) of the POC Act of 1998 must be considered, as it defines a criminal gang as:

“... any formal or informal ongoing organisation, association, or group of three or more persons, which has as one of its activities the commission of one or more criminal offences, which has an identifiable name or identifying sign or symbol, and whose members individually or collectively engage in or have engaged in a pattern of criminal gang activity” (Government of South Africa, 1998).

In light of the above definition, organised crime ought to be a statutory crime and its definition emanate from a statute. However, the SAPS's definition of organised crime has no legal standing/foundation because it is an operational definition. Thus, a suspect or suspects cannot be charged in terms of the SAPS's explanation of organised crime. Furthermore, the issue regarding the SAPS's definition of organised crime is compounded by the use of 'a person, a group of persons and syndicate' in one sentence, as the simultaneous application of the three concepts defeats the intended definition of organised crime. It is therefore argued that the definition used by the SAPS is flawed. For the purpose of clarity, in terms of the South African Police Service Act 68 of 1995 as changed slightly in 1997, 2008 and 2012, organised crime is defined as:

“...a person, group of persons or syndicate acting in an organised fashion or in a manner which could result in substantial financial gain for the person, group or persons or syndicate involved and the circumstances amounting to criminal conduct or an endeavour thereto which requires national prevention or investigation, or crime which requires specialised skills in the prevention and investigation thereof...” (Government of South Africa, 1995).

In relative terms, the SAPS's operational definition of organised crime is misleading, because:

- (a) A person does not constitute a gang and cannot perpetrate organised crime. For acts to be qualified as organised crime, an offending actor ought to act in coordination with other offenders which is a requirement of the definition, but the SAPS's definition of the above concept lacks this fairness in its

approach. Yet, in terms of Section 1(1)(iv) of POC Act of 1998, three or more people constitute a gang and are able to commit organised crime.

- (b) Another flaw in the SAPS definition is that a group of persons or a syndicate acting in an organised manner is not equivalent to a crime, but the act that a group or a syndicate perpetrates is equivalent to an offence or offences. Offenders and crime are not one and the same, as the former and the latter are two different entities.

1.4 Objectives of the study

- To explore and describe the perceptions of Point community members on SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana in Point.
- To explore and describe available published and unpublished studies that might underpin aspects of Point community members' perceptions of SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana.

1.5 Research questions

- Does the SAPS have a strategic plan for effectively curbing illicit drug trafficking?
- If strategies are employed to curb drug trafficking, are legislative demands linked with police station (local level) practices and strategies?
- Are community members' perceptions and expectations regarding efforts by the SAPS to prevent drug trafficking in the area realistic and fair?
- Do community members speak with one voice regarding efforts by the SAPS to curb drug trafficking in the area?
- Do internal disputes or a disillusion with the legislative framework hamper the efficacy of operations?

1.6 Conceptualisation of pertinent terms

The terms that were relevant to this study are the following:

1.6.1 Terms

Point community: The Oxford Dictionary defines a community as “...all the people living in a specific locality...”, and “...a specific locality, including its inhabitants...” (Thompson, 1995:268). With reference to the concept of 'Point

community', it can be described as a group of people living and/or working in a subsection of the eThekweni municipality that is known as Point.

Perceptions: According to the Chambers Dictionary (2008), 'perception' (or its plural derivative 'perceptions'), is defined as a situation in which a person is "...conscious of [his/her] environment through physical experiences and sensations", and the term denotes "...an individual's ability to understand". In the researcher's view, this physical consciousness is enhanced by cognitive awareness and interpretation. The Oxford Dictionary also defines the term as "...an interpretation or impression based on one's understanding of something" (Thompson, 1995:1 014). Within the framework of social science, Nelson and Quick (1997:83-84) define 'social perception' as "...the process of interpreting information about another person". The researcher's understanding of the latter definition of 'perception' is that the viewpoints or thoughts that a person formulates about another individual are subject to the quantity of existing information that a particular person accesses at any given time, and that these viewpoints or thoughts are also conditional upon the degree to which he/she rightfully explains the internalised information.

SAPS prevention strategies: A strategy denotes the proactive steps that are employed by police officials in stopping potential criminals from committing offences. With reference to the current study, SAPS prevention strategies entailed steps that were designed to stop the commission of illicit cannabis trafficking in the Point area. For the purpose of clarity, Newburn and Neyroud (2008:59) define crime prevention as: "...a generic term incorporating a range of techniques designed to stop crimes from happening or to reduce their probability. These techniques fall loosely into social or situation measures, or a combination of the two". The latter definition of crime prevention includes many unmentioned methods or approaches which are combined and devised to stop prospective criminal activities from being perpetrated by seasoned offenders or potential offenders and/or to decrease the likelihood of illicit activities. The unmentioned mixed methods of crime prevention are divided into two categories, namely social or situational, or they can be located in a mixture of these two categories. However, the latter definition does not imply that crime can be prevented completely. It is practically impossible to live in a utopian state that is crime free. Thus, the possibility or likelihood of criminal acts can be lessened *via* the employment of effective crime prevention strategies. However, it does not mean that offences will not be committed by offenders even if a method(s) exist(s) that is/are designed to prevent them.

Illicit trafficking of marijuana/cannabis/dagga: The researcher describes the 'illicit trafficking of marijuana' as the illegal cultivation, distribution, transportation, sale, purchase, exchange, and possession of marijuana.

Marijuana/cannabis/dagga: According to the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2007), cannabis is roughly described as a greenish or brownish substance that resembles tobacco. It is an organic material that consists of flowering tops and the leaves of the cannabis hemp. When used as a drug, it has been dried and is thus free of water. In terms of the South African legislative framework, both dried marijuana and marijuana crops are regarded as illicit.

1.7 Research Methodology

This study made use of document analyses and a survey research **design**, within the ambit of qualitative research (**approach**) and the descriptive-interpretive research **paradigm**, to answer the research questions. An **extensive literature review** was conducted with regards to applicable legislation, policies, reports and operational strategies that relate to Point Station (South African Police Service) strategies, to and in, preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana. A multitude of research databases were also employed to identify appropriate books, journals (articles), theses, dissertations, and newspaper commentaries.

The study **measuring instrument** consisted of a semi-structured interview schedule (mostly open-ended questions), that was designed by the researcher, based on the extensive literature review mentioned *supra*. The key informant interviews were **conducted** (by the researcher) with thirteen participants (**sample**), identified through 'purpose' (suitability) and 'snowballing' (referred). More specifically, the Point SAPS Station Commander, the Point SAPS Station Crime Prevention Commander, an experienced senior legal representative practicing in the Point area, a senior public prosecutor from the local magistrates court, two different business owners from the Point area, four members from the Point Community Police Forum (including the Chairman), one community leader from the Point area, one resident from the point area, and a self-pronounced drug-trafficker from the Point area. Clearly the sample does not represent the Point area community, however it does give a rich and varied reflection of the phenomenon under study.

In this study, the Point SAPS police officials were interviewed because they are part and parcel of the Point community, which is policed by them. Therefore, apart from the rest of Point community members, Point SAPS police officials also belong to the said community where they spend most of their time, whilst on duty. Furthermore, many Point SAPS police officials live and work within the same Point community (research site). That said, many Point SAPS police officials are familiar with the happenings within the Point area, thus, their knowledge is relevant to the focus of this study.

On conclusion of the key informant interviews, the **data** was **analysed** by, as a start, reading and re-reading all the raw material.

Themes (categories) were then induced by deriving patterns, generalities or common denominators, as well as differences/contradictions within and across the raw material. At the same time the data was coded (framed [system of classification]) by marking off sections of the data (such as phrases, lines, paragraphs, ideas, events, explanations) as being instances of a particular theme in the text. In other words, the raw data was broken down into labelled, meaningful pieces (subcategories), and then pieces were clustered together under a specific heading/theme. Each cluster/theme was then further analysed in relation to other clusters/themes. During this phase some clusters/themes were collapsed into larger clusters, whilst others were broken-up. This allowed for new themes to emerge or drop out as a better understanding of the material developed. It is important to state here that at no stage was the raw data altered to fit in with a particular coding scheme. If the material did not fit with the

coding scheme, the coding scheme was changed. An independent researcher was brought into the process in order to evaluate the coding scheme and to determine whether labels have been correctly assigned to the material (thus testing for inter-rater reliability). The idea was to choose coding schemes that gave the most insight into the research questions. Many different schemes, categorised across several different themes were ordered and re-ordered until something useful emerged (such as relationships between different themes in certain participants but not in others). The next step involved exploring each cluster in more detail by looking at nuances and differences amongst the components within a cluster). A written description was then developed using the thematic categories as the sub-headings of the description. Particular attention was given to themes that did not come up in the data but were expected to. The interpretation was then checked to see whether too much was read into the data (over-interpretation) or that the themes were merely summarised without presenting an intelligent discussion of the ways in which the themes are related and answering the research questions. Finally, the specificity-transferability of the results were considered by being clear and explicit about the context.

1.8 Limitations

The literature search did not find any studies conducted at police station level that specifically focused on community perceptions regarding SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana. Most of the studies focussed on:

- The debate concerning the illegality of marijuana and calls for its legality. Heated arguments for and against this move were couched from both the South African and American perspectives;
- illicit drug usage;
- illicit drug tendencies; and
- illicit drug trafficking at metropolitan, national, provincial, and/or trans-continental level.

Therefore, due to the limitation of a paucity of studies that could underpin the current study theme, the researcher had to rely on very scanty literature that unambiguously focused on the subject matter of the SAPS strategies for preventing the illicit trafficking of cannabis at police station level (Heathershaw & Herzig, 2013).

It is furthermore acknowledged that the sample size of this study was comparatively small and, for that reason, it cannot be regarded as representative of the entire Point community population.

The study's data collection – and analytical techniques were time and resource intensive. For example, the participant observation technique required the use of a video camera, batteries, and recording equipment. This was a challenge that was overcome by ensuring that functional backup items were available should any of the equipment fail. Moreover, certain research participants did not respond to all the interview questions in a holistic

manner. It is also possible that most, if not all of the participants, were subjective in their respective opinions, and some were not meaningfully knowledgeable on the topic.

1.9 Conclusion: structure and outline of dissertation chapters

Chapter one: The current chapter served as an introduction to the investigation into Point community members' perceptions of SAPS prevention strategies for the illicit trafficking of marijuana in this area. This chapter also defined the research problem, which is a very important component of a research design. At the end of this chapter the critical reader will be well positioned to comprehend the relevance of this study. Furthermore, flowing from the research problem, the rationale, objectives, research questions, and methodology were presented. The challenges and limitations that affected the study were also discussed. The subsequent chapters of this dissertation are structured as follows:

Chapter two: This chapter introduces the reader to a detailed literature review and covers the following topics: (i) Previous research findings; (ii) SAPS strategies that are employed in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana; (iii) relevant SAPS policies; (iv) SAPS operational procedures; (v) SAPS operational strategies; and (vi) relevant legislation and the application of the necessary legislation in relation to the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana. Chapter two also provides a critical discussion about the theoretical framework by illuminating the deterrence theory, the rational choice perspectives, and the self-control theory. The first two theories were relevant to the study and provided significant information that guided the study and informed the findings. However, a gap was found to exist between the first two theories because they do not explain why certain people commit offences after weighing the potential outcomes of their criminal activities. Moreover, the deterrence theory and the rational choice perspectives do not explain why some people commit crimes for which they may or may not accrue benefits despite the strong probability of being arrested by the police. In order to fill this gap and build on the information which was sourced from the first two theories, the researcher subsequently employed the self-control theory, which elaborates on why some people are impetuous (spontaneous) before, during and after committing an offence or offences.

Chapter three: Chapter three discusses the methodology that was employed in this study. Therefore, it encompasses steps, procedures, guidelines and strategies for obtaining and analysing data. The reasons for employing a qualitative research methodology were explained. Moreover, Chapter three presented a discussion on how the methodology addressed the interview questions. A discussion on how the data were collected and analysed is also presented.

Chapter four: Chapter four presents a discussion of the data that were collected and an analysis. This chapter discusses the tools of data collection that were flexible and considerate about the social framework from where the data were collected. The main instrument of data collection was direct communication between the researcher and

the respondents, in which context the researcher conducted semi-structured interviews using open-ended questions. Qualitatively, thematic analysis was used to analyse the data. In this process the researcher employed pre-determined categories and afterwards applied codes to identify the emerging findings. Therefore, the data analysis process made use of predefined themes or categories. For example, the interview questions were employed as themes. Furthermore, the researcher carefully looked for instances that fitted the predetermined categories (research questions) and attempted not to lose focus of the research topic. In line with the procedure of thematic analysis, the researcher placed chunks of raw data into corresponding predetermined categories and simultaneously coded excerpts from the data. Interpretations of the data are also presented in Chapter four.

Chapter five: This chapter mainly focuses on an analysis of the findings. A discussion of the challenges that were experienced in the field phase of data collection is presented. Chapter five also presents recommendations based on the findings of this study.

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2.1 Introduction

As part of the data collection processes of this study, an exploration of published and unpublished information relating to SAPS prevention strategies for the illicit trafficking of illegal substances was conducted. The exploration of the literature pertained specifically to information that would underpin an investigation into the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area in Durban. The investigation was conducted by employing search engines such as Google Scholar, Ebsco, Sabinet, and various websites and research journals such as *Acta Criminologica*. Hall (2008) contends that a comprehensive literature review is highly likely to indicate or infer solutions to research questions that drive the commencement of a particular phenomenon under investigation. Therefore, the literature review that preceded the field work of this study assisted in addressing the research questions to a relatively meaningful extent. In this context, Chapter two provides a detailed discussion concerning the findings of the literature review. Moreover, the theoretical framework within which the study was located is also illuminated.

A narrative reflection on the prevention of cannabis trafficking in the Point area cannot be seen as relatively comprehensive without considering relevant legislation, policies, strategies, structure and operating procedures. More specifically:

- (a) the evolution of South African statutes designed to prevent the illicit trafficking of cannabis;
- (b) the application of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992;
- (c) the application of the Prevention of Organised Crime Act No. 121 of 1998;
- (d) South African Police Service policies on drug trafficking;
- (e) the National Drug Master Plan (2012-2016);
- (f) the National Drug Master Plan (2013-2017);
- (g) various SAPS strategies which are employed in the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in South Africa;
- (h) SAPS standing operational procedures; and
- (i) SAPS operational strategies.

2.2 The evolution of South African statutes designed to prevent the Illicit trafficking of cannabis

Initially, the categorisation and criminalisation of drugs that are deemed illicit and harmful occurred in the 19th and early 20th centuries in South Africa. More recent measures have also been implemented to address the increasing

use and abuse of illicit drugs in South Africa. According to Vincente (2014), cannabis was officially and lawfully forbidden in 1891 through the Cape Colony Act No. 34 of 1891. Minnaar (2015) stresses that the Orange Free State adopted a similar statute that enacted the criminalisation of cannabis in 1903 *via* the Dagga Prohibition Ordinance Act No. 43. In addition to these laws, the government of the Union of South Africa launched the national prohibition of the use of dagga across the length and breadth of the Union in 1922. This piece of legislation addressed the use, ownership, system of conveyance, and distribution of dagga. Perkel (2005) states that marijuana was further declared unlawful/illegal in 1928 immediately after the enactment of the Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Act No. 13 of 1928. Minnaar (2015) argues that the former instrument of legislation effectuated the complete criminalisation of marijuana and that this Act became the pillar of subsequent pieces of legislation in this regard. In 1954, shortly after the Medical, Dental and Pharmacy Act No.13 of 1928 had been amended, South Africa witnessed the augmentation of severe penalties with regards to the trafficking of cannabis (Perkel, 2005). A person was regarded as a trader in marijuana if such an individual possessed 113 grams or more. In terms of the Abuse of Dependence-producing Substances and Rehabilitation Centres Act No. 41 of 1971, the maximum punishment for first-time offenders who were arrested and prosecuted for using cannabis was 10 years' incarceration, and a maximum sentence of 15 years for trafficking. After the promulgation of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act in 1992, it became unlawful to use, possess, traffic in and produce or grow drugs that are classified as illicit drugs in South Africa (Fellingham, Dhai, Guidozi, & Gardner, 2012). Furthermore, the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act (1992) provides that a judge may impose a maximum sentence of 25 years, depending on mitigating circumstances, on any person who is found guilty of dealing in cannabis by a trial court (Goitom, 2014). Punitive measures to curb the illicit use of drugs were further strengthened by Schedule 2 of the South African Criminal Law Amendment Act (Act No. 105 of 1997), which specifies that a South African High Court can incarcerate a first-time offender found guilty of a drug-related crime for a minimum of 15 years.

With specific reference to marijuana, Section 21(a)(i) of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act (No. 140 of 1992), as amended, states that: "*Any individual found guilty by a trial court in terms of section 13(f) for infringing a clause of section 5(b), ... no one shall trade in any dangerous dependence-producing substance or any unwanted dependence-producing substance, be taken for granted, that the accused traded in marijuana, because its weight surpassed 115 grams, unless if the opposite is subsequently proved to be correct before court*" (Government Gazette 33601, 2010).

Furthermore, marijuana is listed in Part 3 of Schedule 2 as an unwanted/undesirable dependence-producing substance in terms of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act (No. 140 of 1992), as amended by the following Acts: Justice Laws Rationalisation Act No. 18 of 1996; International Co-operation in Criminal Matters Act No. 75 of 1996; Proceeds of Crime Act No. 76 of 1996; Prevention of Organised Crime Act No. 121 of 1998; Financial Advisory and Intermediary Services Act No. 37 of 2002; and the Regulation of Interception of Communications and Provision of Communication-related Information Act No. 70 of 2002 (Government Gazette 33601, 2010).

Schedule 2 of the 1992 Act draws a clear distinction between dangerous and undesirable/unwanted drugs. Minnaar (2015:142) explains this difference as follows: *“Dangerous drugs are regarded as illicit drugs which cause a robust habit and can damage the addicted person’s health given a lengthy historical usage of such drugs, whereas the concept of undesirable patterns to the physical effect (for instance cannabis) is placed in the similar category with alcohol because it is considered to be a recreational drug. This is, marijuana users feel excited and satisfied, and also exhibit continuous episodes of laughter. However, dagga is a habitual drug which can cause craving dependencies and its users gravitate towards the usage of stronger dangerous illicit drugs such as heroin, cocaine and methamphetamines”.*

To address the effects of both undesirable and dangerous drugs on the populace, the Prevention of and Treatment for Substance Abuse Act No. 70 of 2008 centres on prohibition, initial interposition, medication, curing and re-unification programs (Fellingham, Dhai, Guidozi, & Gardner, 2012).

2.3 Application of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992

In terms of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992, a drug offence or drug-related offence is committed when any of the following behaviours are conducted: possession of illicit drugs; consumption or use of any illicit drug; peddling in illicit drugs; distributing illicit drugs to several people for any reason; and purchasing and/or reselling illicit drugs. In accordance with this Act, Section 11(1) prescribes that a police officer may: *“...(a) if he or she has sound or rational reasons to believe that a crime under this Act has been or is going to be perpetrated through or with reference to any scheduled substance, drug or property, at any moment; (i) go into or go on board and comb through any buildings, aeroplanes, helicopters, ships, boats, or any conveyances for transporting people or goods especially on land, in or on which any such substance, drug or property is believed to be found; (b) if he or she has sound or rational reasons to believe that someone has perpetrated or is going to perpetrate a crime under this Act through or with reference to any scheduled substance, drug or property, comb through or compel to be searched any such individual or anything in his or her possession or custody or under his or her control: on the condition that a female person shall be searched by a woman only”.*

With regards to the current study, the legal basis of the preceding paragraph was created to include and identify the illicit trafficking of drugs as an offence under the above mentioned principal Act. With reference to the illicit trafficking of drugs, such as marijuana, any person shall be guilty of a crime in terms of Section 16 of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992 if he or she: *“(a) impedes or hampers or prevents a police officer from using his or her powers under Section 11; (b) declines or is found wanting in conforming to his or her knowledge with any demand or solicitation brought about by a police officer in pursuance of his or her powers under Section 11; (c) declines or is found wanting in responding to any question within his or her knowledge, which any police officer in pursuance of his or her powers under Section 11 has phrased to him or her; or (d) intentionally supplies to any police officer knowledge which is incorrect or imprecise or confusing”.*

2.4 Application of the Prevention of Organised Crime Act No. 121 of 1998

The Prevention of Organised Crime Act No. 121 of 1998 specifies that any individual who is a party in an illegal organisation or a criminal gang or who is involved in actions of such gangsterism will be guilty of perpetrating a crime; that is, if he/she through his/her activities infringes the following sections: “(a) ...any person who aids an illegal organisation in conducting its illicit actions breaches of Section 9(1)(a) of the Prevention of Organised Crime Act No. 121 of 1998; (b) ...anyone who announces his/her intentions to perpetrate violence which can be carried out by the criminal organisation or through the assistance of that organisation violates Section 9(1)(b) of the Prevention of Organised Crime Act No. 121 of 1998; (c) ...any person who intimidates an individual in reaction to an action of physical force as an indication of retaliation contravenes Section 9 (1)(c) of the Prevention of Organised Crime Act No. 121 of 1998; (d) ...any person who perpetrates an activity that which fosters criminal gang pursuits contravenes Section 9(2)(a); (e) ...any person who stirs up or urges another individual to perpetrate a deed that which is deemed as a gang activity, violates Section 9(2)(b); and (f) ...anyone who urges another individual to enrol in a criminal gang contravenes Section 9 (2)(c)”.

Some practical explanations concerning the illicit trafficking of marijuana which is grounded in organised crime are presented below. It is noteworthy that drug trafficking may not occur in isolation, but generally occurs in conjunction with other illicit dealings such as motor vehicle scams. In practical terms, and within the framework of this study and the POC Act No. 121 of 1998, an organised criminal activity is therefore committed when:

- (a) One or more local marijuana traffickers in the Point area consent/s to supply cannabis to other party/ies for unknown amounts of cash or in exchange for illegal stolen goods; and after concluding such a transaction, whilst acting together, the supplier/s and dealer/s of cannabis may collectively or individually elect to present gratifications to a number of corruptible government officials so as to protect cannabis traffickers and also to facilitate the illegal storage and transportation of cannabis.
- (b) Alternatively, organised crime may be committed: (i) with the assistance of Y, a seasoned middleman in underworld activities. Many local cannabis suppliers (A, B, C and D) may assent to consistently replenish E, F, and G (e.g., UK motor vehicle thieves) with cannabis, provided that H, a deep-sea fisherman, constantly renders huge quantities of marijuana to a cargo ship which is anchored offshore. In addition: (ii) If two top custom officials, I and J, routinely permit the illegal importation of stolen cars into South Africa without adhering to correct documentation, then A, B, C and D become new illegal ‘owners’ of such motor vehicles. (iii) Thus, Y communicates with the above-mentioned domestic cannabis suppliers to present huge sums of money to K (an influential senior police official) who in turn instructs Z (the owner of a ‘chop shop’) to organise blue-books of disused local vehicles which are identical to the imported stolen foreign vehicles; (iv) Furthermore, chassis numbers of local disused vehicles are systematically and painstakingly printed on foreign stolen vehicles. Therefore, K, Y and Z actively participate in the organised crime by normalising organised criminal activities.

In terms of Section 9(1)(a) of the POC Act No. 121 of 1998, organised criminal activities also encompass efforts of persons who strategically assist participants of the illicit trafficking of marijuana during the commission of the crime, or before or after the completion of such a transaction (Government Gazette No. 19553, 1998). Keep in mind that a party can provide an actual marijuana trafficker with the means of avoiding the responsibility for dealing in cannabis by cleverly informing the offender about the hidden inadequacies of the criminal law. That said, dishonest attorneys allegedly provide legal advice to participants of organised crime before and during the commission of the crime. Therefore, in terms of Section 9(2)(b) of the POC Act No. 121 of 1998, such persons are also described as participants, because they share a common determination with marijuana traffickers (Government Gazette No. 19553, 1998). Similarly, in terms of the POC Act No. 121 of 1998, it is also imperative to note that the following types of persons can be identified as marijuana traffickers (Government Gazette No. 19553, 1998): corrupt immigration officers who purposefully fail to exhaustively probe frequent trips of persons who are well-known to them as marijuana traffickers or illicit drug traffickers; persons who repack marijuana for further concealment; paid street spies (the eyes and ears) for illicit marijuana traffickers; and drivers who facilitate the transportation of illegal cannabis and traffickers of illicit marijuana distribution. Apart from the suppliers and dealers of cannabis, it is also worthwhile to note that other parties illegally and intentionally enhance the commission of the illicit trafficking of marijuana through the application of their expertise and efforts. Therefore, in terms of Section 9(2)(a)(b)(c) of the POC Act No. 121 of 1998, it can be argued that the actions of such parties constitute a crime or crimes, as their actions are designed to improve and achieve consistent and well-organised illegal activities perpetrated by a criminal gang (Government Gazette No. 19553, 1998).

Similarly, illegal trade syndicates deal in 'underworld transactions' that entail organised criminal activities. For example, an illicit barter transaction may involve three parties: (i) a cannabis grower from Pondoland (an illicit cannabis supplier); (ii) a Point cannabis trafficker (who serves as a conduit between two parties in this example); and (iii) a Gauteng-based motor vehicle syndicate (a supplier of stolen vehicles or illegal ammunitions and firearms). However, it is important to bear in mind that the mere association of these three parties does not constitute an organised criminal activity, but it becomes criminal when the conduit assists and expedites the provision of large quantities of cannabis to a Gauteng-based motor vehicle syndicate resulting in the receipt of stolen vehicles and illegal ammunitions and firearms by the Pondoland cannabis grower. Thus the conduct of all three parties constitutes illegal activities of a criminal nature, and such actions are part of organised crime.

Parties that engage in activities such as those mentioned above contravene various sections of the Prevention of Organised Crime Act No. 121 of 1998. Therefore, in terms of Section 18 of this Act, the SAPS can approach a relevant court and seek a confiscation order with respect to the appropriation of both fixed assets and mobile assets of organised crime syndicates such as those mentioned in the above example, provided that they occur within the boundaries of the Republic. The Prevention of Organised Crime Act No.121 of 1998 clearly permits a police official to correctly charge suspects in respect of illegal activities that occur within the framework of criminal intent.

Moreover, the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No.140 of 1992 and the Prevention of Organised Crime Act No. 121 of 1998 can be applied simultaneously in the above two examples. Although the subject matter is highly contested, the clauses of both these Acts encompass a broad variety of capabilities for application by police officials in deterring organised crime, with specific reference to incidents of illicit drug trafficking and drug-related crimes.

Following the preceding critical discussion, information regarding legislation that prohibits national priority offences, for example the illicit trafficking of marijuana, is presented. In terms of Section 17B of the SAPS Act No. 68 of 1995 as amended by the substitution of Section 3(a) of Act 57 of 2008, the SAPS needs to set up or create a Directorate [as a division] in the Service to prevent, combat, and investigate national priority offences, specifically serious organised crime, serious commercial crime, and earnest corruption (Government Gazette No. 35663, 2012). By implication, this amendment also includes the prevention and investigation of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area in Durban. Moreover, Section 17C of the SAPS Act No. 68 of 1995 was amended by the substitution of Section 3 of Act 57 of 2008 (Government Gazette No. 35663, 2012). Put slightly different, Section 17C of the SAPS Act No. 68 of 1995 was amended by replacing it with Section 3 of Act 57 of 2008, which enacted the creation of the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation and its office bearers (Government Gazette No. 35663, 2012).

2.5 South African Police Service policies

South Africa's national policy with respect to ridding the Republic of illicit drugs are manifested in the National Drug Master Plan 2013-2017, and the revised National Drug Master Plan 2012-2016 (Department of Social Development, 2015). Whether these policies are effective in curbing illicit drug trafficking is a matter of contention. For example, the National Commissioner of the SAPS at the time, General Riah Phiyega, commented as follows in the SAPS Annual Performance Report (2014-2015): *"Having completed nearly three years in office, I have observed that the SAPS is a well-resourced institution, staffed with highly skilled officials who value their work, serve the community, safeguard lives and property, maintain law and order, as well as respect the people's rights to equality and justice. However, inadequate leadership, crime - corruption in particular - committed by certain police officials and poor community relations are dragging us down. There is no doubt in my mind that we are in dire need of strong, ethical and focused leaders on all levels. Changing this state of affairs for the better is a goal I have set out to achieve during my tenure. It is the top 1 500 leaders of the SAPS who can make a difference because leadership is a game changer. We are working hard to ensure that we address the serious trust deficit between the police and communities. We need to continue doing more to earn the trust and respect of the communities that we serve. We have embarked on numerous community outreach programmes. Our aim is to work with the community in crime fighting projects. We continuously request and encourage people to join and participate in CPFs. We are conducting 'izimbizos' to talk to communities about crime. During the period under review, approximately 17 130 crime prevention operations were conducted to enhance visibility in all police station areas. These include, among other national operations: Operation Paseka; Operation Duty Calls Festive Season Crime-fighting; Operation Sizanani; Operation Basadi; as well as provincial and station level operations. A total of*

1 707 654 arrests were made in all crime categories. Most of the arrests were made in Gauteng, with 453 982 (26,6%) followed by the Western Cape with 396 929 (23,2%) and KwaZulu-Natal with 257 500 (15%). The police continue efforts to rid our communities of crime by addressing contributory factors such as the illegal supply of alcohol and drugs. We have confiscated volumes of liquor which amounted to 1 540 992,583lt, 440 269,288kg of cannabis, 122,140kg of cocaine, 598,743kg of crystal methamphetamine ('tik-tik'), 302 791 mandrax tablets, 212,362kg of heroin, 304, 865kg of 'whoonga', and 1 926,256kg of 'nyaope' (SAPS Annual Performance Report, 2014-2015).

According to the Commissioner's comments, drugs and drug trafficking seriously compromise the safety and security of South African citizens. The draft White Paper on Safety and Security is therefore one of the major policy developments of the SAPS and it is a derivative of the 1998 White Paper on Safety and Security which was revised in 2010 (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015). The draft White Paper on Safety and Security concentrates on a unified and progressive procedure to safety and security and it acknowledges that safety continues beyond the scope of the SAPS (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015). Thus, in order to comprehend the connection between the illicit trafficking of drugs and violence involving the community, the identification of specific 'pushers' and the causes of violence are required, and a detailed analysis should be conducted of the following through intelligence-led operations: victimizers, victims, crime scenes, and the dates and venues when and where various incidents occurred [or are likely to occur] (Civilian Secretariat for Police, 2015).

Drugs and alcohol affect victimizers in such a manner that various deadly and non-deadly types of violence are committed in diverse communities, for example rape, homicide and assault (SAPS, 2014). According to the SAPS (2014), 131.7 per 100 000 people drove a vehicle while under the effect of drugs or alcohol in 2013-2014, and the recorded percentage of drug-related offences such as possession of illegal drugs and dealing in illicit drugs was 492.1 per 100 000 persons in the same period. According to the SAPS Annual Report (2014-2015), the police will strengthen their power in relation to the execution of the Drug Master Plan, which is steered by the Department of Social Development.

2.6 National Drug Master Plan (2012-2016)

According to the Department of Social Development (DSD) (2015), the improved National Drug Master Plan (NDMP) 2012-2016 is a key national policy document which was designed by the Central Drug Authority (CDA) in terms of the Prevention and Treatment of the Drug Dependence Act No. 20 of 1992, as amended. This amended Act was ratified by parliament to satisfy the following: stipulations of international bodies; certain requirements of South African communities; and unique domestic necessities which are different from the needs of other countries. Furthermore, the NDMP is also defined in line with the requirements of the Prevention and Treatment for Substance Abuse Act No. 70 of 2008 (DSD, 2015). The NDMP involves many government departments and independent parties that need to work harmoniously to fight against the utilisation, misuse, and reliance on dependence-forming

substances and other substance-related difficulties (DSD, 2015). This policy stipulates the inputs of each stakeholder and the functions that are performed by concerned government departments in respect of dealing with the effects of substance abuse. Moreover, NDMP achievements are subject to the inputs of its participants at national and provincial level, which is a measure that is regarded as reactionary to the difficulties that are explained in the NDMP (DSD, 2015). According to the DSD (2015), the NDMP 2012-2016 consists of three procedures, which are frequently combined during the application stage. These procedures are as follows:

- Demand reduction. This requires decreasing the demand for both legal and illicit drugs through a range of methods. Such methods may include: (i) prevention through teaching consumers of the differences between legal and illicit drugs and about the adverse effects of all drugs; (ii) rendering the consumption of illicit drugs as unbearable and unacceptable, which is similar to the approach that was applied against the use of cigarettes; (iii) applying limitations to the consumption of legal drugs such as alcohol by for instance increasing the appropriate age for alcohol consumption.
- Supply reduction. This approach is achieved by means of the reduction of existing quantities of illicit drugs that reach consumers, for example the eradication of illicit crops of dagga which are cultivated in isolated areas.
- Harm reduction. This requires a course of action that entails the restriction of the impairments brought about by the consumption of legal/illicit drugs. It also involves improving the conditions of persons that use drugs, especially those who are addicted to dangerous drugs that create cravings for the continuous usage of drugs.

The measures that were discussed above can be effected through the provision of medical care and/or therapy, and the provision of aftercare for drug addicts after a period of stay in a hospital or rehabilitation centre (DSD, 2015).

2.7 National Drug Master Plan (2013-2017)

The DSD (2015) clearly states that the NDMP 2013-2017, which was drawn up by the CDA, is based on the Prevention and Treatment of the Drug Dependence Amendment Act No. 20 of 1992 and the Prevention of and Treatment for Substance Abuse Act No.70 of 2008 as revised and affirmed through Parliament. Both these Acts stipulate that the CDA is a legal organisation which is mandated to bring into existence the NDMP (DSD, 2015). Furthermore, the CDA is also responsible for regulating, governing and managing the execution of the NDMP, including overseeing and assessing it and bringing about necessary alterations to this policy document (DSD, 2015). The CDA guides, warns and counsels the Minister of the DSD (as permanent president of the Inter-

ministerial Committee) on any issue that is related to the misuse of illicit drugs, and it also re-examines the NDMP after an interval of five years (DSD, 2015). According to the National Drug Master Plan (2013-2017), the composition of the CDA is as follows: (i) twelve professionals who are skilled in the area of substance abuse; (ii) fourteen public officials from various government departments; and (iii) three state statutory bodies. The components of the CDA are as follows: the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development; the South African Police Service; the Department of Social Development; the Secretariat for Safety and Security; the Financial Intelligence Centre; the Department of Correctional Services; the Departments of Basic and Higher Education; the Department of Arts and Culture; the Department of International Relations and Co-operation; the Health and Medicines Control Council; the Department of Home Affairs; the Department of Labour; the National Youth Development Agency; the South African Revenue Service; the Department of Trade and Industry; and the Department of Transport. Twelve professionals from the following bodies are also involved: research councils and universities; delegates from civil society, non-governmental and faith-based organisations; business and industry enterprises; community-based organisations; treatment centres (inpatient and outpatient); accredited addiction counsellors; and delegates of provincial substance abuse forums (DSD, 2015).

However, the processes of creating and putting necessary policies into practice in order to fight the trafficking and abuse of illicit drugs, apart from alcohol, are very complicated as, according to Babor (2010), the complexities of illicit drug trafficking are consistent and they continuously require solutions to the following challenges:

- (a) No single, effective drug policy is available. This implies that no single drug policy across the length and breadth of all societies can tackle the scourge of drug abuse.
- (b) Drug policies are characterised by unattended consequences.
- (c) Various policies that influence drug problems are not regarded as drug policies, and many specific drug policies have considerable effects outside the field of drugs.
- (d) The destruction of drug crops does not reduce their supply.
- (e) Attempts by developed nations to reduce the preparation and use of land for growing drugs in developing nations have not decreased the total illicit drug stockpile for consumers, and there is a possibility that no attempts will ever change such a position.
- (f) Augmented penalties produce small gains; for example, the moment a drug is deemed unlawful, there is a position beyond a certain stage where augmentation in enforcement and incarceration produces trivial advantages.

The next section provides a critical discourse about various SAPS strategies which are used to address the prevention of the illicit trafficking of cannabis in South Africa.

2.8 Findings of earlier research studies

Burger (2007) interrogates the evolutionary and phraseological faultlessness of Section 205(3) of the South African Constitution (South Africa, 1996). This section stipulates the duties or obligations of the SAPS. According to Burger (2007), the lack of evolutionary and phraseological clarity in the Constitution for identifying the functions of the SAPS in fighting criminal activities compounds the prevailing chaos and espouses the understanding of the people that the SAPS is the only structure that ought to prevent crime. Moreover, Burger argues that there is no other South African statute that can render assistance in terms of this issue and that a corresponding disorientation exists about 'crime combating' phraseology and ideas in everyday life (Burger, 2007:20). Moreover, this lack of clarity contributes to vagueness about the comprehensive position of the roles of the citizenry in relation to state spheres (Burger, 2007). Burger (2007:20) is of the view that 'crime combating' must be regarded as a state security matter that involves the participation of a network of several stakeholders apart from the police and the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. Phiyega's arguments (SAPS Annual Performance Report, 2014-2015:15) clearly reflect those of Burger: *"Our aim is to work with the community in crime fighting projects. We continuously request and encourage people to join and participate in CPFs. We are conducting 'izimbizos' to talk to communities..."*.

Govender (2015) argues that primary policing methods at police precinct level are not effective in preventing criminal acts that are connected to organised criminal groups, because arrestees are often released before connections between cases have been established. In addition, immediately after such persons have been released, they join certain organised criminal groups that are connected with other criminal syndicates (Govender, 2015). With reference to this study, organised criminal groups include traffickers of illicit cannabis (Khan & Singh, 2014). Govender also concludes that, even though the SAPS employs non-traditional policing approaches such as clandestine procedures and penetration of a targeted criminal syndicate at national level, police officers at a police precinct level do not have similar expertise (Govender, 2015).

2.9 The Safe School Programme strategy

According to the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG), marijuana is the most prevalent illicit drug used by many people in South Africa, particularly by young persons who are under the age of eighteen years (PMG, 2013). Parry and Myers (2014) contend that marijuana is not expensive in comparison to other illicit drugs and that it is easily obtainable from dagga suppliers and peddlers who trade in it illegally in South Africa. The SAPS employs a number of strategies to combat and prevent the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana among the youth. To achieve this aim, the SAPS utilizes the Safe School Programme to tackle illicit drugs and other criminal activities in primary and high schools (PMG, 2013). According to the PMG (2013), members of the SAPS work in conjunction with Safe

School Committees and school governing bodies in strengthening this programme, especially in terms of the following:

- (a) Tip-offs, search and confiscation and seizure operational strategies are employed through which sizeable quantities of illicit drugs, particularly marijuana, are regularly confiscated from learners and other 'drug pushers' on school premises.
- (b) The SAPS and other stakeholders conscientise educators and learners about the damaging ripple effects of illicit drugs within communities and among the consumers of illicit drugs.

Although confiscation strategies are effective to a degree, a number of implicit shortcomings exist. For example, a senior police official presented a Safe School Programme report to the Parliamentary Monitoring Group which had been formulated by the SAPS and, clearly, that particular report did not persuade the Monitoring Group of the success of the programme at the time (PMG, 2013). A particular problem was that the police Colonel failed to address a number of questions that were posed by members of the aforesaid group as it was argued that there was insufficient information concerning the police strategies that had been employed by the SAPS within the framework of the Safe School Programme. As a consequence of this unconvincing SAPS report, certain information may only be adduced and should therefore be treated as gaps in the reviewed literature.

That said, there seems to be a lack of emphasis by the SAPS to develop long-term interventions in preventing the illicit trafficking of cannabis in schools, except for a brief outline about 'awareness' as mentioned above. There is therefore a dire need for SAPS long-term intervention strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of dagga within South African schools. Such strategies should be tailor made to suit the different demographic aspects of schools. For instance, in line with Thomas, McLellan and Perera (2013) who employed a number of programmes in an attempt to effectively prevent smoking at schools, the following perspectives are among the many demographic aspects that ought to be considered: (i) the age and number of students who actively purchase/smoke/sell/resell cannabis and who come from troubled criminal familial backgrounds; (ii) the number of students who are first-time dagga smokers or indigent students who supplement their income by trading in cannabis; (iii) the number and descriptions of outsiders who illegally enter school premises to peddle cannabis; (iv) descriptions of people who survey and scout school premises and subsequently alert dagga peddlers about the competition or the state of security at given times within and around schools; (v) identification of methods used by certain learners, dishonest school employees, and/or other cannabis peddlers to smuggle dagga onto school grounds; (vi) the most preferred methods of concealment and the identification of usual objects that are used to conceal cannabis; and (vii) the identification of the preferred methods of disposing of marijuana that are employed by marijuana peddlers within schools.

In consideration of the above requirements, the one-size-fits-all approach is not the best option in policing, except for uncritical theoretical discourses and analysis, because each school has its own unique demographic realities

that require a totality of appropriate marijuana prevention strategies. Furthermore, the SAPS should continuously revisit its long-term prevention strategies by determining the level of learners' knowledge and awareness of the relevant components of such strategies.

The researcher is of the view that long-term prevention strategies employed by the SAPS ought to encompass the following: (i) identifying and keeping at bay school peers and/or other offenders who compel learners to smuggle/possess/smoke/consume/sell/purchase/resell cannabis; (ii) educating learners to devise countermeasures that can be employed as solutions to the problem of illicit trafficking of cannabis. For instance, hotline numbers can be made available for instant communication with SAPS officials about marijuana-related incidents; (iii) emphasizing the need for learners to always make responsible and mature strategic decisions as opposed to short-term emotional decisions. A learner who makes accountable decisions will be able to follow a successful career one day without the burden of a criminal record; (iv) collaborating with school authorities to monitor the behaviour of dagga addicts so that the necessary professional assistance is provided to rehabilitate addicted learners. Such learners must be subjected to critical reasoning so that they can weigh the pros and cons of smuggling/smoking/consuming/selling/possessing cannabis or related substances; (v) repeatedly showing visuals to learners of persons who turned down offers and the temptation to participate in the illicit trafficking of marijuana.

However, the electronic media (television and more specifically social media applications such as Facebook, YouTube, and Twitter) repeatedly employ the last strategy for the wrong reasons. Recent events have shown how certain television stations use this strategy to exaggerate the severity of crime in an identified environment and the general public buys into that particular gimmick. For example, two or three actual offences may or may not have been committed in succession by offenders within a given neighbourhood and this particular frequency of occurrence is deliberately distorted by the media and used as the basis to fuel emotional and destructive arguments. This is evidenced by certain news items transmitted by the BBC NEWS (2010) which read: *"South Africa is a place where a lot of violent crimes happen. Murder is a staple of the news. Cape Town has a culture of gangsters, drugs, rape, robbery and a murder every 25 minutes"*. Furthermore, in a Time Magazine article entitled *"Case of Czech Gangster Reveals South Africa's Dark Criminal Underworld"*, Findlay (2013) cunningly used the successes of the Priority Offences Unit (commonly known as the HAWKS) to discredit this unit and the SAPS by using the arrest of the Czech escapee, Radovan Krejcir, as a point of reference and to describe the SAPS as *"...poorly supplied with much needed resources for effective policing...highly susceptible to unscrupulous practices...characterised by poor intelligence structures; for instance, a gap exists in which there is an absence of a coordinated flow of information between vertical and horizontal intelligence structures; [and the SAPS] lacks the capacity to tackle augmented numbers of well-organised vicious offenders"*. The role of the media thus often shifts from informing the public or providing correct reporting of verifiable incidents of crime to sensational reporting, withholding correct information, and intentional misinformation. The result is that sustained and severe castigation of the SAPS by the media and uncritical members of the public takes precedence over SAPS successes in crime

prevention. Moreover, such sustained criticisms are passed from one generation to another, as successive members of the citizenry persist in casting stones at the SAPS without verification of the justification for such attitudes. The rationale for this study was therefore the need to adopt an influential approach that can be used in the dissemination of relevant information that will reach the public for the sake of preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana. In this context, visual images that bombard the court of public opinion seem to be stronger and more influential than factual words. For this reason, it is this researcher's contention that the message behind televised pictures concerning offences and criminal acts should be de-sensationalised and presented clearly and unambiguously with regards to the safety and security roles of the SAPS.

2.10 Patrols, roadblocks and cordon and search operations

SAPS officers regularly prevent the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana through planned foot patrols, roadblocks, cordon and search operations, and raids targeted at premises where drug traffickers sell illicit drugs (PMG, 2013; SAPS, 2015a). Furthermore, SAPS officials usually execute these operational strategies after the required information has been collected by operational and sector commanders who operate within the limits of sector policing at police station level. These commanders also analyse such information so as to ascertain tendencies for the supply of illegal drugs (SAPS, 2015a). However, Freeman and McDonald (2015) found that visible policing officials seldom patrolled certain geographical areas of a police station precinct. Some officials justified their actions by arguing that they were not knowledgeable about certain areas and insisted that specific locations were beyond their reach. However, even though SAPS police officials conducted various operations in certain areas, police scholars and other sources seemed to be unable to provide accurate information concerning the exact number of police operations that were conducted in a given crime hotspot per month. It thus appears that SAPS operations are performed during certain periods when crime is considered to be at its peak (SAPS, 2016). Flowing from such planned operations that are designed to disrupt and prevent criminal activities, criminals respond to these initiatives by developing steps that counteract SAPS prevention strategies. For example, innocent-looking under-aged foot soldiers are recruited by older, experienced criminals to distribute and sell drugs and marijuana.

According to Montesh (2007), sector policing is an inherently proactive type of policing that enables police officials to prevent crime, especially the illicit trafficking of drugs. This policing strategy also improves the governance of numerous areas within a specific police precinct. In addition, sector policing facilitates the process of gathering accurate information which is in turn employed by SAPS police officials to establish the actual level of criminality within a specific police station's jurisdiction so that crime can be prevented proactively (SAPS, 2015). However, Matlala (2015) asserts that sector policing strategies are ineffective, arguing that this is evidenced by the common recurrence of certain offences such as drug trafficking and excessive use in areas where the SAPS implemented this policing approach, for example in Hillbrow, Gauteng Province. Matlala (2015) strengthens the preceding contention by concatenating it with the problematic police crime intelligence situation at police station level. With

reference to this study, it was found that the information which was supplied by police sources was used to establish the extent of illicit trafficking of marijuana in the police station area under investigation.

According to SAPS (2015a), an operational commander is in charge of the following: precinct operational activities per given shift; specific police operations; crime prevention; victims' complaints; managing SAPS members who patrol the jurisdiction of a police station during the length of a shift; and imparting required practical training to trainee police constables as well as motivating them so that they consistently execute their allotted tasks diligently. Furthermore, specialised units in the SAPS focus on illicit drug traffickers in metropolitan municipalities by working very closely with neighbourhood watch groups, the Metro Police, and Community Policing Forums (City of Cape Town, 2013). Moreover, SAPS Neighbourhood Safety Officers frequently patrol the streets, especially in communities where illicit drug trafficking is rife. This approach usually leads to arrests and the confiscation of illicit drugs such as marijuana (CCT, 2013).

2.11 Cannabis Eradication Programme

The Air Wing Unit of the SAPS has a strategy dubbed the 'Cannabis Eradication Programme'. This unit has been proactive for over twenty years and favourable results have been achieved in their efforts to combat and prevent the illicit trafficking of marijuana. Their major strategy is to spray illicit marijuana crops with a chemical known as *glyphosate* in remote areas such as Mkumbi, Port St. Johns, and Pondoland (Bernstein, 2016). Aerial crop-spraying of marijuana is a consistent supply reduction strategy which is designed to reduce the availability of marijuana to marijuana dealers and consumers (Bernstein, 2016). However, despite SAPS pilots' efforts to regularly spray illicit crops, unsprayed quantities of marijuana are consistently supplied by remote and stealthy peasant farmers to dealers who resell the substance in small quantities to consumers (de Greef, 2016). Another challenge is that the *glyphosate* in the atmosphere due to spraying is suspected of having negative health effects on people in areas where it is used (Bernstein, 2016).

Another issue is that, in terms of various sections of the 1996 South African Constitution (SAC), the aerial spraying of marijuana is believed to contravene a number of human rights. For example, in terms of Section 9 the right to equality is violated. Section 10, which stipulates that everyone has a right to human dignity, is also violated. This is so because the SAPS is not required to alert cannabis farmers about the intention to spray an illicit crop, as a disciplined police organisation is not obligated to communicate sensitive operational information to offenders. For example, the police may operate without revealing the location of a targeted crime hotspot or exact future dates and times when appropriate crime prevention strategies will be implemented (Mashiloane, 2014). Moreover, the revelation of planned police conduct is not obligatory as revelation of privileged or classified information can have adverse consequences for the police, such as the death of or injuries to SAPS pilots and/or other police officials, damage to police aircraft/vehicles, an escalation in the illicit trafficking of marijuana, and embarrassment of the entire police organisation if the operation is thwarted by information leaks (Mashiloane, 2014).

The cultivar used for illicit marijuana crops that are grown by thousands of subsistence farmers in Port St. Johns and Pondoland is of poor quality and it is meant for indigent marijuana consumers (De Greef, 2016). It is a paradox that the aerial spraying of marijuana in these areas is only focused on predominantly illiterate peasant farmers, whereas skilled and well-resourced growers of top quality marijuana in South Africa are rarely affected by police strategies (De Greef, 2016). Therefore, even though the aerial spraying of marijuana by the SAPS has achieved relative successes in the aforementioned areas, the real collective purpose of this strategy will only be realised if the police can employ effective intelligence-driven (crime science) methods of collecting information that will enable them to destroy larger and more threatening crops of marijuana. This implies that the SAPS should also rigorously target sophisticated and well-resourced growers of top quality marijuana. This is not to say that SAPS members at police station level are inefficient, as there is evidence that the SAPS does conduct intelligence-based raids based on information obtained at police station level with regards to this particular issue. For example, Western Cape SAPS officials based at a police station followed up a lead and apprehended a married couple who jointly grew top quality marijuana on their residential property for export to overseas markets (de Greef, 2016). The essence of the argument is that the illicit trafficking of marijuana is widespread in South Africa and that more arrests and seizures need to be effected in order to reflect the effectiveness of SAPS crime prevention strategies.

2.12 Scanner strategy and the K9 Unit of the SAPS

The SAPS Border Patrol Unit in Durban uses a scanner at Durban Harbour to detect illicit drugs that are frequently concealed among legitimate goods (Jenvey, 2001). However, almost a decade after the scanner was installed, the Institute for Security Studies discovered that dishonest police officials, customs officials and immigration officers facilitate the trafficking of illicit drugs that are illegally exported to the United Kingdom (Wilson, 2011). One such drug is marijuana. In 2011, illicit drug traffickers operating from Durban concentrated on exchanging cannabis for stolen cars from the UK (Wilson, 2011). Prior to the preceding study, Gastrow (2003) found that Nigerian organised criminal groups had set up well organised sub-groups in Swaziland. These syndicates illegally transported squashed cannabis to South Africa and, as soon as the cannabis had been conveyed to Durban or Johannesburg, the illicit drugs were kept in storage facilities by Nigerian organised syndicates and they were later hidden among legal goods in cargo containers that were subsequently exported to European and Asian markets (Gastrow, 2003). However, the illegal use of cannabis is consistently apportioned to elusive local suppliers and evasive street drug runners who peddle it on the streets of Johannesburg, Durban, and other major centres (Gastrow, 2003).

The SAPS also uses its Dog Unit (also referred to as the K9 Unit) to detect illegal goods and drugs at South African harbours and airports (Geldenhuys, 2009). The K9 patrol dog sub-unit is regarded as the flagship of the SAPS K9 Unit because it is used in dire circumstances, as well as in dealing with or preventing offences which require urgent attention, for example the illicit trafficking of marijuana in South Africa (SAPS, 2015b). The duration of the training of SAPS patrol dog handlers is four months and tactical dog handlers are trained for a period of three weeks, whereas SAPS sniffer and specialised dog handlers undergo a five-month course (SAPS, 2015b). Sniffer

and specialised tactical dog handlers are subjected to a further rigorous two-week training course (SAPS, 2015b). Even though SAPS police sniffer dogs receive stringent training, cannabis traffickers use improvised counter methods such as smearing well packed cannabis with chili and curry powder so as to stop sniffer dogs from pinpointing the illicit drug (Gastrow, 2003).

In light of the time and funds spent on the SAPS K9 Unit, it becomes compelling to question its effectiveness in relation to the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana. As a point of departure, gaps exist in the available information to assess the effectiveness of this unit in this regard. For example, the SAPS does not inform the community about the bonding relationship between SAPS dog handlers and their dogs. However, some information could be traced in a publication entitled *South African Police Service basic and specialised training overview*. In this publication the SAPS distinctly highlights that “...*police dog handlers who belong to two different categories and their appropriately trained dogs that complement the respective roles of such police officials, can be sent to the aforesaid situations as and when summoned by SAPS members, units, police stations or the Department of Foreign Affairs*” (SAPS: 2015b). However, this practice seems to contradict a hypothetically effective approach which can and should involve the strengthening of crime prevention operations by ensuring that police dog handlers and their trained dogs are always the first to be deployed to any operation or to certain crime scenes. Therefore, a rule of thumb should be that the SAPS K9 Unit is always the first unit to be dispatched to urgent relevant circumstances, and that it should automatically correlate with other police units as and when the need arises. Within the framework of this critical debate, it is argued that the discretion should be shifted from the parties referred to, to the SAPS K9 Unit which ought to utilise its skilled dogs effectively during patrols, roadblocks, certain crime scenes and crime prevention operations.

In returning to the issue of ‘a bonding relationship’ between SAPS dog handlers and their trained police dogs, the above-mentioned publication, which specifically deals with this matter, is explicit about the duration of various courses that are offered. That said, the bonding alliance between the aforementioned parties is relevant to the prevention of the illicit trafficking of drugs, especially cannabis. However, the durations of the courses are not lengthy enough for the establishment of a cemented and mutually beneficial relationship between the parties concerned. In addition, these courses are too short for dog handlers to comprehend the diverse and intricate behaviours of sniffer dogs in different environments and temperatures such as hilly, hot and rough rural areas or urban centres that are humid and congested. Furthermore, the language in which such dogs are trained is another problematic area, because many police officials usually work under pressure and they also become very emotional when confronted or taunted by rude, uncooperative members of the public. For example, a dog handler whose first language is IsiZulu or IsiXhosa may or may not achieve desired benefits if he/she frequently uses his/her mother tongue or a combination of his/her mother tongue and English or Afrikaans when communicating with a police dog that was trained either in Afrikaans or English. Such circumstances birth a breakdown in communication and the essence of transmitting any necessary information to another party is defeated. As an ex-police operative, it will suffice to comment that police dogs are trained to work either in certain environments or in a variety of

environments. That said, it becomes a conundrum when a police dog is required to sniff for marijuana in a large building, that is, if it was initially trained within a brief period to search only for cocaine in small vehicles.

2.13 Intelligence-led policing (ILP) strategies

Schreier (2009) contends that police organisations around the world apply intelligence to crime combating and crime prevention. Similarly, in contemporary times the SAPS utilizes intelligence-led policing to combat and prevent crime at police station or cluster level, which also includes the prevention of the illicit trafficking in marijuana (Mashiloane, 2014). Govender (2015) contends that the development of intelligence is characterised by the following four phases: gathering raw data; assessment of the gathered raw data; dissection of gathered data in detail; and the formation of a finished product (police intelligence) which is readily applied by police officials concerned as and when the need arises. ILP involves certain methods which are employed in gathering raw information that is pertinent to crime prevention. These techniques include infiltration of targeted criminal organisations; surveillance; electronic forms of gathering required information such as laptops, cell phones, computers, and telephones; interviews with incarcerated offenders and detainees; sifting through refuse bags discarded by targeted suspects; recording and investigating complaints and misconducts that are reported by the public; accessing website search engines; and utilising human sources (Barker & Gunter, 2005; Crous, 2009; Metscher & Gilbride, 2005).

According to the UNODC (2011), illicit drug trafficking is one of the core illegal undertakings of organised crime syndicates. Furthermore, the UNODC report states that criminal gangs not only participate in illicit drug trafficking, but they also illegally import and export other illicit goods (UNODC, 2011). That said, SAPS local police stations do not have the required expertise or know-how and professional training to efficaciously and adequately deal with organised criminal activities (Govender, 2015).

With reference to the current study, the illicit trafficking of marijuana is a very good example of organised criminal activities. Moreover, South Africa witnessed an escalation in organised criminal incidents due to SAPS local police stations' unpreparedness to efficaciously tackle such criminal incidents (Govender, 2015). According to SAPS Annual Crime Statistics (2014), the former assertion is evidenced by SAPS crime statistics for two financial periods, namely 2011/2012 and 2013/2014. Moreover, Govender (2015) contends that SAPS local police stations do not have the required means to collectively gather information. This lack of resources includes competent manpower, which is a requirement for skilled police handlers who are capable of giving tasks to undercover trained collaborators. This practice involves strategies that are employed to obtain much needed raw information for intelligence purposes as well as strategies to gain the trust of organised criminal syndicates without compromising their identities. Other resources that are lacking are adequate time for detailed productive planning and appropriate, sufficient equipment for quality usage. In addition, Govender (2015) posits that the conventional crime prevention strategies employed by staff at local police stations are not good enough to tackle intricate incidents of organised

criminal activity, because most of the useful information that is provided by young arrestees who work for such gangs is not investigated further. Govender (2015) also suggests that ineffective crime prevention strategies at local level give rise to the multiplication of security companies that provide private policing services to the affluent sector of the South African population. By implication, these companies perform security tasks that should be performed by the SAPS, which in turn results in the labeling of the SAPS as an organisation that cannot perform its duties effectively and efficiently.

Van Heerden and Minnaar (2015) argue that the proactive application of intelligence oriented policing that is based on gathered information enables some police officials within certain specialised units to correctly understand the methods of operation (MO) of illicit drug traffickers. They argue that it is vital to employ this intelligence for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of drugs such as marijuana; the seizure of illicit drugs; and the apprehension of illicit drug traffickers. With respect to a traditional form of policing which predominates many police organisations such as the SAPS (Zinn, 2010), the 1993 Audit Commission Report concluded that a conventional responsive type of policing is unable to prevent crime. Ratcliff (2003) concurs and offers the following reasons for this inefficiency:

- (a) Coupled with a high rate of inefficiency, police tasks and the extent of responsibility are not merged.
- (b) Police officials do not effectively utilise their available resources.
- (c) Police officials concentrate on crime as opposed to dealing with the perpetrators of crime.

Briefly, police resources include the following: manpower, vehicles, funds, equipment, and certain animals used by the police for specific roles. Burger (2007:3) argues that the public's criticism of the SAPS is broadly based on a misunderstanding of the purposes and ramifications of certain terms such as 'policing', 'crime prevention' and 'crime combating'. This argument is attested to by various presentations of policy development in the SAPS to regulate its jurisdictions and its strategic and operational perspectives to crime fighting within the Republic. However, Pieter Groenewald, a Freedom Front Plus politician, lamented that the presence of a bloated private security industry confirms the ineffectiveness of the SAPS to prevent and combat crime (Smith, 2006).

In relation to the above comments, Section 205(3) of the Constitution stipulates that the objectives of SAPS are *"... to prevent, combat and investigate crime, to maintain public order and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property, and to uphold and enforce the law..."* (South Africa, 1996). The terms which appear in this section of the 1996 SA Constitution are abstract (conceptual) and there is no other known South African statute that can provide a definitive or perfect legal explanation which stipulates that crime prevention is a major role of the SAPS. Thus, criticisms by the public of the SAPS in respect of crime prevention are mainly based on diverse misconceptions. That said, Burger (2007) interrogates the faultlessness of Section 205(3) of the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, which is a section that encapsulates and stipulates the objectives of the SAPS. The confusion and ambiguity regarding the above section are created by a lack of clear definitions of terms and ideas and this contributes to the public's misgivings and mistaken perceptions of the performance of the SAPS

(Burger, 2007). This implies that the ambiguity within Section 205(3) compounds the misunderstanding by the citizenry that it is the SAPS alone that ought to prevent crime. In this context, Burger (2007:140) argues that the cardinal role of the police (SAPS) includes “...*crime investigation, visible policing, maintenance of order, and law enforcement*”. Crime prevention is therefore not regarded as the major task of the SAPS (Burger, 2007). This view was expressed even earlier by Felson (1994) and Burger (2006) who argued that crime prevention was, among many other phenomena, misunderstood by the community because the term was shrouded in mystery in terms of understanding its roleplayers and their functions within the policing context.

Another misunderstanding in respect of crime prevention must be mentioned, as Burger (2007) has already discussed a primary misconception as outlined above. This general perception, which is often taken for granted, is that SAPS officials do not adequately apprehend suspects and that the courts fail to prove beyond reasonable doubt that accused persons who are brought to trial are guilty of committing crimes (Holtmann, 2009). This contention was expounded earlier by Nel (2000:30), who stated that the community believed that criminality could be prevented only if the SAPS and the courts “... *took off their gloves ...*” and mercilessly dealt with suspects and accused individuals. At the time, Nel (2000) argued that, within the policing framework, crime prevention was synonymous with visible policing, road barricades for examining traffic, and searches, patrols and confiscation actions. More recently, in support of the argument by Burger (2006) and Felson (1994), Waller (2011) has asserted that members of the public rely almost exclusively on the following components of the justice system for crime prevention: the SAPS, the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, and the Department of Correctional Services. Burger (2007) argues that it is plausible to rely on the police for effective crime prevention, but is adamant that the prevention of criminal activities should not be the major role of the police. Moreover, Professor David Bayley, who is a renowned scholar and has an impeccable background in criminal matters within legal frameworks, espouses Burger’s contention. Professor Bayley maintains that the police are not positioned to prevent crime, which is due to the fact that more than three quarters of criminality is firmly embedded in the economic inequalities of different classes of society and that such inequalities are beyond the control of the police (Magnus, 2003). Various authors agree that formulating a strategy to deter criminal activity in a community is interpreted as the foundation of crime prevention within the context of policing (Legget, 2004; Newham, 2006; Newham & Dissel, 2011).

Even though Burger (2007) questions both the faultlessness of Section 205(3) of the 1996 Constitution and the dissenting comments of the public about the performance of the SAPS, he also critically discusses numerous flaws within the SAPS as well. Burger (2015), who was a senior researcher at the South African Institute of Security Studies, contends that various weaknesses among police officials negatively affect SAPS crime prevention strategies. In this context, Burger (2015) asserts that, during 2005 to 2015, SAPS officials were scrutinised on numerous occasions and that these assessments encompassed both intra-organisational and inter-organisational assessments. These enquiries provided strong support for prevailing, firmly established and permeating deficiencies in the conduct of SAPS officials. According to Burger (2015), SAPS officials’ deficiencies were, at the

time, widespread at police station level and included improper training, moral deterioration, inadequate management, insufficient oversight, absence of consistent intra-organisational investigations, and enquiries that did not efficaciously tackle the subject matter under investigation. The findings of a study conducted by Freeman and McDonald (2015) concurred with those of Burger, as they stated that certain difficulties that affected police stations were not limited to identified precincts, but clearly appeared to be extensive because they were an exhibition of difficult or definitive nationwide instructions that were issued by the SAPS. Moreover, Freeman and McDonald (2015) stated that visible policing officials used most of their time and energy at work to verify community members' papers rather than to conduct proactive policing. These authors argued that, with reference to SAPS crime intelligence at precinct level, there was a lack of adequate proof of the various policing aspects such as practical work (especially proactive policing), investigation of case connection, pinpointing of crime hotspots, and crime mapping (Freeman & McDonald, 2015).

As a way forward, the findings and comments made by the three foregoing authors must not be discerned as an attack on the integrity of SAPS officials, but they ought to be viewed as indicators of cracks in the current position of SAPS crime prevention strategies. In respect of the current study, the above critical remarks apply to all SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking in marijuana. Furthermore, irrespective of how excellent a crime prevention strategy appears on paper, if any shortcomings of SAPS officials are overlooked, it follows that any crime prevention approach is doomed to fail. Thus, Fuller (2004) emphasizes that if a personnel review is appropriately performed, it automatically becomes a praxis (or custom) which controls a situation by taking a preventative initiative. The rationale behind such a custom is to unearth implicit and possible difficulties within the context of a given organisation's performance (that is, prior to a crisis), which has the potential of cynically influencing both the organisation and its staff (Fuller, 2004).

2.14 Visible policing

Visible policing consists of three components, namely "... *crime prevention, specialised interventions, and border security*" (SAPS Annual Report, 2015/2016:95). According to the SAPS Annual Report (2015/2016), visible policing allows police stations in South Africa to uphold the safety and protection of the citizenry, to maintain specialised involvements, and to regulate South African borders, which involves maintaining law and order along the borders of the Republic. Furthermore, one of the objectives of visible policing is crime prevention, which sustains and supports crime prevention and visible policing assistances offered at police station level as well as at service points in a given neighbourhood (SAPS Annual Report, 2010/2011). With regards to the visible policing unit of the SAPS, a number of strategies are employed by SAPS members such as roadblocks, vehicle patrols, foot patrols, cordon and search operations, body searches, motor vehicle searches, and searches which are conducted within different sizes of buildings and ships (SAPS Annual Report, 2015/2016:95). Moreover, the SAPS Annual Report (2015/2016) stipulates that visible policing is also responsible for preventing and detecting the illicit trafficking of drugs, with particular reference to marijuana. To illustrate this point, the SAPS impounded about 440 269 288

kilograms of marijuana in South Africa during the period of 2015/2016 due to the proactive approach by the SAPS to the illicit trafficking of drugs (SAPS Annual Report, 2015/2016). According to the SAPS Annual Report (2010/2011), the SAPS also initiated a visible policing strategy which requires any member of the general public to use a toll free number and provide qualified police personnel with sensitive information about criminal activities, such as the trafficking of cannabis. The caller remains anonymous for the purpose of protecting the real identity of the source of information (SAPS Annual Report, 2010/2011). During the period under review, 116 suspects were apprehended and illicit goods to the value of about R4 000 000 were confiscated due to the reciprocal relationship between the SAPS and the community (SAPS Annual Report, 2010/2011).

2.15 Operation Fiela: a reclaim strategy

It can be asserted that the SAPS persists in efforts to prevent the illicit trafficking of drugs by adopting operational strategies such as 'Operation Fiela (SAPS, 2015). In this operation, which was conducted in 2015, the SAPS seized considerable quantities of marijuana at Eersterust and apprehended 18 suspects for selling marijuana and 68 suspects for being in possession of marijuana (SAPS, 2015). Operation Fiela was a state initiative that was conducted under the auspices of the Medium Term Strategic Framework (MTSF, 2014-2019). It was designed to maintain the power of the government and to tackle and prevent criminal activities (SAPS, 2015). Schneider (2009) stresses that the realisation of a police intelligence operation relies on centred information gathering, which entails undercover operations and infiltrations by using police informants or informers. It also requires a clear explanation of a problem to direct an information gathering technique that is appropriate to crime prevention (Schneider, 2009).

2.16 The 'Interception Raids' strategy

The SAPS targets marijuana traffickers who smuggle this illicit drug and others from Lesotho to South Africa. In this strategy, the Mounted Police Unit employs an effective strategy known as 'interception raids' (Geldenhuys, 2014). According to Mashiloane (2014), the strategic plan of the SAPS concerning the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana near the border between Lesotho and the Republic of South Africa encompasses a detailed plan, which mainly clusters around two aspects: (i) the period between May and July in which marijuana is reaped and collected from small isolated fields in Lesotho; and (ii) the period between May and July when the Caledon River recedes, enabling marijuana traffickers to smuggle cannabis from Lesotho to South Africa. These two components of the above-mentioned strategic plan of the SAPS are vital in the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana from Lesotho to South Africa. In 2012, the SAPS Mounted Police Unit confiscated 28 sacks of marijuana that were secretly brought into South Africa. This incident occurred in an area called Mableshini, which is close to Bergville (Geldenhuys, 2014). In 2013, the unit also impounded 1 890 kilograms of marijuana from Lesotho nationals on the South African side of the border in an area called Ntonjelane (Geldenhuys, 2014). However, many

Lesotho nationals and South Africans still routinely smuggle enormous quantities of marijuana through KwaZulu-Natal en route to Durban (Geldenhuys, 2014).

To curb the illicit trafficking of marijuana and other illicit drugs, the SAPS management encourages active and practical public participation in routine crime prevention strategies and techniques for fighting crime (Pheiffer, 2013). That said, the SAPS consistently develops robust partnerships with diverse communities, and the rationale behind such an approach is that the SAPS partakes in lawful public initiatives which are related to crime prevention and crime combating (Vuma, 2011). Furthermore, Hodza (2014) echoes the preceding assertion, stating that certain communities, for example Johannesburg's West Rand Community Forum, work in conjunction with the SAPS to prevent the illicit trafficking of drugs. However, certain community members join community structures that are pro crime prevention with sinister destructive intentions, because such persons are deliberately instructed by illicit drug traffickers to collect information about impending police operations that may or may not include community participation (Hodza, 2014).

2.17 Dual proactive policing strategies between INTERPOL and the SAPS

The SAPS does not always operate in isolation with regards to the prevention of illicit drug trafficking. According to Newburn, Williamson and Wright (2008), Interpol assists numerous police organisations, including the SAPS, with criminal databases and investigative support; that is, if a police organisation requires any much sought after information that can be used to prevent and combat cross border criminal activities. In the context of the current study, an example of cross border criminal activity is the illegal transportation of marijuana from Malawi, Lesotho or Swaziland to South Africa. Interpol then provides assistance to the SAPS to prevent the illicit trafficking of marijuana across these international borders. Ratcliffe (2009) asserts that a mutual relationship between domestic police organisations and international police bodies facilitates in nullifying organised criminal syndicates, for instance organised traffickers of illicit marijuana from Lesotho to South Africa.

The bilateral co-operation between the Lesotho Police and the SAPS led to the creation of the Southern African Regional Police Chiefs Co-operation (SARPCC) (Rafolatsane, 2013). A number of committees were formed under the SARPCC, and these sub-units specialise in certain offences such as stock theft, the illicit transportation of cannabis from Lesotho to South Africa, and motor vehicle theft (Rafolatsane, 2013). Moreover, the two police organisations work closely together and often share relevant intelligence through SARPCC structures (Rafolatsane, 2013). The mutual cooperation between the SAPS and the Lesotho Police frequently culminates in huge seizures of cannabis and the arrest of suspects for possession of cannabis and dealing in it (Rondganger, 2013).

2.18 Structure: the establishment and composition of the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigations (Hawks)

In terms of Section 17B of the SAPS Act No. 68 of 1995, as amended by Section 3(a) of the South African Police Service Amendment Act No. 57 of 2008, the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigations was established as a front-line investigative unit with the mandate to investigate priority crimes that threaten the safety and livelihood of the South African citizenry. This unit is also referred to as the Hawks. *“17C. (1) The Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation is hereby established as a [Division of] Directorate in the Service. (1A) The Directorate comprises- (a) the Office of the National Head of the Directorate at national level; and (b) the Office of the Provincial Directorate in each province. (2) The Directorate consists of (a) the National Head of the Directorate at national level, who shall manage and direct the Directorate and who shall be [a Deputy National Commissioner] appointed by the Minister in concurrence with Cabinet; (aA) the Deputy Head of the Directorate at national level; (aB) the Provincial Heads of the Directorate; (b) other persons appointed by the National [Commissioner on the recommendation of the] Head of the Directorate at national and provincial level on the basis of the required level of experience, training, skills, competence [or] and knowledge; (c) an adequate number of legal officers appointed to the Directorate; [and] (d) officials from any Government department or institution, or seconded to the Directorate in terms of laws governing the public service; and (e) administrative staff appointed to the Directorate”.*

2.19 South African Police Service operational procedures

Section 91(2) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No. 108 of 1996, specifies that the President appoints the Deputy President and Ministers, assigns their powers and functions, and may dismiss them. The Head of State also appoints the Minister of Police, who is in charge of the Department of Police in the Ministry of Police. Furthermore, Section 207(1) of the Constitution states that the President, as the head of the executive, appoints a woman or a man as the National Commissioner of the South African Police Service (SAPS) to control and manage this state structure. Moreover, Section 207(2) stipulates that the National Commissioner must exercise control and manage the police service in accordance with national policing policy and the directions of the cabinet member responsible for policing. With specific reference to the current study, the preceding responsibilities include the prevention of crime *via* crime prevention strategies. In terms of Section 1(2)(a) of the South African Police Service Act No. 68 of 1995, the National Commissioner is also accountable for planning, establishing, distributing, organising, and training members of the SAPS as well as for the infrastructural development and statutory competence of the SAPS. With regards to the present study, this responsibility also encompasses crime prevention in the Point Area, with specific reference to the illicit trafficking of marijuana.

Section 207(3) of the Constitution (1996) provides that the National Commissioner, in consultation with the provincial executive, appoints a woman or a man as the Provincial Commissioner for that province. However, if the

National Commissioner and the provincial executive are in disagreement over the appointment, the cabinet member (i.e., the Minister of Police) responsible for policing must intervene between the disagreeing parties, so as to produce agreement or to seek another alternative. As a way forward, Section 207(4)(a)(b) of the Constitution prescribes that the Provincial Commissioner is accountable for policing in his/her specific province, as stipulated by national legislation. This is conditional upon the power of the National Commissioner to exercise control over and manage the police service in terms of Subsection (2). The Provincial Commissioner's accountabilities encompass the issuance of provincial directives and guidelines and the prevention of crime which includes the prevention of the illegal trafficking of drugs. Moreover, SAPS provincial commissioners appoint station commissioners for their respective provincial jurisdictions in terms of Section 219(2)(b) of the Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act No. 200 of 1993.

Even though Section 13(1-13) of the SAPS Act (1995), also referred to as the principle Act, stipulates the powers, duties, and functions of all SAPS police officials. The stated Act does not specifically define the duties, tasks or roles of station commissioners. Furthermore, there is no known tool of legislation which stipulates the powers, duties or roles of SAPS Station Commissioners. However, according to Section 218(2) of the Interim Constitution (1993), Section 15(1) of the SAPS Act (1995) guarantees the following: *"Any power conferred on the National or Provincial Commissioner by the South African Police Service Act or any other law, may be delegated in writing by any such Commissioner to any member or other person in the employment of the Service, subject to supervisory direction and provided that the National Commissioner and/or Provincial Commissioner ensures that sufficient resources are made available for such purpose"*.

In light of the contents of Section 218(2) of the Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1993), it may be deduced that SAPS station commissioners are accountable for the command and control of the SAPS in their respective jurisdictions. Their control includes the issuing of station directives and instructions with regards to SAPS crime prevention strategies that are additional to policy requirements issued by the National Commissioner. Such a strategy may include the prevention of the illicit trafficking of drugs in a given area.

2.20 South African Police Service operational strategies

Procedurally, the situational analysis of the SAPS 2014-2019 Strategic Plan gives an overview of major aspects that have affected the approach of pinpointing the SAPS's strategic priorities and objectives. Under the situational analysis, attention can be drawn to the following aspects:

- Performance environment. This entails policing the Republic's boundaries and safeguarding them so as to reduce cross-border crime. It ensures the involvement of public order policing and is coupled with a strong emphasis on an improved relationship between the community and the SAPS, community

involvement, investigating criminal activities, crime prevention, crime reduction, enhancing safety and security, improving crime intelligence and the criminal justice system, and security clusters.

- Organisational environment. This entails the enhancement of service delivery, increasing SAPS service delivery points, implementing lean management principles, developing an Information Technology Strategy and Action Plan, and accelerating the programme of capacitating and training the detective and forensic services so as to improve their capabilities and offerings.

In the context of this study, it is important to mention that one of the responsibilities of the detective service is to be proactive in preventing the illicit trafficking of cannabis. It therefore follows that the early detection of offences reduces crime because perpetrators are prevented from committing them.

The SAPS budget encompasses five major departmental programmes, namely Administration, Visible Policing, Detective Services, Crime Intelligence and Protection, and Security Services (SAPS Annual Report, 2014-2015). All five these programmes are responsible for the provision of drug demand and supply reduction strategies (SAPS Strategic Plan, 2014-2019). According to the SAPS Annual Report (2014-2015), some of the priorities of the SAPS are:

- (a) Crime prevention should ensure visibility through both proactive and reactive styles of policing with regards to drug crimes. Crime prevention strategies should also sustain supply reduction programmes, crime intelligence tasks (i.e., with respect to the trafficking of illicit drugs by individuals or syndicates), and the collection, evaluation, and comparison of collected raw information.
- (b) The Detective Service of the SAPS conducts enquiries and collects the necessary evidence on earnest and organised crime. This section of the SAPS also usually tackles transnational and domestic drug trafficking via intelligence-led policing, for instance project driven operations, undercover operations, controlled deliveries, entrapment, surveillance, interception, monitoring, disruption operations, and search and seize operations that include activities in ports of entry.

Despite the current increase in incidences of illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area, recorded contact-related crime at national level, which includes the illicit trafficking of drugs, declined by 9.6% between 2009 and 2014 (SAPS Strategic Plan, 2014-2019). However, Khan and Singh (2014) contend that drug-related offences that were recorded by the SAPS between 2003 and 2013 increased by 140.3% and beyond. Moreover, information regarding the small reduction of 9.6% in contact-related crime which was provided by the SAPS during the past five years does not specifically pinpoint a significant decline in the illicit trafficking of marijuana. Furthermore, Atkinson et al. (2009) contend that illicit drug trafficking is extensively committed in conjunction with other offences and that such a pattern of crime perpetration reciprocates itself; for example, physical violence is used to reprimand

a police collaborator or to settle disputes between drug dealers, and it is also employed when demanding money from illicit drug 'couriers'. Moreover, it is argued that illicit drug trafficking encompasses the trafficking of the cannabis herb and cannabis resins, which is one of the core interests of organised crime syndicates (Khan & Singh, 2014).

The next section provides a critical discussion on the theoretical framework within which this study was located.

2.21 Theoretical framework

2.21.1 Introduction

In this section, the researcher provides detailed critical discussions about the following three theories that were employed in structuring this study and, these are: (a) Deterrence theory; (b) rational choice theory; and, (c) self-control theory. The deterrence theory is relevant to this study because it allowed the researcher to evaluate how an understood downside of rationalisation influences an offender's decision prior to committing an offence (Li et al., 2010). Furthermore, another aspect of this section encompassed a critical discourse about the rational choice theory, which provides motives and consequences of a prospective offender's or a criminal's decision that is based on rationalisation before offending (Jacques, Allen & Wright, 2013). Moreover, the final component of this specific section discussed the self-control theory, which added to or built on the information that was provided by the two preceding theories. For example, deterrence and rational choice theories do not explain as to why certain people commit crimes from which they may, or may not benefit despite the strong probability of being arrested by police officials. In this context, the self-control theory adds relevant information and, by so doing it builds on the information which is provided by the aforesaid theories. The self-control theory clearly proposes that the dissimilarities in the levels of self-control amongst individuals is treated as the foremost important component, which birth criminal activities (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990).

2.21.2 Deterrence Theory

Deterrence Theory (developed out of the work of Thomas Hobbes [1588-1678], Cesare Beccaria [1738-1794], and Jeremy Bentham [1748-1832]), and Rational Choice Theory (originated out of an article written by the Nobel-Prize winning economist, Gary Becker [1968]), guided and underpinned the theoretical framework of the current study. Paternoster (2010:766) describes deterrence as "*... the omission of a criminal act because of the fear of sanctions or punishment*". The modern deterrence theory thus proposes that every person is able to understand the seriousness of an act when contemplating participation in any unlawful activity (Pratt et al., 2006). According to Deterrence Theory, the sentencing of a person who is guilty of a crime should ensure that the punishment is sufficient to deter the guilty person, and others, from committing the same crime. Gibbs (1975) postulates that the

more intense the authoritativeness, seriousness, and promptness of penalties for the commission of an illegal activity are, the more persons are prevented from participating in such an activity.

Conversely, Herath and Rao (2009) argue that the inevitability of being caught or arrested, and not the seriousness of the punishment, is a key aspect in crime prevention. Put slightly differently: if a person understands that it is unavoidable to be caught whilst or after committing any deviant act, this knowledge will prevent individuals from perpetrating criminal acts. According to Antia et al. (2006), there is a reciprocal influence between the authoritativeness and seriousness of punishment within the framework of official punishment. Flowing from the preceding statement, it is apparent that each of the two above-mentioned terms has an effect on the other.

Furthermore, Li et al. (2010) contend that Deterrence Theory is a critical component of the Rational Choice Theory that relates to the discerned disadvantage of rationalisation. This theory therefore involves a step-by-step evaluation of the preventive influence of official and unofficial penalties. The foregoing statement is particularly relevant to crime control policy makers, because it espouses the prevention of crime due to the discerned possibility of being arrested if an offence is committed. However, Pogarsky et al. (2004) argue that although deterrent penalties are influential, the impact of legal penalties does not weigh on experienced offenders with advanced capabilities as much as one may desire.

2.21.3 Rational Choice Theory

Bentham (1988) is one of the first exponents of the rational choice approach. Jacques, Allen and Wright (2013:25) summarise the reasons and ramifications of rational choice resolutions as listed by Bentham in his publication entitled "The Principles of Morals and Legislation":

- The benefit of a deed is the sum total of joy with the subtraction of the pain which it births
- Persons try to increase pleasure and decrease pain
- When deciding how to do something, an individual chooses an alternative with the largest discerned benefits

William and McShane (1994) assert that Rational Choice Theory is characterised by many inconsistencies, as people do not always freely choose to perpetrate a crime after weighing the consequences of their actions. They outline the following inconsistencies which they argue are synonymous with rational theories:

- Rational theories are predominantly marked by 'soft free will' and are ancient
- Rational theories are 'consensus-oriented' in that they presume that a person who perpetrates an offence or offences decides to act in contradiction to the recognised orderliness of any given community

- Rational theories are inclined to be somewhat 'process-oriented' and min-theoretical, and they are also marked by special importance (or benefits) for the person who decides whether to commit a crime or not
- Some of the inconsistencies are predominantly relevant to structural and environmental thoughts that affect preferences; hence, such differences of rational theories are predominantly theoretical by nature (William & McShane, 1994:225).

In analysing and evaluating both theories (Deterrence and Rational Choice), certain gaps were noted that need to be highlighted here. For example, even though the theories had relevance to this study as they explicitly state that people freely elect whether to perpetrate offences after considering the possible outcomes of illicit activities, it is evident that neither the rational choice perspective nor the deterrence theory provides any further explanation as to why deviant persons persist in committing crimes after weighing the pros and cons of their illegal actions. Furthermore, these theories do not offer any elaboration on why some people commit crimes from which they may or may not benefit despite the strong probability of being arrested by the police. In order to fill these gaps and build on the relevant information which is proffered by the two foregoing theories, the researcher employed the Self-Control Theory which elaborates on why some people are impetuous before, during and after committing an offence or offences.

2.21.4 Self-Control Theory as part of the broader General Theory of Crime

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) argue that, given a right set of circumstances, the predisposition to participate in unlawful activities is precipitated by a characteristic known as low self-control. They further highlight that the formation of variations with regard to the degree of self-control among human beings is seen as the most important element that gives rise to criminal activities. In addition, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) affirm that self-control consists of six separate components and that persons who are devoid of self-control are inclined to be spontaneous and reckless, inconsiderate, forceful, violent, narrow-minded, dangerous and have low tolerance levels. Such persons are thus inclined to participate in criminal activities (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Pratt et al. (2006) concur with the preceding authors when they state that individuals with deficient self-control are not easily deterred from crime. Moreover, the General Theory of Crime that is proposed by Gottfredson and Hirsch (1990) conjectures that low self-control is the consequence of ineffectual parenting styles. This implies that delinquent children who are not reprimanded for deviant behaviours acquire habits and beliefs that are deviant and they carry this accumulated offending information into adulthood, which predisposes them to committing crimes (Arneklev, Grasmick, Tittle, & Bursik Jr., 1993).

Moreover, the General Theory of Crime suggests that people are intelligent and that their reasoning cannot be boxed; thus prospective criminals assess the advantages and disadvantages of a possible conduct and examine probable offences by adopting the preceding approach (Holt, Bossier, & May, 2012). In addition, persons with low levels of self-control are spontaneous, small-minded, dangerous opportunists who lack sensitivity (Holt, Bossier, &

May, 2012). The General Theory of Crime was employed by a number of studies and the findings indicate that this theory provides a rationale for street crimes (Gottfredson, 2006; Pratt & Cullen, 2000) and sound explanations for deviant behaviour among the youth (Brownfield & Sorenson, 1993; Delisi & Vaughn, 2008; Winfree, Taylor, He, & Esbensen, 2006). In light of the illumination of the above theories, this study focused predominantly on the impulsiveness of offenders' decision making processes prior to the commission of an offence.

The self-control theory does indeed explain why impulsive offenders are more interested in short-term benefits rather than in gains accrued over a long period of time. Cornish and Clarke (1986) contend that rational elements also exist in crimes that appear to be committed on the basis of a physical or a mental disorder, and they are also found in offences that are perpetrated in a spontaneous manner. Cornish and Clarke (1986) assert that the detection of rational elements in crime usually offers valuable doctrines for crime-control policy. This contention is also relevant to a crime-control policy for the illicit trafficking of marijuana. With specific regard to pinpointing rational components in the perpetration of the latter offence, Cornish and Clarke (1986:2) state that "... a *crime-specific focus* ..." is not exclusively espoused due to diverse offences with unique requirements, but that it also occurs through the positional framework of reaching a resolution and achieving available knowledge, which differs vastly among crimes.

The three theories that were discussed in this section apply to several circumstances, for example in crime prevention situations, security issues, and in the area of policy formulation.

2.22 A reciprocal relationship between Deterrence Theory and Rational Choice theory

With reference to the current study, the researcher decided to build on Stigler's (1974) arguments, as he asserts that prospective criminals who are interested in monetary gains plan their actions through rationalisation and in particular the possibility of being caught and punished. Stigler's assertion represents an abstract decision making process concerning individuals who are either habitual offenders or prospective criminals. Therefore, the decision making process has to be simplified to weave the individual threads together, which is a process that was not mentioned by the preceding author. The subject matter of such a decision making process includes the following: (i) thoughts and amnesia; (ii) detailed methods by which marijuana will be distributed and sold to its users; and (iii) contemplating the successes and failures of the illicit trafficking of cannabis. For example, if the potential benefits from the distribution and sales of marijuana are greater than abandoning the act, and if the offender or prospective offender is not highly likely to be arrested, then the would-be offender will combine the above aspects and engage in the illicit trafficking of marijuana. This decision is based on a justification or a rationalisation process. However, according to the deterrence theory, if a prospective offender reasons that he or she made some clumsy mistakes such as attracting unnecessary attention, or made illicit arrangements with a police informant and receives a tip-off that he/she is a target of a subsequent police raid, then the would-be offender will refrain from committing the planned criminal act. In fact, in certain instances he or she may destroy the illicit drug or the marijuana.

Matsueda (2010) elaborates on the two theories and argues that the Deterrence and Rational Choice propose that if any estimated proceeds of a crime surpass the potential punitive measures (or penalties), it follows that a person will perpetrate the planned offence. Matsueda (2010) states that the policy implications with reference to a combination of the deterrence and rational theories are as follows:

- (a) Through the augmentation of the certainty and severity of penalties, the likelihood of a criminal act is decreased
- (b) The likelihood of committing an offence is decreased if the proceeds of the crime are minimised through crime prevention field operations

Field operations may target crime hotspots and suspicious persons and may result in swift arrests and the compilation of historical backgrounds of offenders' commissions of crimes, especially those of habitual offenders or suspects who commit more severe offences. Matsueda (2010) also states that would-be offenders who discern an increased likelihood of being apprehended for using marijuana or for possessing it, are less inclined to commit the offence. In fact, some of the above author's assertions are in line with the SAPS 2014-2015 Annual Performance Report, which states that police crime prevention operations considerably reduced the trafficking of marijuana during the operational period.

Williams and McShane (1994) argue that, whilst paying close attention to a person's accountability before committing a crime, criminologists became aware towards the end of the 1970s that, apart from David Matza's (1964) Drift Theory, there were no available interpretations of the rational choice perspective that comprised the presumption of a rational, reasoning person committing a crime. Therefore, even though Matza's Drift Theory is a control theory, it is considered one of the rational theories because of the differences between a rational choice perspective and the control theories of crime (Cornish & Clarke, 1986). The Drift Theory birthed the impact of the 'will', which is an influencing element in the decision to perpetrate a criminal act (Cornish & Clarke, 1986:221). However, Matza neither implies that a person possesses a "free will" nor that an individual makes an intended reasoned resolution (which is done with the awareness of the likely consequences) to perpetrate a crime, but he implies that the theory describes "soft determinism" and not "soft free will" (William & McShane, 1994:221). In this context, Tibbetts (2012) contends that the drift theory proposes that people commit crimes during particular stages when the following social controls are undermined: jobs, effective parenting skills, and familial attachments. Tibbetts (2012) further argues that, according to Matza, drifting is not as good as being confined to a cycle of crime. Nonetheless, adolescents and young adults master the so-called skills of offsetting laws through deliberately trying out dubious conducts which are contrary to societal laws while at the same time justifying such actions (Tibbetts, 2012).

According to Exum and Bouffard (2010), the processes of assessing any perceived disadvantages of criminal acts (i.e., according to the deterrence theory) and determining the disadvantages and advantages of offences (i.e., the Rational Choice Theory) are employed in predicting potential criminal conduct. Conventionally, Deterrence Theory was confined to an assertion that the application or the indication of the application of lawful punishment was connected to criminal activities (Paternoster, 2010). Thus, von Hentig (1964) criticizes Deterrence Theory by arguing that it is destined not to succeed because the feeling of satisfaction of perpetrating a crime is a “near object”, whereas the price meted out by the criminal justice system is a “long-distance danger” because it takes a very long time to be effectuated, and hence it is not able to counterbalance the immediate benefits of criminal acts (Paternoster, 2010:773-774). Furthermore, Jackson Toby (1957) argues that Deterrence Theory is not essential on account that the socialisation process stops the majority of deviants and only introverts are suitable for the model of classical criminology. Moreover, the latter are prevented from revealing deviant tendencies through a good computation of pleasures and punitive measures (Paternoster, 2010).

Stigler (1974) asserts that offenders who look for financial benefits contemplate their actions from the perspectives of both deterrence and the rational choice. According to Stigler (1974:59-60), criminals with extensive knowledge of crime reconsider their actions when they do not accrue any benefits from crime because of incarceration. This positions such persons to decide prior to their apprehension whether to commit crimes in close succession (such as the continual trafficking of marijuana), whether to perpetrate bigger offences (e.g., trafficking marijuana in bulk), or whether to commit criminal acts at intervals. Offenders also calculate and estimate the proceeds and disadvantages of crime and compare the differences with the actual proceeds of crime against other crimes and lawful ventures.

Roederer and Moellendorf (2007) argue that, within the domain of the combined effect of deterrence and rational choice, certainty is more dominant than severity in causing a prospective criminal not to commit a crime. Put differently, the probability of being apprehended by the police is more influential than the seriousness of the punishment in preventing a prospective criminal from perpetrating a criminal act (Roederer & Moellendorf, 2007). Although the preceding scholars argue in a persuasive manner, their line of reasoning is ill-defined and it is characterised by a void. This means that their argument does not do justice to the critical reader who wants to understand how a would-be offender weighs up the probabilities of being apprehended by the police. Furthermore, the preceding authors already indicated that the possibility of being arrested can be more influential than the harshness of penalties to a would-be criminal; however, the dominance of the former over the latter within the context of the preceding authors’ vein argument excludes certain aspects. First, the extent of the possibilities of the police arresting an arrestee is not discussed and second, they fail to mention that a connection exists between the degree of the probabilities of being apprehended and the offending conduct of the prospective criminal.

Therefore, the researcher proposes a converse argument; that is, if the would-be criminal perceives that the chances of being caught by the police are low, then he or she is highly likely to commit a crime despite the certainty,

which appears to be more predominant than the severity. It suffices to comment that the intelligence of the prospective criminal or habitual offender is a predominant factor that covers both sub-aspects discussed above. This implies that the level of an offender's intelligence influences his/her decision making process to commit an offense; thus, the researcher employs the concept of perception as elucidated above. This means that the manner in which a prospective offender or a seasoned offender is able to understand the possibility of being arrested affects his/her intended participation in an unlawful act. If this discussion is kept tied to the rational choice perspective, it is sufficient to assert that the antecedent perspective is a domain of the mind which is not uniform in all individuals, but it is solely responsible for influencing all the decisions of different persons in relation to committing offences. This means that the intelligence of an offender produces or gives rise to offending (i.e., crime is the effect of a decision). Recall that Cornish and Clarke (1986) indicated earlier that the rational content exists in all sorts of crimes. Thus, the preceding scholarly statement attests to the fact that the thoughts or minds of diverse individuals are causal factors in the perpetration of different crimes.

The foregoing contention is to a certain extent echoed by Tibbetts (2012:56), who deduces within the framework of the rational choice perspective that "informal deterrent variables" are more effective than "formal deterrent variables" (for example severity or certainty); that is, with regard to an offender's decision making methods prior to committing a crime or crimes. The core aspects of concern within the structure of this argument are clustered around offenders' thoughts or minds which appear to be different. For example, Roederer and Moellendorf (2007) strictly and exclusively couch their theoretical argument about an offender's decision making processes prior to committing a crime or crimes within the context of South African legislation, and hence unofficial deterrence variables are trivialised. Therefore, in relative terms, Tibbetts (2012) infers that unofficial deterrence variables are more effectual than official deterrence variables within the rational perspective; that is, in relation to the offender's decision making processes. That said, within the above set-up of rational and deterrence perspectives, the meticulous discernment of variations of an offender's thoughts prior to the commission of a crime is necessary for devising improved crime-control policies, with particular regard to the illicit trafficking of marijuana. However, the gap that exists in the application of the foregoing theories has to be filled, and this may be done by attaching the low self-control theory to the above equation if complete satisfaction is to be effectuated.

Moreover, Stigler (1974) argues that the disadvantages for a prospective criminal who does not succeed in effectuating an offence are similar to the disadvantages of imperfection in legitimate fields. Furthermore, Stigler (1974) employs an economic supply and production viewpoint which denotes that crime is associated with supply and demand: i.e., on the one hand criminals supply commodities that are, on the other hand, desired by consumers. The supply of and desire for marijuana is a good example. In light of the foregoing argument, the utilization of the deterrence and rational theories can have predictable effects on the trafficking of marijuana in the Point area in Durban.

2.23 Conclusion

This chapter provided informative and critical discussions that were relevant to Point community members' perceptions of SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana. Relevant matters that were accentuated were: (i) The evolution of South African statutes designed to prevent the illicit trafficking of cannabis; (ii) the application of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992; (iii) the application of the Prevention of Organised Crime Act No. 121 of 1998; (iv) South African Police Service policies; (v) the National Drug Master Plan (2012-2016); (vi) the National Drug Master Plan (2013-2017); (vii) various SAPS strategies which are employed in the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in South Africa; (viii) SAPS standing operational procedures; and (ix) SAPS operational strategies.

Moreover, Chapter two also focused on a thorough and critical discussion of three theories that were pertinent to this study, namely the deterrence theory, the rational theory, and the self-control or general theory of crime. In criminology, the deterrence theory works together with the rational choice perspective because these theories clearly state that people independently elect whether to commit offences after contemplating the results of such activities (Exum & Bouffard, 2010). However, the first two theories do not elaborate on why certain offenders perpetrate offences from which they may or may not benefit despite the high possibility of being apprehended by arresting officers. In addition, the first two theories do not explain why people commit crime after weighing the possible consequences of their criminal activities. In order to fill this lack in the knowledge base, the researcher built on these two theories by also employing the self-control theory. The low self-control theory helps the critical reader to understand why certain individuals act spontaneously before, during and after perpetrating criminal activities.

The next chapter illuminates the research methodology and design and provides a lengthy and critical discussion on the following relevant matters: the procedures according to which this study was conducted; the design of the research project; the instruments that were employed in data collection; the process of data analysis; the location of the research site; and the ethical considerations that guided the study.

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3.1 Introduction

This chapter illuminates the following aspects of the study: the study procedures that were employed, the design of this research project, sample selection, data collection strategies, the instruments employed in data collection, the location of the research site, the process of data analysis, and the ethical considerations.

3.2 Aim, objectives and primary research question of the study

The aim of the study was to explore Point community members' perceptions regarding the efficacy of the SAPS in addressing the illicit trafficking of cannabis in this area.

The objectives:

- Establish a meaningful understanding (explore) of the available literature on illicit trafficking of drugs, more specifically cannabis, internationally, nationally and in the Point area.
- Obtain a rich understanding (views) from Point community members on strategies that the SAPS employs to prevent the trafficking of cannabis in the Point area.
- Make recommendations based on the findings of the study, including future research.

Primary research question:

- What are the perceptions of Point community members with regards to the strategies that the SAPS employs to prevent the trafficking of cannabis in the Point area?

3.3 Research paradigm, approach and design

The study aims, objectives and primary research question required the exploration and description of rich perceptions. According to Steyn (2017), and Maxfield and Babbie (2018), there are three paradigms in criminological research, positivist, hermeneutics (descriptive-interpretive), and semiotics (constructionist). Of the three paradigms stated, the current study selected the descriptive-interpretive paradigm as the most appropriate. The ontology of hermeneutics assumes that the social world is defined by people's subjective experiences, rather than by objective data that exists outside of people's subjectivity. The reality to be studied is people's subjective experiences of the external world. The epistemology of hermeneutics assumes that people can be understood by

engaging with them in a natural and empathic manner – an interactional or inter subjective epistemological stance, given that the subjective meanings in question will emerge in interaction. The methodology of hermeneutics is qualitative, and includes amongst others – participant observation, open-ended interviews (which are interactional procedures), and qualitative interpretation, such as content analysis (rather than reducing the subject's experiences to numerical data). Thus, the current study followed a qualitative research approach and phenomenological research design.

3.3.1 Study data collection instrument

Based on an extensive literature review, with the researcher as the primary data collection instrument, the researcher together with his supervisor developed a semi-structured, but open-ended, interview schedule with the following questions:

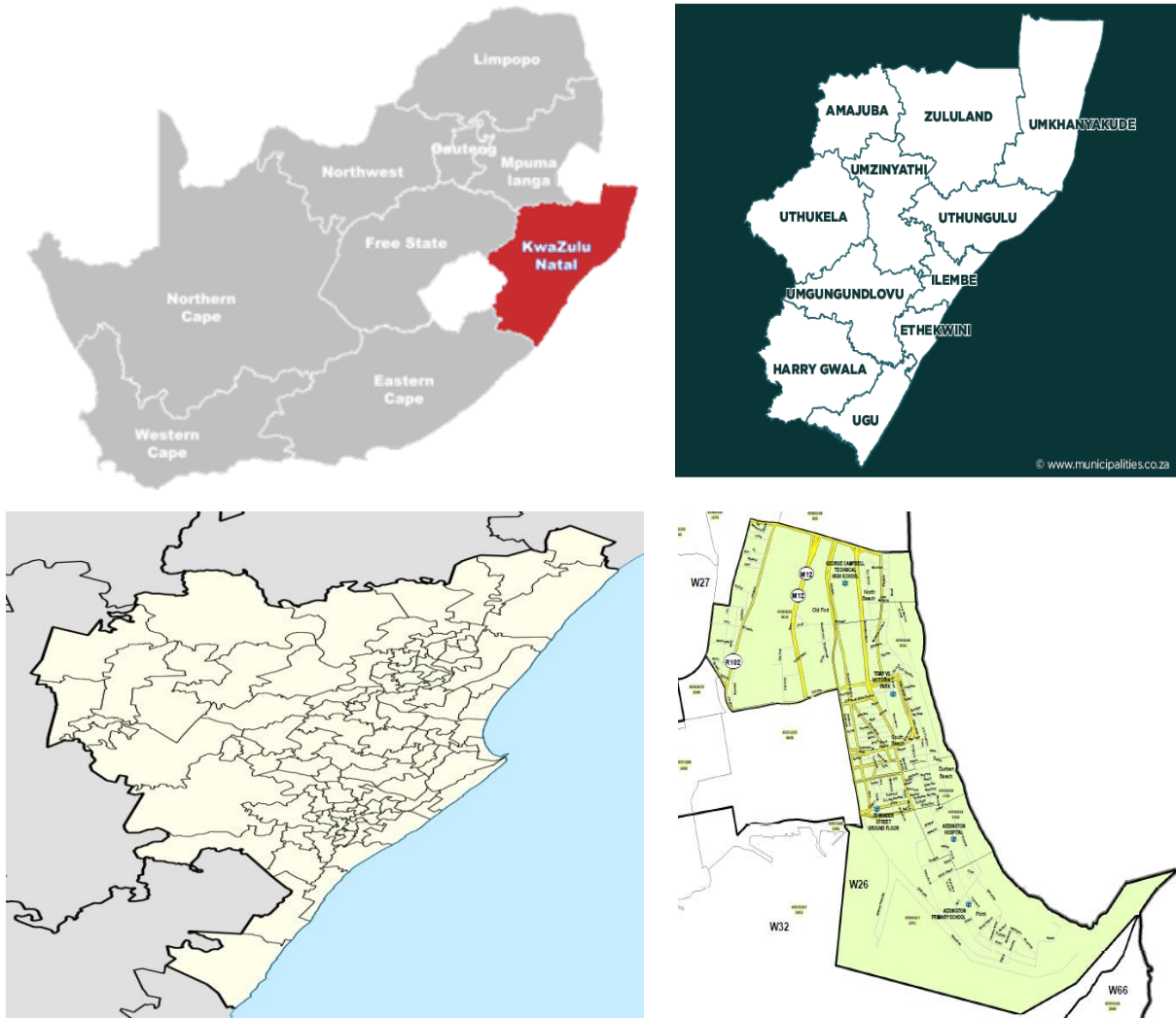
- What are your thoughts about the trafficking of cannabis in the Point area (nature and extent)?
- What is/are the strategy/ies of the South African Police Service in preventing the trafficking of cannabis in the Point area?
- How has the South African Police Service implemented their strategy/ies to prevent the trafficking of cannabis in the Point area?
- Have this/these implemented strategy/ies by the South African Police Service prevented the trafficking of cannabis? If yes, by what extent?
- What challenges and/or obstacles are in the way of the South African Police Service meaningfully preventing the trafficking of cannabis in the Point area?
- Do you have any recommendations on how the trafficking of cannabis could be meaningfully prevented in the Point area?

3.4 Sampling

As indicated *supra*, the intention of the study was not to obtain a representative sample of the Point area community but to gain a rich understanding from some key role-players in the Point area with regards to the prevention of cannabis trafficking, by the SAPS, in the Point area.

eThekweni Municipality, situated on the eastern seaboard of the KwaZulu-Natal Province of the Republic of South Africa, is the third largest metropolitan area in the Republic, after the City of Johannesburg, and the City of Cape Town, respectively. Point area, is a subsection (Ward 26) of the City of Durban, which covers approximately 7.2

square kilometers, and a population of 34 601, according to the 2011 Census data from Statistics South Africa. The Point area predominantly consists of residential flats (apartments).



The upper-left illustration (map) depicts the nine (9) provinces of the Republic of South Africa, more specifically the KwaZulu-Natal Province. The upper-right illustration (map) indicates the eleven metropolitan areas of the KwaZulu-Natal Province, including the eThekweni Municipality. The lower-left illustration (map) denotes the one hundred and ten (110) wards of the eThekweni Municipality. The lower-right illustration (map) represents Ward 26, the Point area.

Naturally, due to the theoretical and purposiveness of the study, the point of departure was the SAPS. In other words, the Point SAPS Station Commander had to be interviewed, along with the Point SAPS Station Crime Prevention Commander. The SAPS Point Station Commander also kindly assisted the researcher in framing six categories of participants, namely, South African Police Service Point, Community Police Forum of the South

African Police Service Point, Central Business District of the Point area, Durban Magistrates Court, Point area Community Court, and uShaka Marine World. The Point SAPS Station Commander also provided contact information in relation to the other five (5) participant categories. The initial contacts allowed for snowballing. In summary, as indicated earlier, interviews were conducted with thirteen (13) participants, the Point SAPS Station Commander, the Point SAPS Station Crime Prevention Commander, an experienced senior legal representative practicing in the Point area, a senior public prosecutor from the local magistrates court, two different business owners from the Point area, four members from the Point Community Police Forum (including the Chairman), one community leader from the Point area, one resident from the point area, and a self-pronounced drug-trafficker from the Point area.

3.5 Procedure followed, ethics, and challenges

The planning phase of the research project was a daunting task and took the better half of a year to finalise. Not to mention costs *vis-à-vis* transport, Internet, telephone, recording, data analysis, and language editing, to mention but a few. Before the University of KwaZulu-Natal Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee would fully approve the project, a colloquium had to be defended and gate-keepers approval had to be obtained from the SAPS Research Division (Head Office) and the Point SAPS Station. After the said was obtained the field work began in earnest. Right from the start it became apparent that it would not be quick and easy to complete the interviews. As a matter of fact, it took approximately the whole of 2016 to do so. Making an appointment is one thing, getting down to conduct the actual interview, is another. Most of the participants required an introductory communication session, either personally or over the telephone, before agreeing to an appointment and thereafter sitting down to answer the interview schedule questions, which took an hour to complete on average. Many were sceptical about participating and required absolute clarity on the objectives of the study. Some feared reprisal, a few did not have the time to participate, and others, both. Making the first appointment and conducting the first key informant interview started with the Point SAPS Station Commander. The key informant interviews predominantly occurred at the interviewees' place of work or residence. As was the case with all the other participants, agreement to participate voluntary, and the protection of confidentiality, were confirmed and done in writing before the commencement of the key informant interview. All the key informant interviews were conducted by the researcher (one-on-one / person-to-person) in either English or isiZulu (competence on the part of the researcher). More specifically, the researcher read out the interview schedule questions, one-by-one, and in sequence, and clarified particulars (or asked for said) if and when asked or deemed necessary. Interviews were tape recorded (permitted by the interviewee of course), and notes were made of responses (verbal and non-verbal [body language; surroundings; context]). The researcher also made notes of his own thoughts and feelings whilst conducting each interview. At the end of each key informant interview, the responses were read back to the interviewee so as to ascertain whether what was captured and/or interpreted, was correct according to the interviewee. At the end of

each key informant interview, the participant was thanked and informed that a copy of the final research report would be made available on request. Counselling was also tendered, however none accepted.

The real identities of the research participants are protected by the use of pseudonyms.

3.6 Data analysis

On conclusion of the key informant interviews, themes (categories) were then induced by deriving patterns, generalities or common denominators, as well as differences/contradictions within and across the raw material. At the same time the data was coded (framed [system of classification]) by marking off sections of the data (such as phrases, lines, paragraphs, ideas, events, explanations) as being instance of a particular theme in the text. In other words, the raw data was broken down into labelled, meaningful pieces (subcategories), and then pieces were clustered together under a specific heading/theme. Each cluster/theme was then further analysed in relation to other clusters/themes. During this phase some clusters/themes were collapsed into larger clusters, whilst others were broken-up. This allowed for new themes to emerge or drop out as a better understanding of the material developed. It is important to state here that at no stage was the raw data altered to fit in with a particular coding scheme. If the material did not fit with the coding scheme, the coding scheme was changed. An independent researcher was brought into the process in order to evaluate the coding scheme and to determine whether labels have been correctly assigned to the material (thus testing for inter-rater reliability). The idea was to choose coding schemes that gave the most insight into the research questions. Many different schemes, categorised across several different themes were ordered and re-ordered until something useful emerged (such as relationships between different themes in certain participants but not in others). The next step involved exploring each cluster in more detail by looking at nuances and differences amongst the components within a cluster). A written description was then developed using the thematic categories as the sub-headings of the description. Particular attention was given to themes that did not come up in the data but were expected to. The interpretation was then checked to see whether too much was read into the data (over-interpretation) or that the themes were merely summarised without presenting an intelligent discussion of the ways in which the themes are related and answering the research questions. Finally, the specificity-transferability of the results were considered by being clear and explicit about the context.

3.7 Conclusion

Chapter three presented the research methodology and procedures. By adhering to the research methodology and procedures as detailed above, it became possible to explore Point community members' perceptions of SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the area. According to Kumar (2011), the data of a study ought to address the research questions, which was achieved by means of a thorough literature review and the procurement of authentic interview data and field notes. This chapter also simplified the data analysis procedure

by providing a step-by-step explanation concerning the thematic analysis method. In the next chapter, an analysis of the interview data is presented.

3.8 List of references

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4.1 Introduction

The fieldwork research component of this study utilised semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions and field notes based on field observations. Thirteen key informant interviews were conducted with knowledgeable participants with the following designations: Point SAPS Station Commander, Point SAPS Station Crime Prevention Commander, an experienced senior legal representative practicing in the Point area, a senior public prosecutor from the local magistrates court, two different business owners from the Point area, four members from the Point Community Police Forum (including the Chairman), one community leader from the Point area, one resident from the point area, and a self-pronounced drug-trafficker from the Point area. Each respondent was assigned a pseudo name which was employed as the identity of the interviewee for data collection and reporting purposes. The data collection phase commenced in January 2016 and was concluded in December 2016.

4.2 Predetermined themes

- Perceptions about the nature of cannabis/marijuana/dagga trafficking in the Point area;
- Perceptions about the extent of cannabis/marijuana/dagga trafficking in the Point area;
- Knowledge of Point SAPS strategies to prevent the trafficking of cannabis/marijuana/dagga in the Point area;
- Perceptions about the implementation of Point SAPS strategies to prevent the trafficking of cannabis/marijuana/dagga in the Point area;
- Perceptions about the effectiveness of Point SAPS strategies to prevent the trafficking of cannabis/marijuana/dagga in the Point area;
- Perceptions about challenges and/or obstacles that are hampering the reduction of cannabis/marijuana/dagga trafficking in the Point area by the Point SAPS;
- Perceptions about how cannabis/marijuana/dagga trafficking in the Point area could be prevented.

4.3 Participant and non-participant observations

No common definition for the concept of 'participant observation' could be traced. For the purposes of this study, participant and non-participant observations encompassed the key elements of the practical work that was executed. This involved the researcher's participation in and observation of the neighbourhoods and persons with whom he engaged in studying the topic under investigation, as proposed by DeWalt and DeWalt (2011). Therefore, during the duration of the semi-structured interviews, the researcher wrote down detailed notes about events that

were observed. This is a form of ethnography that Murchison (2010:12-13) describes as follows: *“Ethnography allows the researcher to observe and to experience events, behaviours, interactions, and conversations that are the manifestations of society and culture in action. Ethnography allows the researcher to examine how people’s actions compare to what they say about their actions in ideal situations and their thoughts or opinions on particular topics. In many cases, actions and behaviour in particular situations differ significantly from those observed or predicated by other research strategies”*.

According to the researcher’s understanding of the foregoing description of ethnography, the participant and non-participant observation techniques provided rich, detailed data because they permitted the researcher to ‘intrude’ into the lives of people and he was therefore able to understand the research subjects based on their own modes of expression. In light of the preceding explanation, the researcher was thus positioned to describe and define observable aspects. The researcher therefore had to check and recheck chunks of data (information derived from the observed phenomena) and repeatedly compare and recheck bits of data against a holistic perspective of the phenomenon under study. Considerable time was therefore spent on observing the dynamics of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area. Moreover, the participant and non-participant observation methods elicited data that were more precise and reliable than if data had only been elicited from participant interviews (Bhattacharjee, 2012).

By joining Point SAPS crime prevention officers on their patrols, the researcher enhanced his connection with the research participants and the study site. Therefore, on 24 October 2016, at about 01h00, the researcher joined highly disciplined and vigilant Point SAPS crime prevention senior officers on a patrol of the Point area. With reference to SAPS Standing Order (General) 156, it was clear that these SAPS police officials attempted to work towards the same objectives and no police officer blatantly dishonoured or impaired the reputes of another SAPS police officer, his station, his section, his unit, or his province.

4.4 Theory in action through observation

4.4.1 Symbolic Interactionist Theory in action

Whilst travelling along Mahatma Gandhi Road in Point, the police patrol vehicle stopped. Three Point SAPS crime prevention police officials introduced themselves to suspicious-looking individuals and explained their purpose. The Point SAPS crime prevention officers thoroughly searched various suspected street drug runners. Based on the researcher’s observations, Point SAPS crime prevention police officers consistently behaved in a professional manner and worked diligently without impinging on anyone’s rights. However, they did not find any illicit drugs on the person of any of the suspected drug runners.

A senior Point SAPS crime prevention police officer mentioned that on Thursdays and Fridays, the most senior police officers at Point SAPS conduct field crime prevention operations in the Point area. However, the researcher

was informed that these high ranking officers did not restrict themselves to field operations, because they also interacted with community members and performed field operations on other days. This information was confirmed, because the researcher observed the Point SAPS Station Commander and the Point SAPS Station Crime Prevention Commander in the company of other Point SAPS police officials conducting field operations on other days as well. Such operations included vehicle patrols, foot patrols, close observations, door-to-door awareness campaigns, and searches.

The participant and non-participant observation techniques thus placed the researcher where the actual happenings unfolded and allowed the researcher to gather data on the spot (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011). For example, while conducting a semi-structured interview with a certain respondent in October 2016 at about 08h00, the interviewee was suddenly interrupted by his associates and he had to cut the interview short. The key informant interview could only be resumed after a set of events had been carried out by the interviewee and his associates. In this context, Bernard and Gravlee (2014) assert that the utilisation of conventional techniques for collecting data often dissuades research participants from participating in a study. This is especially true of gangsters or drug dealers. Therefore, Bernard and Gravlee (2014) emphasize that, in certain exceptional activities or events, participant and non-participants observations are likely to be the sole feasible methods for data collection. However, they are infrequently employed as the only data gathering technique in modern studies as they are integrated into orthodox methods such as semi-structured or structured interviews (Bernard & Gravlee, 2014).

Returning to the narrative concerning an interrupted key informant interview, the interviewee and his associates commented that the researcher did not understand their world but only understood the theoretical work that is taught and studied at university. The respondent and his associates suggested that, to form a complete understanding of their challenges, the researcher should be shown the practical challenges Point SAPS police officers encounter during their efforts to prevent the illicit trafficking of drugs in the area. For example, when alleged drug runners were encountered during the field operation, they taunted the police, saying that as long as the police found illegal drugs in the drainage system, they could not arrest them because anyone had access to the drains and any person was capable of hiding anything inside such places. They would also arrogantly and facetiously state that no one kept any keys for the drains in the streets. Suddenly, the researcher felt involved in a subtle (restricted and inactive) way in the street activities of drug runners. This experience was one way of gaining deep insight into Point community members' perceptions of SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of cannabis, and this insight was strengthened by observing, listening to and recording the activities and viewpoints of drug runners themselves.

The symbolic interactionist perspective suggests that occupational subcultures permit police officials to interpret their duties and to formulate the importance of official tasks (Satzewich & Shaffir, 2009). In addition, within the framework of symbolic interactionism, occupational subcultures allow police officials to apportion opinions concerning how their duties are performed and how to analyse the types of persons they communicate with

(Satzewich & Shaffir, 2009). Moreover, the Symbolic Interactionist Theory centres on role taking and it addresses social control because the theory examines the style in which role taking views assist social control (Shott, 1979). In addition, empathic role taking involves a psychological process in which a person puts himself or herself in someone's situation and relives the experiences and emotions of the latter within the context of symbolic interactionism so as to reinforce social control (Shott, 1979). With reference to this study, Point SAPS senior police officials placed themselves in the position of Point community members by interacting with them, so that they could generate and understand pertinent information about crimes that affect the public. The interactions between Point SAPS police officers and Point community members are components of symbolic interactionism within law enforcement structures to prevent the illicit trafficking of cannabis/marijuana/dagga and other illicit drugs in the Point area.

4.4.2 Deterrence Theory in action

During the duration of this study, the researcher observed that members of the Point SAPS Crime Prevention Unit adhered to the routine of conducting field operations in the Point area, such as patrols, close observations, random searches, and stop and search field operations. These field operations were conducted, but were not limited to, the following streets: Dr Prixley Kaseme, John Milner, Boscombe, Gillespie, Mazempa, Pickering, and Fisher.

Deterrence Theory posits an explanation that is compatible with information in the foregoing paragraphs. Deterrence Theory represents an understandable procedure according to which prospective criminals evaluate any undesirable consequences of committing an illegal act; that is, they compare the penalty with the desired benefits prior to committing a crime (Jacobs, 2010). This implies that, within the framework of Deterrence Theory, a dependent indirect link exists between penalties (laws) and criminal behaviour, but its robustness is not static (Jacobs, 2010). Therefore, the discernment of a consistent proactive interjectory role of state institutions such as the SAPS draws a connection between penalties and criminal conduct. For Jacobs (2010), crime happens if the expected benefits exceed the contemplated possibilities of being arrested. In this context, proactive policing is a requirement and it was observed that it occurs in the Point area in the form of random searches, stop and search actions, close observations, and vehicle and foot patrols.

4.4.3 Functionalist Theory in action

The narrative of the encounter with street drug runners and the attitude they exuded relates to the functionalist theoretical approach. Spapens (2010:187) asserts that organised criminal syndicates adopt a 'code of conduct' and 'specific initiation rituals'. In addition, Spapens (2010) stresses that within the framework of organised criminal groups, positions of power are constructed in a descending order; for example, the 'godfathers' occupy the top positions and issue orders and directives to their 'lieutenants'; the 'lieutenants' disseminate these harsh orders and

directives to the leaders or 'bosses' of criminal sub-units which are composed of foot soldiers (such as drug runners); and the foot soldiers perform organised criminal tasks in the streets. In short, each member of an organised criminal group has a specific role to perform, which is a phenomenon that adheres to the functionalist perspective. McIntosh (1975) disagrees to a certain extent with Spapens (2010), because the former conducted a study about so-called organised criminal groups and their activities (for example armed robberies and illicit drug trafficking) and hence posits that many so-called organised criminal groups do not exist indefinitely and are not skilfully structured. In part, Spapens (2010) concurs with McIntosh (1975) and agrees that organised criminal gangs are preponderantly vaguely run as opposed to being well managed and controlled by ranked gang leaders. However, Spapens (2010) argues that individual members have numerous connections with other criminal gangs and are usually loyal to themselves in lieu of being completely faithful to a single criminal gang. Moreover, in an event where a foot soldier's supply of illicit goods is not replenished by the 'godfather', the foot soldier shows no loyalty and will readily part company with the particular criminal organisation (Spapens, 2010). Such foot soldiers may re-engage if their services are again required by the same criminal gang or by another gang (Spapens, 2010).

The application of the functionalist theoretical perspective is paradoxical within the framework of the above observations. The activities (such as cannabis trafficking) of organised criminal gangs in the Point area are held to be functional through the lenses of the parties involved; thus they execute functional tasks. Conversely, such organised criminal activities cause dysfunction among the majority of the members of the community, and hence they create a dysfunctional society.

4.4.4 Economic Perspective Theory in action

Another experience that enhanced insight and understanding of the phenomenon under study occurred when the researcher observed a set of events along Gillespie Street in October 2016. A number of foreign and South African nationals hid a stash of small plastic bags in a rectangular drainage hole. It was observed from a vantage point that these tiny plastic bags contained a greenish substance which resembled cannabis. The same gang members also forced several black plastic bags into another drain and covered it with a broken lid. The second drainage site was some distance from the first site. The black plastic bags were dusted with thin layers of a whitish powder, which was visible to any reasonable person who managed to concentrate on the events. The researcher was informed that what he was observing reflected customary behaviour of many street drug runners and that these practices were prevalent in the Point area.

The theory that is most apt in enlightening the observation of the stashing of clear and black plastic bags that was narrated above is the Economic Perspective Theory. According to Williams and Godson (2002), the economics of the supply and demand in markets of illicit commodities are influenced by the State's interference in such illegal activities. This implies that the proactive actions of the State augment the monetary value and rising demand for such illegal goods.

4.4.5 General Theory of Crime and Self-Control Theory in action

In returning to the participant and non-participant observations, it was observed that the gang immediately left the vicinity where the drains were located and stood opposite them while keeping watch. A few moments later, a different person who appeared to be a foreign national quickly assembled an improvised table on the pavement between the two drains. The 'hawker' placed African jewellery and cigarettes on top of the makeshift table, where the items were repeatedly admired and bought by interested pedestrians. Gang members who stood at points opposite and further away from the 'hawker' made and received calls on their cellular phones repetitively.

Many pedestrians and certain motorists in expensive German cars were seen shaking hands with members of the gang in a particular style and manner. During the process of handshaking, R50, R100, and R200 notes were swiftly placed in the recipients' (the gang members') palms. Obviously, the 'donors' were paying for something and any close observer could deduce that the commodity was illicit drugs. Immediately after placing the notes into the hands of the 'sellers', the 'buyers' (numerous pedestrians and certain motorists) walked in the opposite direction towards the alleged foreign African 'hawker'. No sooner had the buyers arrived at the 'hawker's' table, than the 'hawker' shifted towards either of the two drains. When the buyer was near the drain of choice, the 'hawker' would sometimes adopt a sad facial expression and quickly move his head from side to side. This expression and movements signified disagreement, indicating to a buyer that he had taken more than the quantity that had been paid for. At certain times the 'hawker' gestured to buyers by swiftly nodding his head up and down, which indicated that he was in agreement with their selection of the correct quantity of illegal items concealed in either of the two drains. It became clear that pedestrians and motorists were purchasing a greenish substance which resembled cannabis and a whitish powder from the criminal gang.

The observations concerning the events described above can be explained with reference to General Theory of Crime. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) highlight that the formation of variations with regard to the degree of self-control among human beings is seen as the most important element which gives rise to criminal activities. In addition, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) affirm that self-control consists of six separate components, and they propose that persons who are devoid of self-control are inclined to be spontaneous and reckless, inconsiderate, forceful, violent, narrow-minded, dangerous, and that they have low tolerance levels. Thus, such persons are inclined to participate in criminal activities (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). The self-control and controlled manner in which the criminal actions of drug trafficking occurred openly and in full view of the general population, and the manner in which these actions flaunted the laws of the country, were thus reflections of the General Theory of Crime and Self-Control Theory.

In this study, the above-mentioned participant and non-participant observations were both good research instruments for performing ethnographic fieldwork because they reflect facts, which were observed by the researcher. Furthermore, in order to authenticate the data, the researcher focused on matters which happened

whilst carrying out observations and also engaged such issues in their current form, as opposed to only concentrating on key informant interviews. Therefore, the participant and non-participant observation techniques encouraged the researcher to ascertain real evasive methods, which the street drug runners in Point employ when selling marijuana and, other illicit drugs to members of the public. The said observations also revealed that Point SAPS police officials appear not to have accurate knowledge about street drug runners' evasive methods; hence, it is a serious weakness on the part of police officers in terms of implementing their strategies in preventing the illicit drug trafficking. In this regard, the Point SAPS police officials' seemingly lack of accurate knowledge is evidenced by their searches in which specific spots where illicit drugs are normally hidden were not combed. That said, the researcher's own experiences within the contexts of participant and non-participant observations on several occasions, created a robust understanding that the aforesaid happenings happen consistently in Point. If the researcher had not employed the participant and non-participant observations, the data would have been unauthenticated by a different data collection method. In addition, such happenings did not remain unknown, thus, they were understood in their original form as they unfolded.

4.5 Data obtained from the semi-structured interviews: thematic elucidation

4.5.1 Theme: the nature of cannabis/marijuana/dagga trafficking in the Point area

Question: What are your thoughts about the trafficking of cannabis in the Point area (nature and extent)?

All the research participants had similar experiences. There was consensus among the research participants, who were interviewed on separate occasions that street drug runners usually sell cannabis/marijuana/dagga in tiny plastic bags on the streets. They also agreed that people who consume dagga and other illicit drugs hand over the required amount of money to street drug runners inside take-away shops or restaurants or at any appropriate street venue and that buyers collect the purchased drugs from garbage bins, garbage plastic bags or drains in the streets. The research participants indicated that street drug runners in Point are innovative, as they do not carry the illicit drugs on their persons, but they find alternative 'drop boxes' or sites from where the drugs are distributed. They also revealed that the buyers of illicit drugs do not always hand over the money directly to the street drug runners on the streets, except inside buildings. In addition, it was mentioned that illicit drug buyers frequently employ a method by which the buyers drop the money right next to the drug runners on the streets. The runners then walk past the buyers, indicating by various signs and codes the precise location of the illegal drugs. Certain gestures either imply whether it is or is not safe to collect the drugs. It was revealed that cannabis is shifted around the Point area in various nefarious ways, for example in old box television sets and five litre containers. Two accounts in particular summarise the perceptions of the respondents regarding the nature of drug trafficking in the Point area. These responses came from a street drug runner and a community police forum leader. In order to make sure that

the meaning is not diluted, the accounts are presented in the authentic language of the respondents. One respondent stated:

“In Point, cannabis is basically sold in different forms, for instance, you get it in little sachets called ‘bankies’. [This term refers to the Afrikaans word ‘banksakkies’, which are the small plastic bags that coins are kept in by banks.] Most ‘bankies’ emanate from KwaMashu, Ntuzuma, Inanda, Umlazi, or Waterloo. However, large volumes of dagga are sourced from rural areas in KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, Malawi, Swaziland or Lesotho, and they are transported to Durban’s townships. In the aforesaid townships of Durban, cannabis suppliers repack dagga into ‘bankies’, and forcibly put ‘bankies’ inside five litre containers. Afterwards, cannabis is easily transported to the Point area where it is distributed to many street drug runners on the streets. Some of those five litre containers appear as if they contain paint, yet they do not. Illicit drug runners also hide several kilograms of dagga in old box-shaped television sets and deliver them to clients who want bigger quantities. This illegal method appears as if a person is only delivering a functional old television set, yet they do not. Drug runners also hide dagga inside drains and their clients collect the illegal drugs including dagga after paying the required money inside a take-away shop or a restaurant. Drug runners also loiter and stand around street corners in the Point area whilst making and receiving cellular calls. Afterwards, dagga buyers follow similar routines, but dagga buyers drop certain amounts of money right next to a particular drug runner, and they quickly move past such a person according to prearranged signals. The runner quickly picks up the cash, and the buyer is shown where the dagga package is by other drug runners. Before the buyer picks up the dagga package or any illicit drug which has been paid for, other runners standing within the vicinity signal to him/her that it is safe to collect the illicit drugs or cannabis from the drain or bin. The buyers always quickly pick up the well packed illegal drugs from the drains or bins and they leave within a split second. Who will you arrest or catch? Nobody. The owners of cannabis do not live in the Point area where it is largely sold, and they are not from areas where cannabis is kept. The owners of cannabis live in upmarket places such as Umhlanga Rocks, La Lucia or Kloof. In the Point area, some of the top quality cannabis is grown on top of certain buildings and it is distributed from there. Not all quantities of cannabis are sold in the Point area, as some of it is exported to the United Kingdom”.

Another research respondent stated:

“Hey bra, here in the Point area, on the streets, I put my head on the block for you [meaning, I am putting my life on the line by talking to you, the researcher], and I am saying to you that there are no guys selling only one type of dope [illicit drug]. Different flavours [types] of dope can be sold by one guy [drug runner] because we have to compete for our share which is being reduced by other

guys [other drug runners]. The market is getting smaller by the day, but more and more people are always there to buy the stuff, bra. The Nigerians, Congolese, Tanzanians and other West Africans are flooding the market with everything which they have. Ganja, weed or isangu (cannabis) and all other flavours of dope [different types of illicit drugs] are sold in smaller nyana plastic bags. But if you want bigger bundles, we make arrangements. Sometimes, I walk too much around the Point area and that is how my business is conducted. But I'm only a cell phone call away from anyone. If you want any dope, you must give me the money now and here, then you must walk down the street and some of my guys can show you what you paid for. You pick up what you paid for and you don't talk, just leave immediately. We do not trust anyone and we do not like someone who talks too much. If you talk too much, you are out and bye".

The practice of selling dagga to dagga consumers in small plastic bags as well as in hand-made hollow paper sticks is common in many South African cities and towns (Carte Blanche, 2016). Certain illicit drug traffickers sell cannabis in a customised form which is ready for use by particular buyers or consumers (Carte Blanche, 2016). With reference to the above accounts by the two research participants, the first research participant provided a number of perceptions about the nature of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area, whereas the second respondent indicated that there were numerous street drug runners in the Point area who sell different types of illicit drugs, including marijuana. The obvious similarities between the two respondents are the following: (a) buyers of illicit drugs and marijuana hand over cash to street drug runners at certain points and collect their preferred illicit drugs at different places; and (b) the first respondent emphasized that there are numerous street drug runners who sell marijuana in the Point area, and the second respondent (a street drug runner) confirmed that there are numerous street drug runners who sell different types of illicit drugs and marijuana in the Point area.

4.5.2 Theme: the extent of drug trafficking in the Point area

Question: What are your perceptions about the extent of marijuana trafficking in the Point area?

Again, the research participants had similar views as they all expressed that the extent of marijuana trafficking in the Point area was extensive and probably much more wide-spread than official statistics showed. The following three responses reflect the views of the participants. Although it was difficult to establish the exact extent of illicit drug trafficking in the area (for the obvious reason that illicit trafficking cannot be measured to its full extent), it was found that the information available to Point SAPS police officials enabled them to reasonably determine the extent of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the area. Their information included knowledge of suspects who had been found in possession of, or dealing in, or smoking cannabis. The data also revealed that the availability of information to the SAPS Point police officials about the illicit trafficking of cannabis influences the extent of their lawful actions. As the research participants indicated that the Point community is overwhelmed by the extent of the illicit trafficking of cannabis in their area, the assumption may be made that the extent of this problem is far greater than can be

contained. The arrogant and fearless manner in which drug traffickers flaunt their activities is also indicative of the fact that the police are unable to curb this scourge in the Point community. In fact, the problem seems to be on the rise. For example, a number of research participants referred to an incident where 9-year-old primary school learners smuggled cannabis into schools and sold it to their peers. Such conduct negatively impacted their peers and the entire school community. Moreover, certain respondents indicated that not only men, but also women are employed by traders of illicit drugs and that they sell these illegal substances in nightclubs around the Point area. Reportedly, women are not subjected to such intense searches as their male counterparts when they visit nightclubs, and therefore they have become the carriers of choice in the Point area. One participant said:

“The extent of cannabis trafficking in the Point area is very big; in fact, it has gone out of control and it is a very serious problem, because there are too many drug runners who sell cannabis. Drug runners sell large quantities of dagga in tiny plastic bags on the streets in the Point area and big boys [owners of illicit drugs] use many women as runners who sell illicit drugs in night clubs, because women are not searched like men. But, we cannot get the kingpins, the main suppliers. Our children get hooked on dagga and other illicit drugs and you even get primary school children of about 9 years old who smuggle dagga and sell it at school. The conduct of such school children affects other learners and the whole school. In fact, I am involved with a school governing body where we discipline the learners and urge them to stop using illicit drugs”.

The participant who was a street drug runner emphasized that he and others like him sold dagga for the following reasons: (a) Point street drug runners have many clients who purchase their cannabis; (b) Street drug runners always drop illicit drugs, including cannabis, whenever the police follow and stop them; and, (c) if the police attempt to take such drug runners to court, the accused can plead not guilty to any charges because the arresting officer(s) has/have no strong evidence due to a lack of cameras inside police vehicles. The first participant said:

“If SAPS officials are in possession of information or reasonably suspect that someone within the jurisdiction of the Point area is selling or is in possession of or is trading in dagga, we can or shall act according to the demands of the criminal law within the limits of the Constitution. Having said this, I am merely saying that the availability of information enables us to determine the level of selling, possession of or smoking dagga. The volumes or the extent of incidents of selling, possession and smoking dagga in Point are very high; but, I do not have statistics right now to show you what I am talking about. And if we include incidents in which our over worked police officials chase those who manage to get away with packets of dagga, the size of illegal dagga business in this area is even bigger than what our statistics indicate”.

Burger (2006) and Felson (1994) argue that crime prevention is one among many phenomena that are misunderstood by the community and that the above term remains a mystery in terms of understanding its role

players and their functions within its context. For Burger (2007:140), the cardinal roles of the police include the following: “...*crime investigation, visible policing, maintenance of order, and law enforcement*”. Burger (2007) asserts that the prevention of crime is not regarded as a major task of the SAPS and SAPS policy confirms this. Yet, in terms of SAPS policy, the suspended SAPS National Commissioner said: “*Our aim is to work with the community in crime fighting projects. We continuously request and encourage people to join and participate in CPFs. We are conducting ‘izimbizos’ to talk to communities about crime*”, which are words that in essence reflect the crime prevention function of the police.

The above data can be validated by the following information:

The SAPS utilizes the Safe School Programme to tackle illicit drugs and other criminal activities in primary and high schools (PMG, 2013). According to the PMG (2013), the SAPS works in conjunction with Safe School Committees and school governing bodies in strengthening the above-mentioned programme which involves the following: (i) Tip-offs, search and confiscation operational strategies in which sizeable quantities of illicit drugs are confiscated by SAPS from learners and other ‘drug pushers’ within school premises. Seizures include considerable quantities of marijuana. (ii) The SAPS and other stakeholders conscientize educators and learners about the damaging ripple effects of illicit drugs on communities and consumers of illicit drugs. The street drug seller emphasized this point:

“Hey dji, many guys including myself [drug runners] here in the Point area sell ganja [cannabis/marijuana/dagga] on many street corners and joints [night clubs]. Look, many customers want dagga, so we give them what they want. Even many tourists - Africans, Coloureds, Indians and many factory workers - come to the Point area for dagga and they buy it from us. Our type of cannabis here in Point is very strong, because it is not half kick. There is no victim in this business at all. Some of our guys just drop different dope flavours [also cannabis] on the pavement if the police follow and stop them. Bra, if the police take you to court, the court asks, “How do you plead to the charge of being in possession of dagga?” or “How do you plead to the charge of dealing in dagga?” My bra, I say that I plead not guilty, because the police have no strong evidence and they don’t have cameras inside their vehicles which can record any of us guys dropping ganja on the pavement. My bra, it’s a policeman’s word against mine and I don’t change my story. Bra, so many people use the pavements, and if I am standing next to dope, it does not mean that the dope is mine”.

With reference to the above narrative, the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (2013) provides insight into the illicit trafficking of marijuana in South Africa. According to the PMG (2013), marijuana is the most common illegal substance that is used by many people in South Africa and it is also used by a large number of young persons who are under the age of eighteen years (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2013). In addition, Parry and Myers

(2014) contend that marijuana is not expensive in relation to other illicit drugs and it is extensively obtainable from dagga suppliers and peddlers who sell it illegally in South Africa.

Although the responses of the research participants pertaining to the extent of illicit drug trafficking were very similar, minor variations were noted. First, the street drug runner did not only indicate that there were numerous street drug runners in the Point area, but he also demonstrated his understanding of how an alleged violator of South Africa's anti-illicit drug laws would be charged in terms of the relevant legislation. That said, the street drug runner boasted that he made a mockery of the somewhat porous justice system by pleading not guilty to the relevant charges in court, yet he persisted in purposefully and habitually dropping illicit drugs on pavements to avoid a guilty verdict. The second participant did not only substantiate the views of the former research participants with regards to the bloated extent of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area, but he also indicated that gang leaders of illicit drug groups made use of women and even children who were approximately 9 years old to sell illegal drugs.

The use of minors has certain legal implications which owners of illicit drugs may use for their own benefit. In order to make sense out of the intentional and calculated involvement of minors in crime, the researcher introduces the reader to the finer details of the Child Justice Act 75 of 2008. In terms of Section 9(1)(a)(b) of this Act: *"...a police official who reasonably suspects that a minor who is below the age of 10 years has perpetrated an offence(s), may not take such a person into custody, but ought to in the stipulated or measured manner hand over the child concerned to his/her parent(s), guardian, or a suitable/capable adult; and if any of the aforementioned parties is not available, or if it is not in line with the best interests of the child concerned to be handed over to the parent(s), a suitable/capable adult or a guardian, then the child concerned can be handed over to an appropriate child and youth care centre"*.

It follows that well-informed traffickers of illicit drugs and marijuana may use loopholes in the above-mentioned Act by repeatedly compelling minors to peddle illicit drugs because such minors may not be arrested by the police.

4.5.3 Theme: Point SAPS strategic plan to prevent illicit drug trafficking

Question: What is the Point SAPS strategic plan for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area?

The data revealed that there were widespread similarities amongst the research participants' responses in terms of this theme. One finding was that the Point SAPS did have strategies, but that each respondent used slightly different wording to verbalise his or her understanding. This was dependent on the participants' individual level of knowledge with regards to Point SAPS strategies. The data also revealed that the most senior Point SAPS police

officials' knowledge about Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana was precise and professional.

The following were identified as Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana:

- (a) Consistent door-to-door campaigns to create awareness among community members about the dangers and effects that emanate from the abuse of dagga and other illicit drugs such as heroin, crack cocaine, ecstasy, mandrax, woonga and nyaope.
- (b) Joint field operations between Point SAPS police officials and SAPS police officials from other police stations and joint patrols between Point SAPS and private security companies, including Point SAPS Community Police Forum members;
- (c) roadblocks;
- (d) patrols;
- (e) cordon and search operations;
- (f) undercover operations; and
- (g) informers and informants.

Two accounts are presented to sum up the responses of other participants about Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in relation to the above theme and question. The two accounts below reflect the views and experiences of a most senior police official and a street drug pusher in the Point area. The senior police official stated:

“We conduct consistent door-to-door campaigns which are designed to create awareness among community members about the dangers and effects that emanate from the abuse of dagga and other illicit drugs such as heroin, crack cocaine, ecstasy, mandrax, woonga and nyaope. Illicit drugs are drivers of other crimes and we involve community members who know the illicit drug pushers, because some of them tell us exactly who does what, but I will not tell you their names. Furthermore, we carry out joint operations with other SAPS police officials from different police stations or with private security companies or with SAPS Point CPF members. We also jointly work with eThekweni Municipal police officials after receiving valuable information about illicit drug dealings. In addition, we conduct roadblocks, patrols, cordon and search operations; that is, after identifying crime hotspots. We also make use of tip-offs from trusted sources. CPF members from three sectors in Point often provide us with productive information in respect of crime and the availability of illicit drugs, including dagga. We use a surveillance method in which plain clothed officers monitor the activities of suspected persons from a distance, and we involve undercover operations. We have to be proactive because the illicit trafficking of dagga and other illicit drugs is not usually reported to the police. Therefore, we execute our duties to the best of our abilities. Undercover operations involve infiltrating organised criminal groups and, if there is any evidence

of illegal activities, including the illicit trafficking of dagga, we enforce the law. Due to lengthy experience in the service, we police officials develop certain vital understandings of crime, including the illicit trafficking of cannabis. This requires that police officials should have the necessary detailed knowledge concerning the modus operandi of different offenders including illicit drug dealers/pushers in which we observe tell-tale signs of various crimes, and it also involves how and where they hide illicit drugs. Our trusted informants and informers help us too, but it is obligatory not to disclose their identities. Therefore, I am obliged not to reveal their names - this is top secret”.

The facts as provided by a senior police officer correlate with the SAPS Annual Report (2015/2016), which reveals that various strategies are employed by visible policing unit members of the SAPS. These strategies are roadblocks, vehicle patrols, foot patrols, cordon and search operations, body searches, motor vehicle searches, and searches which are conducted within different sized buildings and ships. In addition, SAPS impounded about 440 269 288 kilograms of marijuana in South Africa during the period 2015/2016. This was due to the SAPS's proactive approach to the illicit trafficking of drugs (SAPS Annual Report, 2015/2016). Moreover, Van Heerden and Minnaar (2015) validate the above response and argue that the SAPS's proactive application of intelligence oriented policing, which is based on gathered information, enables some police officials within certain specialised units to correctly understand the methods of operation (MO) of illicit drug traffickers and it is employed to effectuate the following purposes: (i) prevention of the illicit trafficking of drugs; and (ii) seizures of illicit drugs and marijuana, and the apprehension of illicit drug traffickers.

However, in respect of a traditional form of policing which predominates many police organisations including the SAPS (Zinn, 2010), the 1993 Audit Commission Report concluded that a conventional responsive type of policing was unable to prevent crime due to the following: (i) Available police tasks and the extent of responsibility were not merged. This was coupled with a high rate of inefficiency. (ii) Police officials did not effectively utilise their available resources. (iii) Police officials concentrated on crime as opposed to dealing with the perpetrators of crime (Ratcliff, 2003). Briefly, police resources include the following: manpower, vehicles, funds, equipment, and certain animals used by the police for specific roles.

In the context of this theme, the street drug pusher stated:

“Hey bra, I don't know what Point SAPS police officials have in their strategic plan for preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana in Point. My bra, I don't know because, I don't work with them and Point SAPS police officials do not invite me to the charge office so that they can show me what they have. I will tell you about my friends' observations and my own observations concerning police actions on the streets in the Point area. We know the days and times when police officers patrol the streets and perform random searches. If we see police vehicles parked in the middle of Point,

whilst police officials pretend as if there are simply chatting, then we know that they are conducting close observations of our activities. Then, we also observe them closely and alert each other throughout Point. Further, we know a few private security companies such as Isidingo, which normally assist the police with arrests. If a vehicle belonging to the same security company frequently stops at a safe distance away from us, the driver always pretends as though he is looking for something wrong with the buildings near us whilst speaking on the phone and suddenly the police hastily arrive and conduct body searches for which we are searched, then the informer is the security driver. Every day some of our guys stand at certain street points, including on top floors of a few apartment blocks where they observe the movements of police vehicles as well as those of police officers who patrol on foot. The observers immediately inform us about any police movements which lead to patrols and random searches. When SAPS officials encircle us on the streets and start searching, we do not panic because we do not possess the dope, as it is kept in drains, garbage bins or garbage plastic bags”.

Clearly, the sense of humour and the disdain with which the street drug trafficker referred to any strategic plans the SAPS deployed to curb the illicit trafficking of drugs in the Point area were indicative of drug dealers' lack of concern for the impact the police had on their activities. Generally, as this message is bound to spread among the poor and devastated communities in the Point area, it does not bode well for the success of any police strategy that may be devised to address this issue. In fact, the view that drug trafficking is a viable and lucrative source of revenue is bound to spread among the young and the desperate, and this problem may soon reach unmanageable proportions if not curbed efficiently and proactively.

In this regard, Govender (2015) contends that local SAPS police stations do not have access to the means that can be employed collectively in information gathering. The resources that are lacking include: (i) competent manpower (i.e., skilled police handlers capable of tasking undercover trained collaborators about how to obtain much needed information and also how to gain the trust of organised criminal syndicates without compromising their identities); (ii) adequate time for detailed productive planning; and (iii) appropriate and sufficient equipment for quality usage.

4.5.4 Theme: factors leading to the adoption of unique strategies

Question: What are the factors that led the Point SAPS adopting its own strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana within its jurisdiction?

The data revealed that individual respondents' views and experiences concerning the factors that led the Point SAPS to adopt its own strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the area were almost

identical. One common and recurrent view was that the rate of cannabis and alcohol abuse by young people was excessively high in the Point area. All the research participants indicated that the irresponsible behaviour that was prevalent among the young people in the Point area emanated from the abuse of illicit substances. Widespread deviant conduct gave rise to disorderly behaviour, which could also be coupled with other offences and drug related crimes. All the responses could be summarised by the comments of the Point SAPS Station Commander, who stated:

“There are so many factors which led us to adopt strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of cannabis in Point, but I will mention a few of them. The general public complains about young people who smoke dagga and they also complain about those who sell dagga or use other illicit drugs near or inside their blocks of apartments or businesses. Dagga smells very bad and it is terrible. The community members also complain that dagga pushers or illicit drug pushers, including those who buy their illicit drugs, especially youths, intimidate them. Young illicit drug pushers sometimes assault innocent bystanders and Point residents. Numerous incidents of theft and shoplifting are committed around Point and suspects (mostly youths) insist that they commit certain offences due to drug addiction or the influence of illicit drugs and dagga or alcohol. Road accidents are caused as a result of being under the influence of illicit drugs and dagga and alcohol. The above complaints led us to adopt our own strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of cannabis in Point”.

Given the contents of Section 218(2) of the 1993 Interim Constitution, it may be deduced that the Point SAPS Station Commander is accountable for the command and control of the Point SAPS area of responsibility. The Point SAPS Station Commander’s control includes the issuance of station directives and instructions regarding SAPS crime prevention strategies with regard to the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area, which is an additional policy requirement issued by the National Commissioner of the SAPS. Therefore, the actions of the Point SAPS Station Commander are validated by the above information.

Moreover, different studies have indicated that cannabis is the least expensive and most readily obtainable illicit drug on the market. According to the PMG (2013), marijuana is the most prevalent illicit drug that is used by many people in South Africa and it is also consumed by numerous young persons who are under the age of eighteen years. In addition, Parry and Myers (2014) contend that marijuana is not expensive in comparison to other illicit drugs and that it is readily obtainable from dagga suppliers and peddlers who trade in it illegally in South Africa.

4.5.5 Theme: effectiveness of the SAPS

Question: What are your perceptions about the effectiveness of Point SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area?

In terms of this theme, the research participants' responses were somewhat similar, because none of the participants indicated that they perceived SAPS strategies not to be effective. However, with the exception of the Point SAPS Station Commander and Point SAPS Station Crime Prevention Commander, the rest of the respondents felt that the Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana could be significantly improved.

The Point SAPS Station Commander was satisfied with the effectiveness of Point SAPS strategies and his views and expressions summed up the viewpoints of the Point SAPS Station Crime Prevention Commander. However, many research participants indicated that numerous South Africans were fearful of street drug runners in the Point area despite SAPS vigilance and supportive strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of cannabis and other illicit drugs. Moreover, certain research participants indicated that many South Africans in the Point area castigated Point SAPS police officials rather than held street drug runners responsible for the escalation of the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana. Many research participants mentioned that street drug runners in the Point area employed elusive methods during the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis. For example, they indicated that a buyer of marijuana would pay a street drug runner for the illicit drug at one point and obtain the drug at a different point while being watched by the companions of the seller. They also indicated that if street drug runners noticed that police officials were following them, they either suddenly dropped the illicit drugs or abruptly abandoned such drugs. It was obvious during the interview with the street drug runner that he was boastful and talkative, indicating that he had no fear of the police or their strategies. The views and experiences of the majority of the participants, excluding those of the two most senior Point SAPS police officers, may be summarised by the response of the street drug runner:

"Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana are effective only if the police catch many of us off guard. Police strategies here in Point are effective because they manage to arrest some of our guys and our bosses. But, you know, South Africans complain too much about the police. The police cannot be everywhere, and we sell dope on the streets in Point, because we want money, and many South Africans like us and are also scared of us, and they blame the police instead of blaming us for the illegal drugs which are out of control in Point. My bra, the police can arrest me anytime, but I have my own plans in place so that they cannot cage me. Hey bra, even a monkey does slip off the branches of a tree. I am a human being; the same can happen to me. Bra, if the police arrest me, I have to give them something and they will let me go. On most occasions, police strategies are not very effective, and I will explain why. I can stand at this point along Rochester Street and sell top-quality dagga to a customer and collect the cash instantaneously. But the customer will go somewhere and collect the dagga in a plastic bag from a garbage bin, or in between garbage plastic bags which are guarded by my guys standing at a safe distance. I can also hide my dope in drains and sell them whilst I eat my food in a restaurant.

We consistently change our ways of selling the dope, thus police strategies are not very effective. On certain occasions, if us guys selling dope notice that the police are following us or trying to corner us, we abandon or drop our dope on the street. If Point SAPS patrol police officials look at me, I also look at them and I say "What?", through a way of gesturing. If they want to search me or my flat, I say, "Search!"

The above views and expressions are validated by Burger (2007) who argues that it is plausible that the police can be effective in crime prevention, but that the onus for preventing criminal activities should not be the major role of the police. Moreover, Professor David Bayley, who is a renowned scholar and has an impeccable background in criminal matters within legal frameworks, espouses Burger's contention. Professor Bayley maintains that the police are not positioned to prevent crime due to the fact that more than three quarters of criminality is firmly embedded in economic inequalities of different classes of society, and such inequalities are beyond the control of the police (Magnus, 2003).

Moreover, Burger (2007:3) argues that the public's criticism of the SAPS is widely based on the misunderstanding of the purposes and ramifications of certain terms such as 'policing', 'crime prevention' and 'crime combating'. Burger's argument is attested to and espoused by various SAPS policies that regulate its jurisdictions and the strategic and operational perspectives to crime fighting within the Republic. To Burger (2007), the prevention of crime is not regarded as a major task of the SAPS. This view is shared by Burger (2006) and Felson (1994), who argue that crime prevention is among many phenomena that are misunderstood by the community, as this term remains a mystery in terms of understanding its role players and their functions within the SAPS context.

Another respondent summed up the views of the Point SAPS Station Crime Prevention Commander when he said:

"I can say that Point SAPS strategies are effective, alive, and they are working well for us as police officials because we are arresting those persons who possess, sell, and smoke dagga. We take such cases to the court behind our police precinct here, the Point Community Court, and other serious cases are taken to the Durban Magistrates' Court near Durban Central police station. You must look at the number of cases which are submitted by our police officials to the prosecutors for further criminal proceedings. In fact, it is adequate proof that we are working hard to rid our streets of illicit drugs, including dagga".

De Greef (2016) confirms the positive perceptions with regards to the effectiveness of SAPS drug prevention strategies in general, and adds that, at police station level, if gathered information is immediately followed up, a crime prevention strategy can be effective. This is evidenced by the actions of Western Cape SAPS officials who followed up on gathered information and apprehended a married couple that jointly grew top quality marijuana on their residential property for export to overseas markets.

With regards to the above findings, it must be stated that although the responses of the research participants appeared to be similar, there were subtle differences between the responses of Point SAPS police officials who were interviewed and the non-police research participants. These differences were: (a) Granted the above two accounts by the research participants, it appeared that Point SAPS police officials' level of knowledge about the illicit trafficking of drugs (including marijuana) in the Point area did not result in huge reductions of drugs and drug related offences; yet, the SAPS Point research participants indicated that the SAPS Point strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis were "working well" for them. (b) It also appeared that SAPS Point did not have a robust network of police informers/informants among street drug runners who could consistently provide reliable and valuable information concerning the illicit trafficking of drugs in the Point area.

4.5.6 Theme: obstacles in the way of curbing illicit drug trafficking

Question: What obstacles hamper the effective implementation of Point SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the area?

In terms of this theme, the respondents expressed similar views and experiences that may be summed up by a senior Point SAPS Community Police Forum member's words. Although various research participants were interviewed at different venues, they expressed almost identical views and experiences with regards to the above question. The research participants mentioned that there were a number of obstacles that hampered the effective implementation of Point SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana. These obstacles were the following:

- (a) Buildings in the Point area were illegally occupied by slum landlords and supposedly 'legitimate' tenants who trafficked in illicit cannabis.
- (b) Although the unlawful occupation of buildings in the Point area provided accommodation for victims of human trafficking, it led to the escalation of the illicit trafficking of marijuana as well as prostitution. This was seen as an obstacle in the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana.
- (c) Little or no evaluation of its strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of cannabis was done by Point SAPS officials, which was seen as a barrier.
- (d) Inconsistent and sophisticated methods were employed by organised criminal groups during the illicit trafficking of dagga. These strategies were stumbling blocks.
- (e) The unpreparedness of certain police officials to embrace progressive changes at precinct level was a stumbling block.
- (f) Corruption among police officers was another obstacle in the prevention of the illicit trafficking of dagga, because meticulous Point SAPS police officials were unavoidably frustrated by a few dishonest police officers.

- (g) The failure to trace wanted street drug runners by Point SAPS officials due to limited available information about the whereabouts of such persons was seen as an obstacle.
- (h) The unwillingness on the part of the general public to assist Point SAPS officers with the prevention of the illicit trafficking of cannabis in the area was a barrier.
- (i) Calculated misrepresentations of owners of illicit drugs and street drug runners was seen as complicated barrier within the context of preventing the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis.

The senior Point SAPS CPF member summarised the views and experiences of other participants in the following comments:

“Obstacles? Many! For example, the eThekweni Municipality tolerates the illegal occupation of certain deserted and dilapidated buildings by slum landlords, especially Nigerians. Such apartments are partially converted into illegal semi-factories where cannabis is stored and repacked for further distribution. Certain illicit drugs are cooked and concealed in such buildings and then distributed to other places. The purpose of overcrowding for slum landlords is to get as many low income earners as possible, so that such tenants can simultaneously pay the so-called affordable rental fees and sell illicit drugs. Initially, such tenants are promised decent employment and a good easy life in the Point area, yet they end up selling illicit drugs for slum landlords. Through prostitution, the so-called tenants can pay rent and they can also sell illicit drugs and cannabis at night clubs and anywhere in the Point area. The other obstacles are quite a few. (i) There is very little or no revision of the few available Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of drugs and dagga from time to time, so that they can be changed to match the changing and complicated methods of operations of organised criminals here in the Point area. (ii) Corrupt Point SAPS police officials frustrate and endanger both their colleagues and the community, because they warn drug runners about police actions. (iii) Certain police officials feel threatened and they block any positive changes at police station level. (iv) Many community members do not want to assist Point SAPS police officials with vital information which can be used in preventing the illicit trafficking of dagga or other illicit drugs; thus, it is an obstacle. (v) Some of our officials here in Point were not and are still not prepared to deal with such difficult advanced methods that are used by street drug runners in trafficking illicit drugs and dagga. (vi) The unavailability of fixed addresses and the language problem on the part of many street drug runners are obstacles. Most of the drug runners speak limited ‘fanakalo’ English, thus they are of little use to the SAPS in terms of information. (vii) Poverty and the high unemployment rate in the Point are are obstacles. (viii) The way in which dagga is packaged in different forms is an obstacle, for example empty plastic wrappings of sweets are filled with cannabis, normal empty cigarettes boxes are also used and filled with dagga and are sold that way to dagga buyers around Point. (ix) Another obstacle is the lack of sufficient resources such as manpower, vehicles and the necessary tools on the part of Point SAPS officials. (x) The

manipulative behaviour of 'big boys' and street drug runners; they are good at pretending and misleading almost everyone because they study the police all the time. (xi) Dagga is also grown on top of disused or dilapidated buildings and the top floors of such buildings are not accessible to tenants except Nigerian slum landlords and other trusted personal assistants.

Govender (2015) posits that the conventional crime prevention strategies of local police stations are not good enough to tackle intricate incidents of organised criminal gangs, because most of the useful information that is provided by young arrestees who work for such gangs is not investigated further. Nevertheless, Burger (2007) argues that it is plausible that the police can be effective in crime prevention; but the onus of preventing criminal activities should not be the cardinal role of the police. Furthermore, Burger (2015) contends that weaknesses among police officials negatively affect SAPS crime prevention strategies. Burger (2015) further asserts that, during the period between 2005 and 2015, SAPS officials were scrutinised on numerous occasions and such assessments also encompassed intra-organisation and inter-organisation assessments. These enquiries provided strong support for the truth of prevailing firmly established and permeating deficiencies in the conduct of SAPS officials. Moreover, Burger (2015) states that SAPS officials' faults are widespread at police station level, such as poor training, moral deterioration, inadequate management skills, insufficient oversight, and the absence of consistent intra-organisation investigations. In terms of the latter, he argues that although enquiries are performed, they do not efficaciously tackle the issues that need to be investigated. Freeman and McDonald (2015) concur with Burger as they state that certain difficulties that affect police stations are not limited to identified precincts, but appear to be extensive because they are an exhibition of difficult or definitive nationwide instructions by SAPS top management.

4.5.7 Theme: measures to prevent the illicit trafficking of marijuana

Question: What can be done to effectively prevent the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area?

In terms of this question, the research participants were divided. On the one hand, the majority of the participants shared the view that it is impossible to effectively prevent the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana; rather, it would be possible to reduce the rates of the trafficking of cannabis and other illicit drugs. On the other hand, a few respondents indicated that it was possible for Point SAPS officers to effectively prevent the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis in the Point area. These few participants cited a number of suggestions to achieve this goal:

- (a) Several efficient Point SAPS police officials should be identified and retained, whilst inefficient officers should be transferred from the Point police station to work at other police stations.
- (b) Point SAPS police officials should patrol the Point area on foot about twice a week and ascertain from the community how policing can be improved. Such an approach will enhance reciprocal feedback.

- (c) The state must improve and increase the resources that are allocated to the Point SAPS police station, and senior SAPS management must augment the number of police officials at the Point SAPS police station with efficient officers who have a good track record.
- (d) Police presence on the streets in the Point area must be augmented.
- (e) The eThekweni Municipality should evict Nigerian slum landlords and street drug runners from illegally occupied apartments.

One respondent reflected the feelings of all the research participants in the following words:

“It is impossible to effectively prevent the illicit trafficking of drugs such as dagga in the Point area, but certain steps can be taken to reduce it. The eThekweni Municipality (EM) should expedite the process of removing slum landlords and street drug runners from illegally occupied buildings in the Point area. Currently, EM has embarked on a programme in which responsible officials are attempting to identify affected buildings, which were previously deserted by lawful owners. If the buildings cannot be renovated or if the owner cannot be traced or if the outstanding rates cannot be settled, then EM will take ownership of such buildings and all illegal owners and occupants [street drug runners] will be evicted. There must be an increase in the provision of necessary resources that are allocated for Point SAPS, because it is faced with a serious problem which is comparable only to Hillbrow police station in Johannesburg. Point SAPS police officials require proper information gathering tools so that they can get to the source of the illicit drugs subsequently and systematically. Information gathering involves police officials who are well equipped with quality skills in informer handling. Point SAPS police officials should also be able to adapt to the offenders’ adjustable and complicated abilities in achieving the objectives of their illicit organised activities in the Point area; that is, if the police want to prevent the illicit trafficking of cannabis in Point. Point SAPS police officials who are dishonest must be brought to book and must be transferred to other areas. The current weaknesses of Point SAPS police officials do not permit them to identify individual offenders, organised offenders, structures of their criminal plans, life styles of drug dealers/runners, and the purpose of the offenders’ business interests in the Point area. The police needs to improve its information gathering techniques, because police officials have been caught with their ‘pants down’. This means: (i) Certain Point SAPS police officials randomly cruise around the Point area in state vehicles, which is in accordance with an old inherited flawed tradition of the SAPS’s predecessor, the SAP, and I insist that it is a faulty tradition because it does not promote cohesion between the police and community members. Police foot patrols will enhance consistent feedback between the community and the SAPS and will also promote a sense of togetherness between the police and the community. (ii) The majority of Point SAPS officials operate within the framework of a predominantly conventional non-strategic responsive policing style, which is inefficient and unsuitable for complicated organised crimes in

the Point area, because it involves overwhelmingly waiting for reported cases and reacting to such matters, as they are brought to the attention of respective officers. (iii) Certain Point SAPS police officials travel aimlessly around the Point area in state vehicles. Furthermore, in order to change old flawed practices which have consistently permeated policing, the new Point SAPS Station Commander has to reshuffle her entire staff; for example, the personnel in the control room, the team of detectives, and ground level staff members”.

Govender (2015) validates most of the points advanced above and contends that the development of intelligence is characterised by four phases: gathering raw data; assessment of the gathered raw data; detailed dissection of gathered data; and the formation of a finished product (police intelligence), which is readily applied by police officials as and when the need arises. Moreover, intelligence-led policing (ILP) involves certain methods that are employed in gathering raw information which is pertinent to crime prevention. Such techniques are as follows: (i) infiltration of targeted persons or criminal organisations; (ii) surveillance; (iii) electronic forms of gathering information, for example laptops, cellular phones, computers, and telephones; (iv) interviews with incarcerated offenders and detainees; (v) sifting through refuse bags discarded by targeted suspects; (vi) probing of recorded complaints and misconduct that are reported by the public for better intelligence; (vii) website search engines; and (viii) better and efficient human resources (Barker & Gunter, 2005; Crous, 2009; Metscher & Gilbride, 2005).

With reference to the views of the majority of the research participants concerning the above issues, it does not appear feasible, under current conditions, for any police organisation to effectively prevent the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana. However, it is argued that if the positive suggestions offered by a few research participants are carefully probed, it may be possible to employ these strategies and to utilise collective, evaluated information to reduce the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana in the Point area.

4.5.8 Theme: knowledge of SAPS strategies

Question: What do you know about SAPS Point officers’ strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in this area?

The knowledge concerning Point SAPS officers’ strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana was generally very similar. To summarise their views, the views of one Point SAPS research participant are offered. This participant indicated that Point SAPS police officials varied their strategies during field operations. Also, different strategies were often employed in combination to prevent, stop or circumvent the criminal activities of offenders. However, this respondent emphasized that even though Point SAPS officers employed a number of strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of cannabis, it was very problematic to search dilapidated and overcrowded buildings where maintenance was defective and poor. In addition, it was mentioned that drug runners in the Point area usually disguise themselves as street kids/homeless to escape pursuing police. The participant

indicated that the police in the Point area employed a combination of the following strategies during operations to prevent the illicit trafficking of marijuana: (i) joint field operations with private security companies and police officials from other police stations; (ii) roadblocks; (iii) cordon and search operations; (iv) random searches; (v) surveillance; (vi) vehicle patrols; (vii) foot patrols; (ix) premise searches; and (x) the use of the SAPS Dog Unit on request. The following comments reflect the views of other respondents as well:

“Our crime prevention strategies that are used in preventing the illicit trafficking of cannabis and other illicit drugs in the Point area are usually affected by external elements, which are exploited by drug runners. Furthermore, with regard to preventing the illicit trafficking of dagga and other illicit drugs or any crime, we do not always use only one particular strategy during the entire operation. If we do that, it means that we will invariably defeat the purpose of our field operations. Therefore, as SAPS police officers we frequently use many strategies in a combined manner. It is expensive to conduct field operations and it costs the State colossal amounts of money. I am a dedicated police officer not a civilian, and I serve and protect the community. That is one of my priorities and I work as if every day is my last day. Therefore, different strategies are combined in order to prevent criminal activities or frustrate and neutralise the target(s). For example, when we conduct roadblocks, foot or vehicles patrols, we also search buildings and conduct vehicle searches and random searches in which our SAPS Dog Unit is effective, whilst other police officials conduct body searches, surveillances as well as cordon and search operations. As soon as the fingerprints of a suspected drug runner or any suspect have been taken, we can simultaneously ascertain if such a particular suspected person is wanted by other police units, police stations, or police investigation officers anywhere in South Africa, whilst checking if he or she has committed other crimes within our precinct. It is very difficult to use any one or a combination of our strategies in dilapidated, overcrowded and poorly unmaintained buildings. Drug runners hide illicit drugs and dagga in certain areas such as inside old pipes, old doors, in between door handles, spaces underneath tiles and so on. If a street drug runner is running away from the police, he easily covers himself with a blanket on the street a few blocks from the police official concerned. It is not easy for any reasonable person to distinguish between a street kid or homeless person and a suspect who disguises himself as a street kid or homeless person you only saw for one or two minutes before he disappeared, especially at night or when visibility is poor. The matter of street children impacts negatively on effective policing.”

The above data could be validated by the literature. For example, Burger (2007) concurs with these views, arguing that it is plausible that the police can be effective in crime prevention. Nel (2000) proposes that, within the policing framework, crime prevention is synonymous with visible policing, road barricades that are set up by the police for examining traffic, and searches, patrols and confiscation actions that are conducted by the police. The literature contends that formulating a strategy that deters possible criminal activity in a community is interpreted as the

foundation of crime prevention within the context of policing (Legget, 2004; Newham, 2006; Newham & Dissel, 2011). Moreover, the request by a police station to employ the services of the SAPS Dog Unit is supported by Geldenhuys (2009), who contends that the SAPS Dog Unit (the K9 Unit) is used to detect illegal goods such as drugs at South African harbours. Moreover, the K9 patrol dog sub-unit is regarded as the flagship of the SAPS K9 Unit because it is used in threatening circumstances as well as in dealing with or preventing offences that require urgent attention, for example when illicit trafficking of marijuana occurs. The SAPS distinctly stresses that its patrol dog handlers or the K9 handlers, sniffer dogs and/or specialised dogs can be placed and used in any police operation or crime scenes at the behest of any SAPS police official, police station, any unit or the Department of Foreign Affairs (SAPS, 2015b). However, the above statement contradicts a hypothetically effective approach which can and should involve the strengthening of crime prevention operations by means of making sure that police dog handlers and their trained dogs are always the first to be deployed to any operation or particular crime scenes. For example, with reference to dilapidated and overcrowded buildings in which Point drug runners hide illicit drugs in various areas, it becomes prudent for SAPS management to make sure that the K9 Unit is always the first unit to be dispatched to urgent circumstances. The K9 Unit should also work in conjunction with other police units as and when the need arises.

4.5.9 Theme: omissions/flaws that impact the effective prevention of drugs and marijuana trafficking in the Point area

Question: What is not being performed by Point SAPS officers to effectively prevent the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the area?

The research participants' views were divided in terms of the above question. On the one hand, the majority of the participants argued that there were numerous problems within the Point SAPS police station system. For example, they mentioned that Point SAPS police officials neither followed up on unsolved cases nor on persons who were suspected of participating in organised criminal activities such as trafficking in cannabis. One participant felt that Point SAPS police officials did not monitor the behaviour of street drug runners convicted of drugs and drug related offences post the sentencing phase and/or after such persons have served their sentences. It was also revealed that Point SAPS police officials could not identify and infiltrate organised criminal gangs in the area. Most of the research participants indicated that Point SAPS police officials did not usually record cases in the correct way. These participants mentioned that the fingerprints of individuals who were suspected of involvement in drug offences or drug-related offences were not always taken even though the suspects were found in possession of or dealing in illicit drugs or cannabis. Furthermore, many research participants strongly indicated that Point SAPS detectives failed to establish connections between cases concerning the illicit trafficking of cannabis in the Point area and other cases of organised crime. Such an approach requires discussions between investigators at police station level, regional level and national level. Moreover, numerous research participants remarked that Point

SAPS police officials did not tap into the correct resources that can be employed in preventing the illicit trafficking of dagga, for example by multi-tasking as investigative officers.

On the other hand, some Point SAPS participants felt that Point SAPS police officials performed their duties diligently, without fear or favour. Nonetheless, they revealed a number of pertinent shortcomings which were the following:

- (a) Point SAPS management had not yet addressed the language barrier between foreign nationals and SAPS police officials. If this obstacle had been dealt with, Point SAPS officials would have been able to obtain vital information about organised criminal activities and the illicit trafficking of cannabis in the area.
- (b) There was no interpreter at Point SAPS police station whose task it would be to interpret and translate interviews into the diverse foreign African languages spoken by street drug runners in the area. With the aid of an interpreter, the responses of suspected street drug runners would immediately be available for action by Point SAPS police officials.
- (c) Efforts to persuade Point community members to be vigilant and to provide vital information to the police had not been stepped up.
- (d) Point SAPS officers had not fully tackled widespread community negative stereotypes whose attitudes were baseless and biased against the SAPS in the Point area.

The words of one of the Point SAPS police officials who participated in this study summed up the responses of the Point SAPS research participants to the above question:

"I believe that the small gaps that exist between the SAPS and the Point community should be bridged; for example, the language barrier between us and foreign nationals, because I believe that some of them can assist the SAPS - that is, if there is reciprocal understandable communication, provided it is in the interest of public safety, or it is meant for protecting the health of the general public, or it is in the interests of preventing and unmasking crime, or if it is in the interests of South Africa's national security because crime affects national security. We execute our duties meticulously without fear or favour, thus we divided Point into three sectors for the benefit of our community members. We can easily notice our shortcomings. Nonetheless, language translators are required in circumstances where foreign nationals have sensitive information about their involvement in serious organised offences, which also include the illicit trafficking of dagga. Language translators are also required in situations where a foreign national who hardly speaks any of our languages is tasked to infiltrate an organised criminal group, or during police interviews. Translators are also required to translate information which is provided by a foreign informant within an identified organised criminal gang. Currently, we do not have

language translators to assist us in non-deceptive planning, which involves subsequent infiltrations of organised foreign criminal groups based in Point. Point SAPS has to double its current efforts in an attempt to win over many community members who are not vigilant and are uncooperative, so that they can contribute vital information for preventing the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis in Point. Point SAPS police officials have not properly addressed community negative stereotypes which are biased against the service. Such ill preconceived stories are prevalent among numerous foreign nationals and locals. Such negative stereotypes and stories are not factual and they spread like a wild fire”.

Montesh (2007) confirms the above point that was made about sector policing and contends that sector policing is an inherently proactive type of policing which enables police officials to prevent crime, especially illicit drug trafficking. Sector policing also improves the governance of numerous areas of a given police precinct. In addition, sector policing facilitates the process of gathering accurate information if it is employed by SAPS police officials to establish the actual level of criminality within a specific police station’s jurisdiction, so that subsequent crime can be prevented proactively (SAPS, 2015a). However, Matlala (2015) asserts that sector policing strategies are ineffective, and argues that this is evidenced by the common recurrence of certain offences such as drug trafficking and drug related offences in areas where the SAPS implemented the aforementioned policing approach, for example in Hillbrow in Johannesburg.

Although the complaints of some Point SAPS participants about the language barrier did sound like a valid argument, the majority of the participants who responded to the above question contradicted this. For example; the majority subtly indicated that many foreign street drug runners speak basic English which can be understood by any reasonable person after weighing up contextualised clumsy sentences. During the interviews, the majority of the participants (including the street drug runner) indirectly revealed that drug barons (owners of illicit drugs) generally recruit street drug runners who can communicate in a language that is decipherable in English. The researcher observed that street drug runners frequently use sign language with their clients during illicit drug transactions. Similarly, it appears that it is probable for Point SAPS officials to use the sign language approach in instances where verbal communication is impossible. This was summarised by the responses of the majority of participants who stated that there were many problems within Point SAPS, for example failure to neutralise, monitor and track down suspected street drug runners in the Point area; failure to obtain the necessary information about the finger prints of suspected drug runners; and lack of intelligence about valuable information; for example, information about the links between drug trafficking and other organised crimes was not shared at police station, regional and national levels. In this context, one civilian respondent stated:

“A number of Point SAPS police officials do not always follow up on unsolved cases or persons who are involved in organised criminal activities, especially the illicit trafficking of various drugs such as cannabis. If Point SAPS police officials arrest someone for the possession of or dealing

in dagga or other illicit drugs, a case is registered and the suspect is charged and taken to court where he/she is tried. The convicted person is given a warning, a suspended sentence, a fine, or a prison sentence. However, post the sentencing phase or after the convicted person has served his/her sentence, Point SAPS police officials do not attempt to observe and monitor the actions of such individuals. They also fail to identify and infiltrate organised criminal organisations that are located in the Point area. In certain cases, certain Point SAPS police officials do not register reported cases in the correct manner, and they do not take the fingerprints of arrestees - especially of persons suspected of drug offences or drug related offences. Other hardworking police officials lose hope because they know that even though they arrested a person for being in possession of, or for dealing in dagga or another illicit drug, the arrestees would be released shortly afterwards. Point SAPS detectives are unable to determine connections between different cases that involve the illicit trafficking of drugs or other crimes and this involves consultations between detectives at police station level, regional level and national level. For instance, some of the drug runners perpetrate drugs and drug related offences in other provinces and, if they are arrested by police officials in such areas and released on bail, their bosses relocate them to other provinces where they are unknown. Point SAPS police officials do not ask the community to provide reasons as to why the illicit trafficking of dagga is widespread in the Point area. Responses to such questions are necessary, because they can help the police to solve priority crimes at police station level before such offences affect other areas within South Africa. Point SAPS police officials do not ask the community to furnish them with reasons concerning the severity of offences in the Point area. Therefore, they fail to target correct resources at police station level. For example, allocating many tasks to detectives in which drug runners become the focus or through proactive investigations in the Point area and performing intelligence based surveillances for which the police can compile water-tight cases against drug runners and their suppliers are necessary”.

Evidence from the literature review validates the responses of the majority of the participants in the context of this theme. Burger (2015) contends that the weaknesses of some police officials negatively affect SAPS crime prevention strategies. Burger (2015) also asserts that, during the period between 2005 and 2015, SAPS officials were scrutinised on numerous occasions and that such assessments also encompassed intra-organisational and inter-organisational assessments. Therefore, such enquiries provided strong support for the truth of prevailing firmly established and permeating deficiencies in the conduct of SAPS officials. Moreover, Burger (2015) states that SAPS officials' faults are widespread at police station level, for example improper training; moral deterioration; inadequate management; insufficient oversight; and the absence of consistent intra-organisation investigations. Although enquiries are performed, they do not efficaciously tackle the issues that need to be investigated. Freeman and McDonald (2015) conducted a study and concur with the preceding author. They state that certain difficulties that affect a police station are not limited to identified precincts, but appear to be extensive because they are an exhibition of difficult or definitive nationwide instructions by SAPS top-management. Moreover, Freeman and

McDonald (2015) state that visible policing officials' use most of their time and energy at work by verifying the papers of community members as opposed to conducting proactive policing. With reference to SAPS crime intelligence at precinct level, there is a lack of adequate proof of the following aspects: practical work (especially proactive policing); investigation of case connection; pinpointing of crime hotspots; and crime mapping (Freeman & McDonald, 2015).

With regards to the above question, the differences between the responses of SAPS respondents and non-SAPS respondents were remarkable. However, it appeared that the responses of the SAPS members were constrained. The reason for this might be the fact that, in terms of Standing Order (General) 156, SAPS police officials are not allowed to make utterances or issue statements that may impair the professional reputation or standing of another SAPS police official, station, province, section, unit, or SAPS National Headquarters. Therefore, granted the explicit instruction of SAPS Standing Order (General) 156, the SAPS participants could not make statements or utter any comments that would compromise this standing order. It may therefore be argued that the aforementioned matters that were cited by non-SAPS participants were one-sided, as SAPS members who cited the same issues would have been in contravention of SAPS Standing Order (General) 156.

4.5.10 Theme: suggestions for strategies to prevent the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis in the Point area

Question: What other comments do you have about Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the area?

In general, each research participant expressed views and experiences regarding the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area that were similar to those of the other participants. Although they were interviewed individually, collectively the respondents stated that visible policing in the Point area prevented the illicit trafficking of marijuana and other illicit drugs. They also felt that visible policing would enhance the formation of partnerships between the police and the community. Furthermore, the research participants strongly felt that partnership between Point SAPS and the Point area community would facilitate the collection of useful raw data that could be dissected and evaluated by experts in order to create police intelligence. Such intelligence would serve as a ready-made product for use by field SAPS police intelligence and operational personnel. The respondents also suggested that Point SAPS management should enter into alliances with other state departments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), private security companies, and community-based organisations. According to all the respondents, a multi-departmental approach to the problem of the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana would assist in the prevention and reduction of the illicit trafficking of such drugs in the Point area.

In terms of the growing problem of drug trafficking at schools, the respondents understood that Section 4(3) of Government Gazette No. 22754 of October 2001 and Section 8(a) of the South African Schools Act No. 84 of 1996, as amended, stipulate that it is mandatory for the SAPS to search for dangerous weapons and illicit substances such as dagga on school premises in the Republic of South Africa in general and the Point area in particular. The words of one respondent adequately summarised the views of the other participants when he stated:

“Visible policing prevents the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis and it promotes the creation of a partnership between the police and the community at police station level. Therefore, through partnering with the community, the police generates the necessary raw information from the public for intelligence purposes. Such a partnership also improves the feedback from the police or the community. We also form partnerships with various other government departments, NGOs, community-based organisations, and private security companies. The inter-departmental approach helps to prevent and reduce the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana at different stages. In addition, in terms of Section 8(a) of the amended Education Act, we have the right to search for illicit drugs and dagga on school premises. Besides, we also employ a preventive strategy which involves testing pupils to ascertain if they use illicit drugs or cannabis, or not”.

The above data were validated by the literature. According to SAPS Annual Report (2015/2016), visible policing allows police stations in South Africa to bring about and uphold safety and protection, to maintain specialised involvement, and to regulate the South African borders which entails maintaining law and order along the borders of the Republic. Furthermore, one of the objectives of visible policing is crime prevention which sustains and supports crime prevention and visible policing assistances offered at police precinct level as well as at service points in a given neighbourhood (SAPS Annual Report, 2010/2011). The SAPS Annual Report (2015/2016) also stipulates that visible policing is responsible for preventing and detecting the illicit trafficking of drugs. According to the SAPS Annual Report (2010/2011), the SAPS initiated a strategy of visible policing which allows any member of the general public to use a toll free number and to provide qualified police personnel with sensitive information about criminal activities such as trafficking in cannabis. The caller remains anonymous for the purpose of protecting the real identity of the source of information (SAPS Annual Report, 2010/2011). As an example of the proactive approach to the illicit trafficking of drugs, it was reported that the SAPS impounded about 440 269 288 kilograms of marijuana in South Africa during the period 2015/2016 (SAPS Annual Report, 2015/2016).

4.6 Application of the National Drug Master Plan

The National Drug Master Plan involves many government departments and independent organisations that work harmoniously to fight the utilisation, misuse, and reliance on dependence-forming substances and other substance-related challenges (DSD, 2015). This policy stipulates the inputs and functions that each government department ought to perform when encountering the misfortunes of substance abuse among the public. Moreover, NDMP

measures are subject to the inputs of its participants at national or at provincial level, and they are regarded as reactionary strategies to address the difficulties that are explained in the preamble to the NDMP (DSD, 2015). According to the DSD (2015), the NDMP (2012-2016) follows three procedures which are frequently combined during the application stage:

4.6.1 Demand reduction

This strategy aims to decrease the demand for illicit drugs through a range of methods such as prevention through teaching consumers about legal/illicit drugs and the ill effects of such drugs. This strategy intends to cause the consumption of illicit drugs to become unbearable and unacceptable, which is similar to the approach that was applied against the use of cigarettes and the consumption of legal drugs such as alcohol by for instance raising the appropriate age for alcohol consumption.

4.6.2 Supply reduction

This approach aims to achieve the reduction of existing amounts of illicit drugs, for example the eradication of illicit crops of dagga that are grown on small, isolated farms or wherever this plant is grown.

4.6.3 Harm reduction

This approach involves a course of action which entails the restriction of the impairments brought about by the consumption of legal/illicit drugs and involves improving the conditions of persons that use drugs, especially those who are addicted to dangerous drugs that create cravings for continuous usage of drugs. This approach can be supported by the provision of medical care and/or therapy and/or the care of a drug addict after a stay in a hospital or rehabilitation centre (DSD, 2015).

4.7 Involvement of the National Prosecuting Authority in curbing cannabis trafficking

The researcher interviewed both a senior magistrate and a senior prosecutor who had handled various criminal and dagga-related cases that had been reported to the Point SAPS police station. Both these research participants confirmed that dagga/marijuana offences were handed over to the National Prosecution Authority (NPA) in Durban who tried these cases in court. The NPA provided statistics of cases for only a few months in 2016, thus comprehensive information regarding the extent of drug trafficking for 2016 was not available. Moreover, the available statistics did not include statistics about offenders who had been convicted of dealing in marijuana, nor did they include statistics of cases that the NPA declined to prosecute due to insufficient evidence. Insufficient

evidence does not necessarily denote that the suspect did not commit the alleged offence, but it may be interpreted that the state did not have a *prima facie* case and therefore such cases collapsed before they could be tried. In addition, the NPA statistics did not include unsuccessfully tried dagga-related cases in the Point area. Therefore, the argument is clear that if all the Point SAPS cases in relation to marijuana trafficking had been included, the final statistics of such cases would have been higher than reflected by the NPA published data.

4.7.1 The views of a senior legal representative

“Persons accused of selling and being in possession of dagga in the Point area were brought to my court on numerous occasions in the past, and evidence was tendered in my court in respect of such individual cases. Only 1% of accused persons was not convicted, and the remaining 99% portion was successfully found guilty as charged. In certain instances, accused persons were acquitted on the basis of technicalities. Initially, the court imposed fines and suspended sentences on convicted persons in regard to dagga-related offences. However, convicted offenders relapsed into criminality within the same environment and violated conditions which were attached to their previous sentences. Furthermore, a court must send a strong message to society, offenders and prospective offenders that I neither advocate anything that is illegal, nor any act that is promoted by the offender which happens to be against the legal convictions of society. All convicted persons, including those who recidivated with regards to dagga-related matters, were given fines or sentences as required by the law. In addition, convicted persons who could not afford to pay the prescribed fines served prison sentences at Westville maximum prison. Convicted persons confessed to me that they were addicted to dagga and other illicit drugs such as heroine, crack cocaine, mandrax, methamphetamine, ecstasy and hashish. Furthermore, such persons also indicated that they committed secondary offences so as to feed their drug addictions. Criminal offences which such drug addicts committed ranged from common robberies to theft out of a motor vehicle, malicious damage to property [smashing car windows or other parts], muggings, pick pocketing, and other fraudulent matters. There were many persons in the Point area who habitually perpetrated dagga related offences and other offences, but due to my firmness in sentencing, many of them left the Point area. The number of secondary offences which I previously mentioned has been reduced. Many motorists here in the Point area value their vehicles, therefore they spend too much money on extra accessories, such as audio equipment for their cars. The evidence placed before me indicates that Point SAPS officials are arresting many suspects in respect of dagga-related matters”.

4.7.2 The views of a senior prosecutor

The senior prosecutor commented as follows:

“In terms of the statistics released by the National Prosecution Authority, the possession of dagga matters vary because sometimes they are very high and on certain occasions the statistics are

quite low. Nonetheless, such statistics have been rising over the years. Our statistics for 2014/2015 were considerably higher [than earlier years] and they reflect only cases that were finalised. The SAPS submits cases to us and it is a reflection of what they bring to us; however, there are cases that we decline to prosecute. Granted the number of dagga possession related matters that have have been brought before the court, I assert that SAPS officials are working hard to prevent the illicit trafficking of dagga in the Point area. I will show you the statistics for the past nine months, which were sourced from the Point Community Court alone in 2016. In January 2016 alone, we successfully prosecuted 110 persons who were found in possession of dagga. Furthermore, in May 2016 we successfully prosecuted 88 people. Moreover, in September 2016 the number of accused persons in respect of possessing dagga increased and 131 individuals were prosecuted. These cases do not include dealing in dagga matters”.

In light of the comments of two high ranking representatives of the legal fraternity who participated in the study, it may be argued that, despite evidence of high levels of drug and cannabis trafficking in the Point area, the Point SAPS officials did a sterling job of apprehending and bringing drug and marijuana traffickers to justice. Therefore, regardless of the arrogant and disdainful attitude of the participant who was a drug pusher, the SAPS officers achieved considerable success, even to the extent that some drug traffickers left the Point area because their drug trafficking business was curbed by the efforts of diligent and effective SAPS officials.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter evaluated the data that had been collected from the study participants by means of semi-structured interviews. The interview data were also augmented by the researcher's own observations and perceptions during the interview period. In the process of unmasking Point community members' perceptions of Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area, the respondents mirrored one another's views to a large extent. Collectively, the respondents agreed that the problem of drug and cannabis trafficking was escalating in the area and, that various strategies employed by drug traffickers, as well as the shortcomings of certain Point SAPS police officials contributed to this reality. For example: (a) certain Point SAPS police officials are unable to identify lone street drug runners and many organised street drug runners; (b) such Point SAPS police officials also lack the abilities which are required in identifying the structures of masked organised criminal activities of street drug runners and, suppliers of illicit drugs (with reference to this study, cannabis) in Point; and, (c) certain Point SAPS police officials are unable to exhaustively understand and exploit the styles of street drug runners/drug traffickers, so as to circumvent them. However, there was also agreement that the efforts of diligent and dedicated SAPS officers were successful in bringing various criminals and drug traffickers to justice, as evidenced by the comments of a senior prosecutor at the Durban Magistrate Court and, those of a senior legal representative. Furthermore, it was both stated and implied that inefficient and lazy officers needed to be rooted out of the system and be replaced with committed officers to ensure higher levels of success.

The statistics presented in Chapter five will testify to the fact that there was a limited decrease in Point SAPS successes in apprehending drug traffickers over a three-year period (2014 – 2016), but the fact that the rate of arrests decreased over the period needs consideration. The respondents were also in agreement that more measures, such as an improved SAPS infrastructure and effective manpower provision, were required to stem the growing tide of cannabis and other drug trafficking in the Point area.

The researcher explored, described and analysed Point community perceptions of SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area. Some of the research findings revealed that it would be impossible to effectively prevent the illicit trafficking of marijuana in Point. It is thus argued that the illicit trafficking of cannabis in Point cannot be eradicated, only reduced.

The final chapter of this dissertation provides an analysis of the findings based on the data that were presented in the current chapter, and the challenges that were faced during the fieldwork data collection stage are briefly referred to.

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5.1 Introduction

This chapter serves as the conclusion to this research report. It presents an analysis of the two methods of data collection that were employed in this research, namely semi-structured interviews and observations. The challenges that the researcher encountered during the fieldwork phase of the data collection processes will also be discussed, and recommendations are offered.

5.2 Participant and non-participant observations

During the period in which the semi-structured interviews were conducted, the researcher was able to observe a number of SAPS operational activities that facilitated a detailed account of their actions and behaviour in terms of the theme under study. Therefore, the ethnographic research component of this study presented an opportunity to closely observe the conduct, gossips, discussions, and walkabouts of the research participants and street drug runners in the Point area. The participant and non-participant observation methods provided invaluable, deep insight into the behaviours of Point SAPS police officials while operating in their official capacity. It was also possible to observe the behaviour, practices and *modus operandi* of street drug runners in the Point area. Moreover, the participant and non-participant observation techniques validated the data that the research participants provided through semi-structured interviews, because of the interrelation between the aforesaid methods of data collection. For example, the research participants mentioned Point SAPS strategies that were almost identical to those that were observed, such as vehicle patrols, foot patrols, close observations, door-to-door campaigns, random searches, searches, and stop and search field operations. In respect of street drug runners' methods of trafficking in illicit drugs and marijuana in the Point area, the participant and non-participant observation methods confirmed the participants' responses. For example, the researcher observed that street drug runners received money from buyers of illicit drugs at a certain point, but that the buyer took possession of the illicit drugs from a different point (drains in the street in this instance) whilst being closely watched by street drug runners' associates.

5.3 Interview analysis

The data that were obtained from the semi-structured interviews by means of open-ended questions were more comprehensive than the data obtained by observing events, particularly as the opportunity to accompany the SAPS

officers on field operations was limited. Numerous findings were elicited from the key informant interviews, and therefore only the most significant ones are discussed below.

5.3.1 Question 1

With regards to Question 1, the research participants' information that marijuana was sold in tiny plastic bags ("bankies") by many street drug runners was consistent with a detailed report that had been aired by the television programme *Carte Blanche* (2016). This programme reported that in many South African cities and towns, a number of cannabis traffickers sell dagga to dagga consumers in small plastic bags as well as in hand-made hollow paper sticks. What the researcher observed was the small plastic bag packaging containing a greenish substance, which was presumably dagga.

The report that illicit drug buyers handed over the required amount of money to street drug runners inside take-away shops or restaurants or in the streets, and that they collected their purchase from garbage bins, garbage bags or drains along the street was confirmed by observation. The research participants also indicated that street drug runners in the Point area did not carry any illicit drugs or cannabis on their person, which was confirmed during a stop and search operation when no drugs were found on the person of a suspect. It was also reported that consumers of illicit drugs and cannabis were careful about handing over the money directly to the street drug runners on the streets, except inside buildings. It was also mentioned that a drug buyer would drop the money right next to a drug runner on the street, and walk past the seller. Using prearranged hand and body language signals, the buyer would then be shown where the dagga or other illegal drugs could be retrieved. The watchers would indicate from a safe distance whether it would be safe to retrieve the illicit drugs from the pick-up point. Although other methods of hiding and transporting the drugs were mentioned, such as old box television sets and five litre containers, such methods were not observed in the limited time that the researcher spent in the field with SAPS officers.

The Deterrence Theory, the rational choice perspective and the Self-Control Theory were all applicable as explanations for the various methods employed and the attitudes displayed by the illicit drug and cannabis traffickers in the Point area. The deterrence theory served to illuminate the procedures that prospective criminals used to evaluate the undesirable consequences of committing an illegal act by weighing up the consequences in comparison to the expected benefits before committing a crime (Jacobs, 2010). Therefore, within the framework of the Deterrence Theory, the interview with the street drug seller clearly illuminated how the consequences were weighed against the rewards, as the drug pusher was in no way intimidated by or afraid of the police in the knowledge that he would be exempt from arrest or prosecution if no drugs were found on his person. This attitude was also reflected in his disdain for court proceedings, as he knew the law and what needed to be done to circumvent a guilty result should he be brought to justice. He readily admitted that he would lie in court, as the police could not produce visual evidence of the fact that he possessed and sold drugs and cannabis.

In order to appreciate and recognize the relevance of rationality in the perpetration of a crime, it becomes compelling to note that Cornish and Clarke (1986) contend that the rational content exists in all sorts of crimes. That said, Bentham (1988 [1789]) ascribes a number of justifications to the rational choice perspective which are as follows: (i) The benefit of a deed is the sum total of the joy with the subtraction of the pain which it births. (ii) Persons try to increase pleasure and decrease pain. (iii) When deciding how to do something, an individual chooses an alternative with the largest discernible benefits. This scholarly explanation therefore implies that street drug runners' level of intelligence influences their decision making processes with respect to the offences they plan to commit or actually commit. In the context of the study, the data revealed that street drug runners in the Point area combined the disadvantages (deterrents) and advantages (rational choice perspective) of selling illicit drugs and cannabis. It therefore follows that, after painstaking calculations, the perceived benefits (rational choice) exceeded the disadvantages (deterrents), and therefore numerous street drug runners in Point made the decision to commit drug-related offences in this area. In fact, the perceived advantages appeared to weigh heavier than the disadvantages, as the respondents agreed that the drug trafficking problem in the Point area was increasing despite the fact that many traffickers had been apprehended and brought to trial, as suggested by a magistrate and a prosecutor.

The reader will recall that the researcher previously emphasized that if a gap existed in an explanation which was proffered by the two previously mentioned theories, then this lack of relevant knowledge would be filled by the Self-Control theory which is also known as the general theory of crime. Therefore, if the level of self-control of street drug runners is low, or in circumstances where the self-control of such persons is lacking after weighing the pros and cons of committing an offence, then street drug runners or prospective offenders will not hesitate to commit an offence such as trafficking in marijuana or other illicit drugs such as heroin, crack cocaine, or ecstasy.

Moreover, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) posit that the formation of variations with regard to the degree of self-control among human beings is seen as the most important element which gives rise to criminal activities. In addition, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) affirm that self-control consists of six separate components, and the authors propose that persons who are devoid of self-control are inclined to be spontaneous and reckless, forceful, inconsiderate, violent, narrow-minded, dangerous, and have low tolerance levels. Thus, such persons are inclined to participate in criminal activities (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Clearly, the contents of the self-control theory mirrored the findings of this study, with particular reference to the disdainful and fearless manner in which illicit drugs were found to be trafficked in the Point area. For example, the use of abandoned and neglected buildings, the overt transfer of money and goods between seller and buyer on street corners in full view of other possibly law-abiding citizens and any law enforcement agents that may watch, are indicative of the application of the crime theory in the context of the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis in the Point area. The general theory of crime thus filled the gaps that existed in the explanations of the commission of drug-related crimes proffered by the deterrence and the rational choice theories.

5.3.2 Question 2

With regards to Question 2, a number of findings also emerged after the analysis of a variety of responses. For example, the body of information that became available to SAPS police officials enabled them to determine the extent of the problem of illicit drugs and cannabis trafficking in the Point area. This information pertained to suspects who were found in possession of, dealing in, or smoking cannabis, and it is argued that the availability of information influenced the lawful actions of the Point SAPS police officers. However, the research participants admitted that Point community members were negatively overwhelmed by the extent of the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis in their area, particularly as children as young as 9 years old and in primary school were implicated in the trafficking of cannabis at school. Moreover, women were increasingly employed by drug lords to sell illegal substances and cannabis in nightclubs around the Point area, as they are not subjected to such intense searches as their male counterparts when they visit nightclubs. Not only does this practice involve women who themselves may be mothers, but it exacerbates the increasing problem of willing sellers and buyers of illicit drugs and cannabis in the Point area, as women have now joined the fray. This point was highlighted by the street drug runner participant who emphasized that street drug runners sold dagga to a growing plethora of willing buyers; that drug runners became increasingly self-confident and less afraid of the police as they knew the law and simply dropped the drugs or hid them so that the drugs were not found on their persons; and that drug runners' growing disdain for the Criminal Justice System was exacerbated by the fact that the police often had insufficient evidence, or evidence that would not stand up in court, for the simple reason that arresting officers had a lack of cameras inside their police vehicles.

The above findings corroborated those of a study by Govender (2015) who found that local SAPS police stations lacked the means and equipment for efficient and effective information gathering such as: (i) competent manpower; (ii) adequate time for detailed productive planning; and (iii) appropriate equipment. In light of these findings, Govender (2015) posits that the conventional crime prevention strategies applied by local police stations are not good enough to tackle intricate incidences of organised criminal gangs, because most of the useful information that is provided by young arrestees who work for such gangs is not investigated further. Deterrence Theory proffers clarification of the latter statement which communicates the above findings from the perspective of the crime control theory.

Matsueda (2010) states that the policy implications, in view of a combination of the deterrence and the rational theories, are as follows: (i) Through the augmentation of the certainty and severity of penalties, the likelihood of a criminal act is decreased. (ii) The likelihood of committing an offence is decreased if the envisaged proceeds of crime are decreased through crime prevention field operations such as the targeting of crime hotspots and suspicious persons, appropriate arrests, and compiling historical backgrounds of offenders and the crimes they commit, especially in terms of habitual offenders or suspects who commit more serious offences. Moreover, Matsueda (2010) states that would-be offenders who discern an increased likelihood of being apprehended for

using marijuana or for possessing it, are less inclined to commit the planned offences. In fact, some of the latter author's assertions are in line with the SAPS 2014-2015 Annual Performance Report, which states that police crime prevention operations considerably reduced the trafficking of marijuana during this period. Nonetheless, policing and intelligence are inseparable. Within the context of police organisations around the world, the two elements complement each other, as was explained in Chapter two.

That said, for the preceding theoretical approach to be practically successful in respect of the above findings, the aforesaid approach has to specifically deal with the matter of street drug runners who intentionally discard marijuana so as to avoid being charged with the possession of or dealing in cannabis. In this context, reliable crime intelligence has the potential to lead Point SAPS police officials to specific street drug runners and areas within the Point area, where cannabis and other illicit drugs are sold. If a street drug runner discards cannabis or other illicit drugs whilst being closely followed by police officials, and if such discarded illicit drugs are found within the immediate vicinity of such persons, then the police officials concerned need to only furnish a sound statement that the illicit drugs were found in the immediate vicinity of the suspects. Thus, it appears that a combination of reliable crime intelligence, the above theoretical approach, and a proper understanding of Section 20 of the Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act No. 140 of 1992, as amended on 8 October 2010, has the potential for Point SAPS officials to prevent crime if the prosecutor can successfully prove beyond reasonable doubt that the accused is guilty as charged if it can be proved that any drug was found in the immediate vicinity of the accused. In such a situation it shall be presumed, until the contrary is proved, that the accused was found in possession of such drugs.

Moreover, Mashiloane (2014) asserts that the SAPS utilises intelligence-led policing to combat and prevent crime at police station or cluster level, which also includes the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana as was observed during a field exercise with SAPS officers. Intelligence-led policing involves certain methods that are employed in gathering raw information which is pertinent to crime prevention. Such information includes, among others, surveillance. Other techniques are: (i) infiltration of targeted individual criminals or criminal organisations; (ii) electronic forms of gathering required information, for example laptops, cell phones, computers, and telephones; (iii) interviews with incarcerated offenders and detainees; (iv) sifting through refuse bags discarded by targeted suspects; (v) recorded complaints and misconducts which are reported by the public; (vi) website search engines; and (vii) human sources (Barker & Gunter, 2005; Crous, 2009; Metscher & Gilbride, 2005).

Because surveillance was one of the methods observed by the researcher, for the purpose of clarity it is discussed here. Surveillance is a method used in gathering raw data to generate intelligence. In the context of a local police station's jurisdiction, surveillance which encompasses the use of the same police vehicles all the time, whether marked or unmarked, is not surveillance. The reason is that suspects who are being surveyed become aware of the same vehicles that consistently cruise around or park within their vicinity. Similarly, if the same police personnel closely observe the same group of suspects over a long period of time, then the purpose of surveillance is defeated. Surveillance and visible policing are not one and the same, although their common purpose is to prevent crime

(Van Brakel & De Hert, 2011; Sherman & Eck 2002; Weisburd & Eck 2004). With specific reference to the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana and other illicit drugs in the Point area, surveillance is a necessary strategy which is conditional upon rectification of faults. For example, the researcher observed that surveillance was conducted by the Point SAPS officers by driving around in marked and unmarked police vehicles, for example Toyota quantum combis with tinted windows, Toyota vans, and sedan cars. Granted the above explanation, it appears that Point SAPS police officials do not conduct surveillance in a subtle manner in which street drug runners can be caught off-guard. Furthermore, the overt involvement of the usual police personnel in surveillance, as well as the use of the same models of vehicles with the same Durban number plates or police number plates, whether marked or unmarked, is a symbol that pre-warns street drug runners about police presence in the area. However, street drug runners do not abandon their illicit activities but they adopt their own strategies to neutralise police overt surveillance. Therefore, the purpose of surveillance is turned upside down. For example, whilst walking along Mahatma Gandhi Road on a number of occasions, the researcher noticed that a few police informants or informers openly leaned over the doors of police vehicles and indicated to the police officials that their business (the illicit trafficking of drugs) was 'quiet'. Yet, a few blocks away from where the police surveillance vehicle was parked, certain street drug runners were conducting their usual illicit drug trafficking by using disguised procedures. The questions that arise are: What were the police observing? and To what extent was the so-called surveillance efforts successful? It was clear that the informers or informants were pulling the wool over the eyes of the police officers.

5.3.3 Question 3

In relation to Question 3, a number of findings emanated from the analysis of the participants' responses. One finding was that there were widespread similarities amongst the research participants' responses, even to the extent that the responses of the SAPS officials and a street drug seller coincided regarding the *modus operandi* of street drug sellers. It was also found that Point SAPS officers had access to a number of strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the area, but the types of strategies mentioned differed somewhat in terms of the wording used by the individual participants. It may be argued that these differences could be attributed to the participants' individual level of knowledge in respect of Point SAPS strategies. It was clear that the most senior Point SAPS police officials' knowledge regarding Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana was precise and professional.

Although not all of these strategies were observed, the following were identified as Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana: (i) Consistent door-to-door campaigns that are designed to create awareness among community members about the dangers and effects that emanate from the abuse of dagga and other illicit drugs such as heroin, crack cocaine, ecstasy, mandrax, woonga and nyaope; (ii) joint field operations between Point SAPS police officials and SAPS police officials from different police stations, and joint patrols between Point SAPS officers, private security companies and Point SAPS Community Police Forum members; (iii) roadblocks; (iv) patrols; (v) cordon and search operations; (vi) undercover operations; and (vii) the use informers

and informants. Furthermore, it was revealed that the SAPS regularly prevented the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana through planned foot patrols, roadblocks, cordon and search operations, and frequent raids of targeted premises where drug traffickers sell illicit drugs (PMG, 2013; SAPS, 2015).

However, it could not be ascertained which of the various strategies mentioned by the respondents were the most effective in the apprehension of drug lords and street drug sellers due to a lack of statistics, but the comments by a chief magistrate and a prosecutor suggested that considerable success had been achieved, as they suggested that a significant number of trials had ended in the incarceration of accused drug pedlars. Conversely, limited data and statistics were available to make an informed and accurate assessment of the success rate of court trials versus the extent of drug traffickers who managed to escape the long arm of the law. It can only be surmised that the latter group is significant, as was testified by the disdainful disrespect of the drug seller for the police and the courts and the reported increase in the illicit drug and cannabis trafficking in the Point area.

Furthermore, Stigler (1974) asserts that prospective criminals who are interested in monetary gains plan their actions by using actions that reflect the rational choice perspectives and Deterrence Theory. Granted the foregoing, Exum and Bouffard (2010) contend that the assessments of any established disadvantages of criminal acts (Deterrence Theory) as well as those of established or un-established disadvantages and advantages of offences (Rational Choice Theory) are employed in predicting criminal conduct. Conventionally, Deterrence Theory was confined to an assertion that the application or the indication of the application of lawful punishment was connected to criminal activities (Paternoster, 2010). Therefore, the deterrence theory informed the above findings because Point SAPS prevention strategies coincided with Deterrence Theory according to the contents of SAPS policy (SAPS Annual Performance Report, 2014/2015). Roederer and Moellendorf (2007) argue that, within the domain of the combined effect of the deterrence and rational choice perspectives, certainty is more dominant than severity in causing a prospective criminal not to commit a crime. Put differently, the probability of being apprehended by the police is more influential than the seriousness of the punishment in impelling a prospective criminal not to perpetrate a criminal act (Roederer & Moellendorf, 2007). Note that both certainty and severity are components of deterrence. Thus, flowing from the above scholarly clarification, it is apparent that the likelihood of being apprehended by the police specifically underpinned various drug trafficking strategies, and this aspect was arguably dominant in causing some persons not to commit the offense, or some offenders to leave the area, as was alluded to by the respondents who were a senior legal representative and a senior prosecutor. In this regard, certainty appears to be more dominant than severity in displacing prospective offenders or seasoned offenders, as well as causing certain persons not to commit illegal acts.

5.3.4 Question 4

In respect of Question 4, it was found that the rate of cannabis and alcohol abuse by young people was deemed to be excessively high in the Point area. The research participants mentioned that the irresponsible behaviour

prevalent amongst young people in Point emanated from the abuse of alcohol and illicit substances, and this birthed disorderly conduct that was also coupled with various offences as well as drug-related criminal activities.

The above findings correspond with those of Atkinson et al. (2009), who contend that illicit drug trafficking is extensively committed in conjunction with other offences and that such a pattern of crime perpetration reciprocates itself. For example, physical violence is used by criminals to reprimand a police collaborator or to settle disputes between drug dealers, and it is also employed when demanding money from illicit drug 'couriers'. Moreover, it is argued that illicit drug trafficking also encompasses the trafficking of the cannabis herb and cannabis resins and that it is one of the core interests of organised crime syndicates (Khan & Singh, 2014). Therefore, the Self-Control Theory informs the above findings because it explains why some people commit crimes from which they may or may not benefit despite the strong probability of being arrested by the police. It was clearly stated that numerous young people in the Point area could be characterised by low self-control, thus they were deemed reckless, inconsiderate, narrow minded and deviant. This description of young people in Point emerged from the research findings and it reflected almost all the available tenets of the general theory of crime. Moreover, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) highlight that the formation of variations with regard to the degree of self-control among human beings is seen as the most important element which gives rise to criminal activities. In addition, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) affirm that self-control consists of six separate components, and the authors propose that persons who are devoid of self-control are inclined to be spontaneous and reckless, inconsiderate, forceful, violent, narrow-minded, dangerous and have low tolerance levels. Thus, such persons are inclined to participate in criminal activities (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), which was reflected by the references to the low self-control of youths in the research data.

5.3.5 Question 5

In respect of Question 5, none of the participants indicated that SAPS strategies were ineffective. However, with the exception of the Point SAPS Station Commander and Point SAPS Station Crime Prevention Commander, the respondents indicated that Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area left something to be desired. For example, some research participants indicated that numerous community members were fearful of street drug runners in the Point area, and they supported this view by insisting that vigilance and support for the Point SAPS strategies in preventing the illicit trafficking of cannabis and other illicit drugs in Point were constant requirements. The participants also indicated that many Point residents blamed SAPS police officials rather than street drug runners for the escalation of the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana in the area. It was revealed that street drug runners in the Point area employed elusive methods for the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis. For example, a buyer of marijuana would pay a seller of illicit drugs at one point and obtain it at a different point whilst being watched by companions of the seller. Secondly, if street drug runners noticed that police officials were following them, they either suddenly dropped the illicit drugs they carried or abruptly abandoned such drugs in bins or nooks and crannies.

The above findings correlate with those of Burger (2007), who argues that it is plausible that the police can be effective in crime prevention but that the onus of preventing criminal activities should not be the major role of the police. As mentioned twice before, Professor David Bayley also espouses Burger's contention as he maintains that the police are not positioned to prevent crime due to the fact that more than three quarters of criminality is firmly embedded in economic inequalities of different classes of society, and such inequalities are beyond the control of the police (Magnus, 2003). Burger (2007:3) argues that the public's criticism of the SAPS is widely based on misunderstandings about the purposes and ramifications of certain terms such as 'policing', 'crime prevention' and 'crime combating'. This argument is espoused by various presentations of policy development for the SAPS, which regulates its jurisdictions and the strategic and operational perspectives to crime fighting within the Republic. In furtherance of these arguments, Section 205(3) of the 1996 Constitution stipulates that the objectives of the SAPS are as follows: to prevent, combat and investigate crime; to maintain public order and secure the inhabitants of the republic and their property; and to uphold and enforce the law (South Africa, 1996). The terms that appear in the above-mentioned section of the 1996 Constitution are abstract (conceptual), and there is no other known South African statute which provides a definitive legal explanation which stipulates that crime prevention is a major role of the SAPS. Thus the criticisms of the public in the Point area of the SAPS in respect of crime prevention are mainly based on misconceptions.

That said, Burger (2007) interrogates the faultlessness of Section 205(3) of the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, a section that encapsulates and stipulates the objectives of the SAPS. The confusion and ambiguity in the above section are created by a lack of clear definitions of words and ideas in the 1996 Constitution and it contributes to the public's misgivings and mistaken perceptions about the performance of the SAPS (Burger, 2007). The ambiguity contained in Section 205(3) compounds the situation and advocates the citizenry's discernment that the SAPS alone ought to 'prevent crime'. For Burger (2007:140), the cardinal roles of the police (SAPS) include: *"...crime investigation; visible policing; maintenance of order; and law enforcement"*.

As mentioned earlier, three theories informed the above findings, namely Deterrence Theory, the Rational Choice Theory, and Self-Control Theory. Paternoster (2010) contends that the deterrence theory involves the omission of an offence due to the comprehension of an understood penalty, and the connection between such an understanding and any contradictory behaviour. Moreover, Matsueda (2010) states that policy implications in a combination of the deterrence and rational theories are as follows: (i) Through the augmentation of the certainty and severity of penalties, the likelihood of a criminal act is decreased. (ii) The likelihood of committing an offence is decreased if the proceeds of crime are decreased through crime prevention field operations such as targeting crime hotspots and suspicious persons, making arrests, and compiling data on the historical backgrounds of offenders' criminal activities, especially those of habitual offenders or suspects who commit more serious offences. For the purpose of clarity, it was found that Point SAPS officers employed strategies that were almost identical to the above-mentioned strategies. Thus, should Point SAPS officers intensify these strategies in this area, their efforts might significantly decrease drug and cannabis trafficking.

With regards to the effectiveness of Point SAPS strategies, the rational choice perspective came into play when police officials weighed up all the finer details regarding the illicit trafficking of drugs in the Point area, as was evidenced by the data. Flowing from such analyses, Point SAPS officers offset the detailed activities of street drug runners in accordance with a detailed, well planned proactive investigative approach. Hence, the rational choice perspective was applied within the context of the SAPS policing strategies in the Point area. Moreover, in relation to street drug runners' elusive methods that were observed during the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis, it was apparent that the street drug runners decided that the benefits (rational choice perspective) would outweigh the disadvantages of the illicit trafficking of marijuana (Deterrence Theory). However, the two theories lacked further satisfactory explanation. Thus, the Self-Control Theory came into play because street drug runners in the Point area exhibited low or were devoid of self-control, as was discerned from the comments and attitude of the street drug runner participant.

5.3.6 Question 6

Regarding Question 6, a number of findings emerged from the analysis of the participants' responses. It was indicated that the illegal occupation of buildings in the Point area by slum landlords and tenants who allegedly trafficked in illicit drugs and cannabis was an obstacle in effectively addressing the drug issue in the Point area. Although the unlawful occupation of buildings in Point provided accommodation for victims of human trafficking, it led to the escalation of the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana as well as prostitution. Another barrier that was identified was the fact that little or no evaluation was conducted of Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of cannabis. The respondents also indicated that the inconsistent and sophisticated methods that were employed by organised criminal groups during the illicit trafficking of dagga were clear stumbling blocks in effectively curbing the phenomenon.

The above findings tally with the assertions of Govender (2015), who states that South Africa witnessed an escalation in organised criminal incidences due to SAPS local police stations' unpreparedness to efficaciously tackle criminal activities. This assertion is evidenced by SAPS crime statistics for two financial periods, namely 2011/2012 and 2013/2014 (SAPS Annual Crime Statistics, 2014). Moreover, Govender (2015) contends that SAPS local police stations do not have the required means and resources to tackle information gathering. These much needed resources are: (i) competent manpower for various overt and covert operations; (ii) adequate time for detailed productive planning; and (iii) sufficient equipment for effective usage. In addition, Govender (2015) posits that conventional crime prevention strategies employed by local police stations are not good enough to tackle intricate incidences of organised crime, because most of the useful information that is provided by young arrestees who work for such gangs is not investigated further.

Three theories informed the above findings, namely Deterrence theory, Rational Choice Theory, and the Self-Control Theory. For example, Slum landlords, who are illicit drug suppliers, realise that their tenants, who become

drug runners, are dependent on them for both shelter and money, which relates to the rational choice perspective. Therefore, (i) drug runners are highly unlikely to cooperate with SAPS Point police officials (ii) given their parasitic relationship with violent slum landlords. Both (i) and (ii) relate to the rational choice perspective, as Point SAPS officials are highly unlikely to apprehend slum landlords due to a lack of strong evidence (Deterrence Theory) because drug lords do not take possession of illicit drugs and illicit drugs are not sold by them either. Moreover, inconsistent and intricate methods employed by street drug runners in trafficking marijuana and other illicit drugs in the Point area are elusive (rational choice perspective), because Point SAPS officers are unable to effectively counter such illicit methods (Deterrence Theory). Granted the above factors in which the benefits or proceeds (rational choice perspective) accrued from selling marijuana and other illicit drugs exceed the prospects of being apprehended by Point SAPS officers (Deterrence Theory), street drug runners can and do commit drug-related offences in the Point area. With reference to the above arguments, Matsueda (2010) posits that the deterrence and rational choice theories propose that if the estimated proceeds of crime surpass the possible punitive measures (penalties), it follows that a person will perpetrate an offence. Therefore, the Self-Control Theory applied when it was observed that street drug runners adopted an economic approach by selling African artefacts and other items on the street as a 'normal' business enterprise. Because this was merely a front for their nefarious business, it means that they added up all the risks involved in selling marijuana or other illicit drugs and reached the conclusion that the sum total of the risks (liability) did not exceed the benefits. In this context, the Self-Control Theory came into effect because the street drug runners exhibited low self-control levels.

Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) affirm that self-control consists of six separate components and propose that persons who are devoid of self-control are inclined to be spontaneous and reckless, inconsiderate, forceful, violent, narrow-minded, dangerous and have low tolerance levels. It is such persons that are inclined to participate in criminal activities (Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990), which was evidenced by the street drug runner's disdain for the challenges and threat posed by the police and the Criminal Justice System. Pratt et al. (2006) concur to some extent with the latter authors, but also state that individuals with deficient self-control are difficult to control in relation to their commission of offences. For example, the street drug runners observed in the Point area openly flaunted their challenge of the police by approaching police vehicles and visibly appearing on the streets where they were subject to body searches.

5.3.7 Question 7

With reference to Question 7, the majority of the participants shared the view that it would be impossible to effectively prevent the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana in the Point area. These participants indicated that efforts by the police were more likely to reduce and not eradicate the illicit trafficking of cannabis and other illicit drugs in Point. On the other hand, a few respondents indicated that it would be possible for Point SAPS officers to effectively prevent the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis if the following were applied:

- (a) Several effective and dedicated Point SAPS police officials should be retained whilst others should be transferred out of Point SAPS to work at other police stations.
- (b) Point SAPS police officials should patrol the Point area on foot about twice per week and seek advice from the community on how policing in the area can be improved. Such an approach would enhance reciprocal feedback.
- (c) The State should increase and improve the resources available to Point SAPS officers and senior SAPS management must augment the number of efficient and dedicated police officials at Point SAPS by transferring them in from other police stations.
- (d) Police presence on the streets in the Point area must be augmented.
- (e) The eThekweni Municipality should evict slum landlords and street drug runners from illegally occupied apartments.

The findings that were based on the comments and perceptions of the majority of the participants correspond with those of Burger (2007), who argues that it is plausible that the police can be effective in crime prevention, but that the onus of preventing criminal activities is not the major role of the police, which is also corroborated by Professor David Bayley (Bayley, 2001).

Moreover, the comments of some of the respondents coincided with the findings of Waller (2011) who asserts that, in respect of crime prevention, members of the public in this country are exceedingly reliant on the justice system: the SAPS, the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, and the Department of Correctional Services. Holtmann (2009) contends that SAPS officials do not adequately apprehend suspects and that the courts often fail to prove beyond reasonable doubt that accused persons were guilty of crimes. This contention is shared by Nel (2000), who states that the community believes that criminality can be prevented only if the SAPS and the courts 'take off their gloves' and mercilessly deal with suspects in order to bring them to trial.

The Deterrence Theory informed the analysis of the above findings. With reference to the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in the Point area, it was generally felt that current Point SAPS officers' strategies were effective; this implies that the possibility of being arrested by police officials was more influential than the seriousness of the offence in compelling many prospective street drug runners around Point not to engage in the trafficking of marijuana (Roederer & Moellendorf, 2007). Conversely, the acknowledged continued and escalating activities of street drug runners in Point implied that Point SAPS strategies were not very effective in totally eradicating the illicit trafficking of marijuana. In this context, Paternoster (2010) contends that the deterrence theory involves the omission of an offence due to the fear of an understood penalty, and the connection that exists between such an understanding and any contradictory behaviour. Moreover, Gibbs (1975) postulates that the more intense the discerned authoritativeness, seriousness, and promptness of penalties for the commission of an illegal activity, the more persons are prevented from participating in such an activity. Therefore, the Point SAPS police officers' presence and actions (deterrence factor) formed a link between drug traffickers' understanding of the

potential penalties (laws and punishment) and their offending behaviour. In instances where the strategies of Point SAPS officers in the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana were effective to some extent, they upheld the fundamental precepts of the Deterrence Theory.

5.3.8 Question 8

With specific reference to Question 8, it was found that Point SAPS officers in the field did not always use one strategy, as different strategies were employed in combination in the quest to prevent, stop or circumvent the criminal activities of drug trafficking offenders. Certain respondents emphasized that even though Point SAPS management had devised a number of strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis, it was a challenge to search dilapidated and overcrowded buildings due to the absence of maintenance and services. One respondent indicated that Point drug runners usually disguised themselves as street kids or homeless people when the police were in pursuit of such persons. The researcher was also informed that Point SAPS officers employed various strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana such as joint field operations with private security companies and police officials from other police stations; roadblocks; cordon and search operations; random searches; surveillances; vehicle patrols; foot patrols; premise searches; and the deployment of the SAPS Dog Unit upon request.

The above-mentioned findings supported the information that the SAPS regularly prevented the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana through planned foot patrols, roadblocks, cordon and search operations, and frequent raids of targeted premises where drug traffickers were known to sell illicit drugs (PMG, 2013; SAPS, 2015). Furthermore, it was revealed that SAPS officials usually executed these operational strategies after the required information had been collected by operational and sector commanders who would operate within the limits of sector policing at police station level. The commanders also analysed such information so as to ascertain trends in the supply of illegal drugs (SAPS, 2015). It was also ascertained that the SAPS used its Dog Unit (K9 Unit) to detect illegal goods and drugs at the Durban harbour, which is in proximity to the Point area (Geldenhuys, 2009).

The above-mentioned findings were informed by both the deterrence and the rational choice perspectives. Matsueda (2010) alludes to policy implications due to a combination of the deterrence and the rational choice theories which, in this study, were the following:

- (a) Through the affirmation of the certainty and severity of penalties, the likelihood of the criminal act of marijuana trafficking was decreased, as was evidenced by the respondents' comments.
- (b) The likelihood of committing an offence was decreased if the proceeds of crime were decreased through crime prevention field operations such as targeting crime hotspots and suspicious persons, making arrests, and compiling a database of offenders' criminal activities. This was evidenced by the

fact that the senior legal representative and the prosecutor commented that considerable numbers of arrests had led to the incarceration of drug traffickers.

The findings also revealed that Point SAPS officers implemented both (a) and (b) by gathering raw data about the estimated number of street drug runners and their real identities or aliases/nicknames. In addition, Point SAPS officers collected raw data about the exact areas in Point where marijuana and other illicit drugs were sold. Furthermore, the police officers in this precinct endeavoured to gain deep insight regarding the locations where drug runners lived and hid marijuana and other illicit drugs. Their efforts identified various dilapidated and overcrowded buildings which were poorly maintained. It had also been established that drug runners usually disguised themselves as street kids or homeless people if the police were in pursuit. The above information falls under the rational choice perspective which is in accordance with the crime-control policy. Granted the above, Point SAPS officers adopted strategies (Deterrence Theory) for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana and other illicit drugs in Point and implemented these strategies in combination.

5.3.9 Question 9

In terms of Question 9, it was found that the non-SAPS research participants were critical of Point SAPS police officials as they argued that the latter neither followed up on unsolved cases nor on persons who were suspected of participating in organised criminal activities. The non-SAPS research participants also indicated that Point SAPS police officials did not monitor the behaviour of street drug runners who had been convicted for drug-related offences post the sentencing phase and/or after such persons had served their sentences. In addition, the non-SAPS respondents mentioned that Point SAPS police officials were limited in their efforts to identify or infiltrate organised criminal gangs in the Point area, did not usually record cases in a correct way, and that they did not always take fingerprints of individuals who were suspected of involvement in drug-related offences, although such suspects had been found in possession of or dealing in illicit drugs or marijuana. Furthermore, these research participants mentioned that Point SAPS detectives failed to establish connections between cases concerning the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis and other crimes and that there was a lack of discussions among investigators at Point SAPS police station level, regional level and national level. It was alleged that Point SAPS police officials did not tap into appropriate resources for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of dagga or other illicit drugs in Point by, for example, relying on the multi-tasking skills of investigating officers. The research participants mentioned a number of criticisms in respect of Question 9, of which the following two were the most important:

- (a) Point SAPS officers did not address the language barrier between foreign nationals residing in the Point area and Point SAPS police officials. If this obstacle had been dealt with, Point SAPS officers could have obtained vital information about organised criminal activities and the illicit trafficking of cannabis in the area.

- (c) The lack of an interpreter limited the Point SAPS's ability to access vital information regarding the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana in the Point area.

These findings corroborated those by Burger (2015), who contends that the weaknesses of police officials negatively affect SAPS crime prevention strategies. Burger (2015) also asserts that intra-organisational and inter-organisational assessments provide strong support for identifying prevailing and firmly established deficiencies in the conduct of SAPS officials, and therefore urges that such evaluations should be conducted as a matter of course. Moreover, Burger (2015) states that SAPS officials' faults and weaknesses are widespread at police station level and proposes that weaknesses such as improper training, moral deterioration, inadequate management skills, and insufficient oversight be addressed as matters of urgency. In this regard, Govender (2015) contends that SAPS local police stations do not have the required means to collect information and urges that competent manpower (skilled police handlers capable of giving tasks to undercover trained collaborators), adequate time allocations for detailed productive planning, and sufficient equipment for quality usage be addressed. Moreover, Govender (2015) posits that conventional crime prevention strategies utilised at local police stations are not good enough to tackle intricate incidences of organised crime because most of the useful information that is provided by young arrestees who work for such gangs is not investigated further.

The Deterrence Theory informed the above-mentioned findings. In this context, Li et al. (2010) contend that the Deterrence Theory is a critical component of the rational choice perspective and that it relates to the discerned disadvantage of rationalisation; thus Deterrence Theory involves a step-by-step evaluation of the preventive influence of official and unofficial penalties. The foregoing statement is particularly relevant to crime control policy makers, because it espouses the prevention of crime due to the discerned possibility of being arrested if an offence such as cannabis trafficking has been committed. Moreover, Gibbs (1975) postulates that the more intense the discerned authoritativeness, seriousness, and promptness of penalties for the commission of an illegal activity are, the more persons are prevented from participating in such an activity. The above-mentioned condemnatory views of the research participants about Point SAPS police officials are not counter steps to the illicit trafficking of marijuana and other illicit drugs in the Point area. Such judgemental views ought to be taken into account when contemplating the prevention of the illicit trafficking of marijuana in Point. Within the context of the above-mentioned findings, street drug runners contemplate the disadvantages of possible penalties; thus, if the possibility of being arrested (a strong deterrent factor) is low or non-existent, then the seriousness of the illicit trafficking of marijuana cannot prevent street drug runners from participating in this crime. Within this analysis, the afore-mentioned research findings do not espouse the fundamental principles of the deterrence theory. Therefore, the role of Point SAPS can only be perceived by street drug runners as a disadvantage within the context of the illicit trafficking of marijuana if Point SAPS strategies are thoroughly implemented. It follows that the thorough and effective implementation of Point SAPS strategies will influence street drug runners' concept of the severity of the penalties for the illicit trafficking of marijuana and other illicit drugs in the Point area.

5.3.10 Question 10

With reference to Question 10, a number of findings emerged from the analysis of the interviewees' responses. It was found that visible policing occurred in the Point area in efforts to prevent the illicit trafficking of marijuana and other illicit drugs. The formation of partnerships between the police and the community was also highlighted as an important measure in this quest. The research participants indicated that the partnership between Point SAPS and Point Community members facilitated the collection of raw data, which were subsequently dissected or evaluated in order to create police intelligence as a ready-made product for use by SAPS police intelligence officers in the field and operational personnel. Furthermore, the respondents revealed that Point SAPS officers entered into alliances with other state departments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), private security companies and community-based organisations in their efforts to combat drug and cannabis trafficking in the area. The participants strongly indicated that a multi-departmental approach to the problem of illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana assisted efforts to prevent and reduce the illicit trafficking of such drugs at various stages. The research participants mentioned that Section 8(a) of the amended Education Act stipulates that it is mandatory for the SAPS to search for illicit substances within school premises across the Republic of South Africa. Therefore, Point SAPS officials had a legal mandate and the authority to comb through school premises within its jurisdiction for illicit drugs and cannabis.

The findings concerning visible policing correlate with SAPS Annual Report 2010/2011, which stipulates that visible policing allows police stations in South Africa to engage in, amongst others, the protection of the safety of its citizens and to maintain a specialised involvement in security issues. Furthermore, one of the objectives of visible policing is crime prevention at each police precinct level as well as at service points in a given neighbourhood (SAPS Annual Report, 2010/2011). Moreover, the SAPS Annual Report (2010/2011) stipulates that visible policing is also responsible for preventing and detecting the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana. Therefore, in terms of this SAPS Annual Report (2010/2011), Point SAPS officers initiated a strategy of visible policing which allows any member of the general public to use a toll free number and to provide qualified police personnel with sensitive information about criminal activities and the trafficking of cannabis. The caller remains anonymous for the purpose of protecting the real identity of the source of information (SAPS Annual Report, 2010/2011).

The aspect that was illuminated by the data that Point SAPS officers acted in alliance with various structures and organisations (other departments, NGOs and schools) corresponds with the DSD (2015) report which stipulates that the NDMP involves many government departments and independent parties to create harmony in the fight against the utilisation, misuse and reliance on dependence-forming substances and other substance-related difficulties. This policy stipulates the inputs and functions of each stakeholder and government department concerned in dealing with the effects of substance abuse.

The Deterrence Theory informed the aforesaid findings, because they support its fundamental principles (certainty, severity and promptness). For example, the fact that Point SAPS police officials gathered raw data through visible

policing in the field and then subsequently acted on the intelligence that was generated by conducting field operations, is a manifestation of promptness, which is a precept of the deterrence theory. The employment of police intelligence (a ready-made product) by Point SAPS police officials during field operations touches on certainty, which is another principle of Deterrence Theory.

According to Antia et al. (2006), there is a reciprocal influence between the authoritativeness and seriousness of punishment within the framework of official punishment. On the part of the street drug runners, certainty (of punishment) was a discerned disadvantage in the rational choice decision making process. Thus, if police intelligence and other Point SAPS strategies were applied correctly, then it is likely that the illicit trafficking of marijuana and other illicit drugs might be prevented and reduced, because street drug runners would be influenced by the perceived penalties and the fear of being arrested. Moreover, Gibbs (1975) postulates that the more intense the discerned authoritativeness, seriousness, and promptness of penalties for the commission of an illegal activity are, the more persons are prevented from participating in such an activity. This study cannot discuss severity at length because it is a subject matter of the South African courts and thus falls beyond the scope of this study.

With regards to the multi-departmental approach, such interventions espouse the Deterrence Theory within the framework of the illicit trafficking of drugs and cannabis, because each department plays a unique role in this process. Moreover, a collective approach prevents the illicit trafficking of marijuana at different stages, and therefore the various contributions and roles of stakeholders support the precepts of the Deterrence Theory because they complement one another.

5.4 Conclusion

The researcher explored, described and analysed Point community members' perceptions of SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana in the Point area. With reference to the in-depth analysis and evaluation of the data and the findings, it was concluded that, in the current circumstances that were prevalent at Point SAPS police station, it would be impossible to effectively prevent the illicit trafficking of marijuana in this precinct. It is thus argued that the illicit trafficking of cannabis in this area cannot be eradicated, but that this scourge can be reduced if the various positive suggestions for the improvement of prevailing conditions in this precinct are adopted and applied.

SAPS statistics of the arrests of illicit drug traffickers were available to determine whether this rate was indicative of the success or failure of the SAPS to apprehend drug traffickers of cannabis in the Point area. However, a limitation was that statistical data for comparative purposes were not investigated. For example, the dichotomy that was identified between SAPS officials' comments regarding the challenges experienced in curbing the trafficking of cannabis in the Point area and the non-SAPS respondents' contention that legal action against perpetrators of drug-related crimes in the area was significant, was not explored with reference to specific data and statistics. The

extent of this gap could therefore not be corroborated to accurately assess the strength of the continued threat of drug and cannabis trafficking in the Point area. It is therefore suggested that future studies explore this gap.

5.5 Challenges and limitations

Overall, the most serious problem that the researcher experienced during the fieldwork phase of this study was persuading all the research participants to freely elicit as much information as possible. The researcher observed that an organisation such as the SAPS exists in a unique environment in which everything is questioned and therefore police officials accumulate a sense of paranoia. On the one hand, the researcher had to deal with pre-existing paranoia on the part of the police, because most civilians, especially suspects, are suspected of not being truthful to the police. Thus Point SAPS police officials questioned my motives and wondered who exactly sent me to Point SAPS police station to 'question' its officers. On the other end of the scale, the researcher had to identify and cautiously persuade a street drug runner to participate in the study, assuring this person that the data would only be used for academic purposes and not for any subsequent police investigations. Furthermore, Point SAPS CPF members were also consistently paranoid because they indicated that the researcher was likely to have been instructed by Point area organised criminal groups to find out more about Point SAPS strategies for the prevention of the illicit trafficking of drugs. For example, an interview with a senior Point SAPS CPF member had to be cancelled at the eleventh hour because the prospective participant became increasingly suspicious of the researcher's real motives. Paranoia was not only prevalent among the aforesaid parties, but other research participants were equally suspicious of the researcher's real intentions despite having been shown two letters as evidence that this would be an academic study only. One letter was from the University, indicating that the researcher had been granted full ethical clearance and approval to conduct the research, and the other was a letter from the SAPS Provincial Strategic Management which indicated that permission to conduct research within Point SAPS had been granted. This challenge was overcome by careful and unambiguous explanations of the motivation for and purpose of the study.

5.6 Recommendations

According to the SAPS (2017), a total number of 1 366 suspects were arrested between 1 February 2014 and 31 December 2014 for being in possession of marijuana in the Point area. In 2015, Point SAPS police officials apprehended 1 309 suspects for being in possession of cannabis (SAPS, 2017), whereas 1 210 suspects were charged with the offence of being in possession of marijuana in the Point area by Point SAPS police officials in 2016 (SAPS, 2017). When the figures for 2014 and 2015 are added and compared, there was a slight decrease of 4.1% in the number of suspects who were apprehended for being in possession of cannabis in 2015. Furthermore, depending on the preferred way in which a person can analyse the above statistics, when the total number of suspects who were charged with being in possession of cannabis in 2014 is compared with the total number of arrested persons in 2016 that committed the same offence, a decrease of 11.4% emerges. In simple

terms, if the number of arrestees in 2016 (1 210) is deducted from the number of arrestees in 2014 (1 366), it means that there was a decline of 156 arrests for the possession of cannabis in 2016. An analyst may therefore deduce that Point SAPS performance in 2016 was not encouraging compared to Point SAPS performance in 2014. However, it may be argued that a reduction of 156 arrests from 2014 to 2016, which translates into a 6% reduction in the efficacy of SAPS arresting officers over two years, is not very significant. The absence of more direct criteria other than variations in Point SAPS annual marijuana statistics prevented a more in-depth analysis of the situation. What can be observed from the data, is that there was a steady decline of arrests for possession of marijuana over the three-year period: from 1 366 in 2014, to 1 309 in 2015, to 1 210 in 2016. However, it ought to be borne in mind that not all persons who possess or deal in marijuana in the Point area are apprehended by Point SAPS officers; thus, there is a possibility that many traffickers and consumers who flout South Africa's anti-drug laws in Point are not affected by Point SAPS strategies.

Granted the above-mentioned statistics that were proffered by the participants and the findings that emerged from the interview data and the observations, a number of issues need to be addressed. Hence the following recommendations are offered:

- Intelligence-led policing seems to be the best policing approach with regards to preventing the illicit trafficking of drugs and marijuana in the Point area. An intelligence-led policing approach is a very complicated approach as it requires the availability of police handlers with vast experience and reasonable understanding of the criminal psyche. Intelligence-led policing comprises various techniques that can be applied separately or simultaneously. For the purpose of avoiding repetition, some of the intelligence-led policing techniques that may be employed were discussed in the literature review chapter. A particular police station is highly likely to save its scarce resources and avoid waste and losses if responsible police officials correctly implement intelligence-led policing techniques for their planning and during their operations.
- Point community awareness of the dangers of illicit drugs and marijuana must be raised. This must include regular visits to schools in the area not only to eradicate drug trafficking by youths among the youth, but to educate the children with regards to the dangers and threat of drug and marijuana addiction.
- Point SAPS detectives must be trained and retrained so that information about street drug runners or suspected owners of illicit drugs and, marijuana traffickers can be shared with other SAPS detectives at police station, regional and/or national level. Such an approach may enable SAPS detectives to swiftly follow up on unsolved cases, especially drug-related cases.
- By using the above-mentioned approach, Point SAPS detectives will be allowed to compare and contrast police dockets about suspects who commit multiple drug offences in Point and several other areas within

the Republic of South Africa. The resultant profiles may lead to the early arrest of such perpetrators and may even bring elusive drug lords to book.

- The establishment of functional teams whose members possess expert knowledge in different disciplines to address the problem of illicit drug and cannabis trafficking in Point should be considered as a matter of urgency. Such teams must operate under the strict leadership and supervision of Point SAPS management.
- Night clubs and street hotspots in the Point area must be closely monitored in a proactive manner in order to identify as many street drug runners as possible and, hence prevent the escalation of incidences of illicit drug and cannabis trafficking in Point.
- In light of the many dilapidated buildings in the Point area that are illegally occupied by slum landlords and street drug runners, Point SAPS management should collaborate with the eThekweni Municipality Development and Planning section to address the eradication of the many structures that have become home to criminals and illicit drug traffickers.

5.6 List of references

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ANNEXURE 'A'

ANNEXURE 'B'

