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University of Cape Town
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**Constructing the gap between
past and present literacy practices in
the South African Police Service.**

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy

by

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Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signed by candidate

Abdul Moeain Arend

25 September 2002

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Abstract

The study seeks to answer the research question: "*What constructs the gap between past and present literacy practices in the South African Police Service (SAPS)?*" To answer the research question, ethnographic methods were employed to gather data in a police station on the Cape Flats, renamed Phatisanani police station.

In researching the gap between past and present literacy practices of police officers in the station, the effects the shift in institutional discourses from the early years of the South African Police (SAP), to after the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa had on police officers' professional discourses and their associated literacy practices were illuminated. The study suggests that institutional discourses after 1994 are conflicting with the professional discourse and associated literacy practices of police officers at Phatisanani police station. The research argues that the conflict between contemporary institutional discourses in the SAPS and the professional discourse of police officers in the station is leading to 'disorder of discourses' (Wodak, 1996).

Drawing on theories from the New Literacy Studies the research concludes that the gap between past and present literacy practices in the SAPS is embedded in the 'disorder' between contemporary institutional and professional discourses, the 'disorder' between the social roles of 'insiders' and 'outsiders'; and the recontextualisation of literacy practices across various sites of practice in the SAP prior to 1994.

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Chapter One

Entering uncharted waters

Introduction

Images of the police

When my supervisor first asked me if I was interested in researching literacy in the South African Police Service (SAPS) as a possible research topic, I was not only in two minds, but most of all I was apprehensive. I must admit that I shuddered at the thought of researching the SAPS since my early memories of confrontation with the police.

I was immediately reminded of 1985, the year of student uprisings in South Africa. I was a student attending a high school on the Cape Flats. My high school was one of the schools that was at the forefront of what was commonly known as 'the struggle' against White minority rule. As a student I came to know the police as 'the men in blue', having emotionless faces sculptured from stone, carrying death and sorrow in their iron-tipped boots, guns and rifles, rubber bullets, batons, sjamboks and teargas canisters. The police were the men who owned the fists that came knocking on doors, disturbing the night's silence at three in the morning, to silence those who were seen as the enemies of the apartheid state.

I remembered how the 1985 student uprisings and the state of emergency characterised by brutal suppression, shattered the image my grade one teacher sketched of the police, that of caring and friendly protectors of the helpless and innocent. The 1985 student uprisings exposed me to the stark reality of police brutality and a police force that was above the law.



A policeman in army attire manhandling a child during political unrest.

Even now, as I am writing this thesis I am reflecting on the initial stages of my research and the dilemma I faced; that of researching a police force that I came to hate and abhor after the 1985 student uprisings. Perhaps it was the discourses of reconciliation and nation building permeating political speeches that spurred me on and prevented me from abandoning this research. Or perhaps it was an incident that took place three years after the 1985 student uprisings.

I was in my second last year of my high school career. It was a warm September morning in 1988 when we as students staged a placard demonstration inside the school grounds to express our opposition to the tricameral parliament elections¹ later that year. The demonstration took place during the morning peak hour and it attracted the attention of many, the South African Police (SAP) included. When the first police vans and casspirs appeared more than thirty stone-faced police officers poured out, their eyes hidden by dark-tinted sunglasses and their hands clutching batons and sjamboks. Student leaders had to gesture to us to sit down and to remain calm because their voices were drowned by the noise of the police helicopter hovering two metres above our heads. The school was surrounded. Without any warning, the police jumped over the fence. Panic stricken we ran for the safety of our classrooms. I still remember the screams and shrieks as students were bludgeoned with batons and sjamboks while fleeing from the police. Once inside and the screams, sobbing and shrieks stopped, we thought the police had left and that we were safe. "Mr Joshua please come to the staffroom," came the principal's voice over the intercom. We almost stopped breathing. Mr Joshua who was the first principal of our school, had passed away a few years before. The announcement was a 'code' our teachers used to warn us that police were on the school grounds.

A deadly silence enveloped the school. Not long after the announcement we heard the sounds of sjamboks being tapped on the cement floors of the corridors as police searched the classrooms for students. Students who were found were mercilessly beaten with batons and sjamboks regardless of age or gender.

¹ A parliament that would give Coloureds and Indians pseudo-partial representation in South Africa's parliament.



A police officer chasing a protester with a sjambok during a political protest.

We waited and listened to the shrieks and crying of students and the unnerving sound of sjamboks being tapped on the ground. We waited and listened for the sounds of police boots on cement to reach our classroom, but it never did. We were the fortunate ones. Many students had to receive stitches in their faces and on their backs.

My sister, however, related an anecdote of a different nature. This incident had happened while the police were searching the classrooms. When a police officer opened the door to their classroom and peeped in, he saw the frightened faces. He told his superior that there was no one in the classroom. The sensitivity of this officer had a profound effect on me. It made me realize that there were police officers who in their own way, opposed the whole system and the violent acts they

were expected to perform. Whenever I felt like abandoning this research I used to reflect on this incident and the effect it had had on me.

Perhaps I saw this research as an attempt to assist in transforming the South African police force and to help me understand the police during the years of the apartheid state. I felt that I did not want any member of the new generation to feel the betrayal I felt when I first witnessed the unleashing of police brutality on the innocent and helpless in 1985. In retrospect, I might have believed that literacy may transform the police into a service instead of a state apparatus that was an instrument of racist repression.

Background to the research

The condemnation of million of adults to (il)literacy in South African policy

Adult literacy provision in South Africa in the past ten to fifteen years has been characterised by a shift from non-formal and informal modes of provision to formalisation and standardisation. Literacy provision, after South Africa's first democratic elections of 1994, became embedded in what became known as Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET).

Prior to the drafting of the 1995 Interim Guidelines for ABET by the National Education Department there existed no state regulation in the field of adult literacy education. The field of adult literacy provision was characterised by informal and diffuse sites of delivery, which were characterised in studies conducted by the Congress of South African Trade Unions' (COSATU) officials as displaying fragmentation, absence of standards, no canon, no accredited professional development or teacher-training, lack of resources as well as inefficient use of resources and no systemised evaluation of provision (Kell, 1997:1). Literacy discourses were firmly embedded in the narrative of 'the struggle' against apartheid. Kell (1997) suggests that within these discourses 'illiteracy figured as one of the principal marks of oppression revealing the victim status of the oppressed' and the teaching of literacy was seen as the moral obligation of liberals to provide redress as well as part of the revolutionary duty of radicals to mobilise the masses. Metaphors for literacy were constructed within these discourses such as 'literacy as power', 'literacy as emancipation from apartheid', 'literacy as adaptation', 'literacy as salvation' and 'literacy as critical consciousness'.

After 1994 the discourses of democracy, reconstruction and development incorporated most of these metaphors for literacy in formalising ABET. These metaphors for literacy as 'redemption' and illiteracy as 'darkness' still form part of the rationale for contemporary literacy provision and policy in South Africa as the following extract demonstrates:

The policies of former governments fragmented education and training into different ethnic and racial sub-systems with unequal allocation of resources. This resulted in poor quality education in Black schools and **the condemnation of millions of adults to illiteracy, effectively limiting the intellectual and cultural development of the country as a whole.** [my emphasis]

(Final draft for Adult Basic Education and Training, Department of Education, October 1997)

The new discourses suggested that 'apartheid state adult education provision was largely a second chance schooling system based on a primary or secondary school curriculum unsuited to the needs of adult learners' (Final Draft Policy for ABET, 1997).

Furthermore the Final Draft Policy for ABET suggested that 'state-provided **adult education has had an inappropriate, narrow and formal school focus**'. However when I became involved as an ABET curriculum advisor for the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) in 1999 it became obvious that the inappropriate and narrow focus in adult education and literacy provision remained. This I attributed to the inherent contradictions in ABET policy, the technical nature of the ABET syllabus consisting of a plethora of unit standards with an Outcomes Based Education (OBE) approach and the principles underlying the new National Qualifications Framework (NQF). ABET educators were and are still expected to teach the same learning areas as that of the formal schooling system – in actual fact the ABET curriculum is expected to have equivalence with mainstream or formal school.

Kell (1997:7) argues that within the new discourses shaping ABET, literacy was seen as the foundation for further learning and as an individual commodity which people either have or do not have. She further argues that within the new

discourses reading and writing are seen as non-problematic, instrumental activities and that this view therefore imposes a rigid framework on all literacy learning.

One of the principles of the NQF is that qualifications and skills gained in one site of learning will be portable and transferable to another site of learning (IEC and IEB, 1996). It was argued that through the NQF learners will be prevented from being 'trapped in one learning situation' by integrating education and training. Education was seen as the 'area of learning where you gain knowledge' and training as the 'area of learning where you gain skills' (IEC and IEB, 1996:15). The assumption was made that through this integrated approach a learner will be able to 'move more easily from one place of learning to another' and 'from one level of learning to another'. It was also assumed that the NQF will be flexible by providing 'different routes which will lead to the same learning ends' and that it would be 'possible for you to achieve national qualifications through both formal and informal learning situations' (I discuss **formal** and **informal** learning contexts in greater detail below and in Chapter Two when I draw on Gee's theories on **acquisition** and **learning**).

These assumptions were made without taking the nature of the context of learning or the social processes shaping the learning into consideration (problematizing and understanding context is a major concern of this research and I discuss it in greater detail below). Breier (unpublished paper, page 11) argues that recent research has shown that learning and knowledge are linked to the context and the process through which they are acquired. The work of Scribner (1987), the work of Rogoff and Lave (1984) and Ensor (1999), suggest that skills acquired in one social context are substantially different from those acquired in another. These arguments must be viewed in relation to the principles of the NQF which assume that learners can move non-problematically from a work context to a formal learning context and vice versa. Furthermore it is assumed that the skills acquired or learned in the workplace (or the everyday) can easily be transferred to the context of the formal classroom and vice versa.

As an ABET curriculum advisor I started to question the notion that it is crucial to draw on the everyday experiences of adult learners in literacy classes so as to speed up learning and to make learning more meaningful when formal literacy provision within the NQF was seen as the panacea for the political and economic problems of South Africa. Kell (1996:1) drawing on the arguments of Street (1995)

and Feldman (1995) suggests that literacy policy and provision for adults in South Africa is drawing on outdated modernisation and development paradigms which have undergone critique in other parts of the world. I have found that where adult educators drew on the everyday experiences of adult learners in their classroom, these experiences were eventually marginalized for a formal and narrow school focus for literacy provision.

This awareness came about due to my exposure to the theories of the New Literacy Studies (NLS). Many a time I have found that when literacy and ABET classes were poorly attended it was attributed to the fact that adult educators were 'not drawing on the everyday experiences and skills of adult learners'. Although this might have been partially true, I have found that adult educators as well as adult learners were finding it difficult to bridge the gap between the everyday and the formal schooling system. I have found that adult learners who were engaged in a range of everyday literacy practices found it difficult to transfer these skills to the literacy and ABET classroom. In most literacy classes, adult educators did not draw on the literacy practices of their adult learners. However in literacy classes where adult educators drew on these everyday literacy practices of their learners, they found it difficult to 'make them fit' into a formal ABET system. In essence the formal ABET system proposed within the structure of the NQF did not value the everyday literacy practices of adult learners.

Breier, drawing on the arguments of Gee (1990), suggests that Gee's differentiation between acquisition and learning suggests that different learning contexts will lead to different kinds of knowledge and skills. I discuss Gee's arguments in greater detail in the next chapter. I started to become interested in the social relations of different sites of literacy practices and the discourses in which these literacy practices were embedded due to my further readings within the New Literacy Studies (NLS). I became increasingly aware that a firm understanding of discourse theory and the impact discourses have on literacy learning, acquisition and provision in different sites, will provide insights into the failure of literacy and ABET programmes; and will give invaluable inputs into the structure and focus of future literacy and ABET programmes in different sites of provision.

I also started to develop an interest in exploring what constructs the gap between different sites of learning, and whether the transference of skills from one site to

another can really occur. I started to wonder if the inability of both adult educators and adult learners to bridge the gap between the everyday and the formal literacy class was not rooted in the social relations and discourses of these two domains; and whether or not it is possible for adults to engage in opposing discourses prevalent in different sites. Furthermore I wanted to know if adults are engaged in a certain discourse and its associated literacy practices how this involvement could prevent the acceptance of opposing discourses and their associated literacy practices. This is an area of debate that I explore further in this research.

The condemnation of 30 000 police officers to (il)literacy

Since the new democratic dispensation was ushered in during 1994, the police force just like the apartheid education system, has come under close scrutiny in both the political and public domains.

Politically there has been a growing concern to re-define the SAPS's new role in 'nation-building' and in protecting the new democracy as embodied in the new Constitution, after apartheid had officially ended in 1994. When the South African Police (SAP) was renamed the South African Police Service (SAPS) the intention, at the level of the state, was that the police should relinquish its image as a police **force** and take on that of a police **service**. In the public domain, however, there has since then been an outcry that the SAPS is unable to combat the increase in crime nationally. These concerns have resulted in the emergence of vigilante groups and an increased focus on police competency and literacy levels by the media. It became obvious to the media and the public that the shift from a police force to a service had not occurred amongst the rank-and-file of the SAPS.

In a newspaper article included below, Superintendent Andre Liebenberg, manager for training in the Western Cape, disclosed that nearly a third of the 12,066 police men and women in the Western Cape were regarded as 'illiterate' (Sunday Argus, 25 March, 2000). In the same article, Safety and Security Minister Steve Tshwete was quoted as having said that 40% of police personnel were thought to be 'illiterate'.

W Cape police illiteracy under spotlight

Glynis Underhill

Nearly a third of police in the Western Cape are regarded as illiterate.

This startling figure was disclosed by Andre Liebenberg, police provincial manager for training in the province.

Many of the illiterate policemen were former members of the controversial "Kits Konsta-bels" who had been amalgamated into the police force.

Superintendent Liebenberg said they had been employed to guard and patrol and their jobs as fully-fledged police were now completely different.

Mentorship training programmes were being implemented, and it was hoped to turn around the illiteracy level with adult education programmes, he said.

Safety and Security Minister Steve Tshwete said this week that about 40% of policemen and women were thought to be illiterate.

Mr Tshwete said that a number of private companies had offered assistance to educate force members.

Superintendent Liebenberg said: "We are waiting to see the results of an audit we have conducted in the Western Cape, which will give us a clearer picture. We have looked at the gaps and we will then know how to address them," he said.

Superintendent Liebenberg said that there were 12 066 police men and women in the Western Cape.

Quarter of all cops can't read, says Fivaz

Literacy project on hold

ADRIAN HADLAND
POLITICAL EDITOR

Close to a quarter of the South African Police Service - about 30 000 officers - are functionally illiterate, says national commissioner George Fivaz.

He said the low education levels of many officers made it difficult for them to take down complaints, fill out dockets, appear in court, learn how to drive or complete any but the most basic duties.

"For many years, officers were recruited without the minimum educational requirements applied in other parts of the world. We inherited *kitskonsta-bels* and municipal police without the functional capacity to do their jobs," Commissioner Fivaz told the Cape Argus.

"While a significant proportion of the 30 000 can read and write, they aren't very good at it. They are functionally illiterate. This makes it difficult for them to master computers, which are a very prominent part of a police officer's tools."

A programme to boost literacy in the 127 000-strong police service, called Adult Basic Education Training, was introduced in 1997 to correct the problem, Mr Fivaz said.

But this has since been abandoned, according to the communication officer of the police human resources management department, Johan Smal.

"It has been decided, for the interim, to put the project on hold," he said.

"To get the maximum from the time and money spent, a survey is currently being done to determine the exact literacy level of SAPS personnel. After this has been done, a strategy will be developed to start at a point that will produce optimum results."

Senior Superintendent Smal said R6.2-million



Adrian Hadland
Interviews
George Fivaz

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had been spent so far on pilot projects in Pretoria and Cape Town.

"Where there is an immediate need for literacy training, normal in-service training will address these needs."

Commissioner Fivaz said considerable progress had been made, meanwhile, in the transformation of the police service.

Some 65% of officers were black and the rest white. In middle and lower management, the ratio was about 50:50.

At senior management level there was "still a problem", as about 67% were still white and male. This had improved significantly since 1994, when white males made up 84% of top management.

Commissioner Fivaz said that by the time his contract ended in January he hoped a 50:50 ratio would also apply to senior management.

"Things are much better and more balanced, but we are still not where we want to be, we're still lagging behind," he said.

Part of the difficulty was that women generally did not consider policing to be an attractive career option. "There's a perception that it's not a job for women which, of course, is wrong."

Mr Fivaz said there were two things he regretted about his period as commissioner: the slow progress toward representivity and the difficulties in curtailing serious crime.

"The crime statistics show we have stabilised serious crime, but the fact is that we have not brought it down sharply."

In an interview with the Cape Argus in 1999, the ex-national commissioner of police, George Fivaz claimed that close to a quarter of the SAPS (about 30,000 officers) are 'functionally illiterate' (Cape Argus, September 24, 1999). Fivaz noted that in the past officers were recruited without the minimum educational requirements applied in other parts of the world. He further said that while a significant proportion of the 30,000 can read and write, they are 'functionally illiterate' which allows them to complete only the most basic duties.

Fivaz constructs 'functional literacy' as the ability of officers to:

- take down complaints;
- fill out dockets;
- appear in court;
- learn to drive; and
- master computers (seen as a prominent part of a police officer's tools).

In the public domain Fivaz's revelations led to an increased focus on police personnel's literacy levels as the article below indicates.

Confession of the week

Thanks to national police commissioner George Fivaz for clearing up something for us.

The commish said this week that close to a quarter of the police service – about 30 000 officers – were functionally illiterate.

Their low education levels made it difficult for them to take down complaints, fill out dockets, appear in court, learn how to drive or complete any but the most basic duties.

Naturally, this explains why police often need more than the prescribed 48 hours to "interview" suspects, why suspects disown written statements and why the investigating officer's accident plan doesn't look anything like the spot where your brakes failed.

However, we also learned that a new literacy drive is in the making for the men and women in blue.

For the functionally illiterate, the writing's on the wall.

Cape Argus, September 26, 1999.

The articles demonstrate that both the political and public domains associate the increase in crime and poor policing with the 'lack' of literacy amongst police officers. Furthermore it can be argued that it was felt that the SAPS's inability to make the

shift from a **police force** to a **police service** was to be blamed on the 'lack' of literacy or literacy 'skills' amongst officers working with the public domain. It further demonstrates that there is a dominant belief that:

- low levels of literacy in the SAPS are directly linked to poor policing in South Africa; and
- that an increase in literacy levels and 'skills' in the SAPS will lead to better and improved policing.

Theoretical framework

The New Literacy Studies and the literacy myth

This research has drawn substantially on the arguments of writers and researchers working within NLS. The NLS is a range of independently developed theory and research focusing on literacy and literacy practices within social practice, using ethnographic research methods. The NLS perspective argues against pervasive ideas on literacy that equate its acquisition with positive and unproblematic outcomes regardless of context.

The NLS stresses the importance of theorising literacy as social and cultural practice, instead of a range of decontextualised 'skills' and competencies (Maybin, 2000:207). Clark and Ivanič (1997:84) argue that the physical and social behaviour surrounding writing is often 'lumped' together with mental processes under the broad heading 'skills'. They challenge the unanalysed lumping together and the connotations of the term 'skills' because it suggests a set of neutral technologies 'separate and separable from the social context that favours them'. The notion of 'literacy as a generalised and decontextualised skill' is similar to the views expressed in the NQF, ABET policy and the claims made for the acquisition of literacy in the articles on the literacy levels in the SAPS.

Research conducted within the NLS critiques this notion of 'literacy as a skill' and that the acquisition of literacy leads to positive and unproblematic outcomes. The belief in the positive outcomes of literacy and conceptualising 'literacy as a skill' was identified as the 'autonomous model of literacy' by Street (1984, 1995) and the wide range of positive associations that were attached to literacy came to be known as the 'literacy myth' within the NLS – this term was first coined by Graff (1979).

These claims of positive outcomes include an increase in cognitive skills, abstract thinking and productivity as well as positive social changes. Clark and Ivanič (1997:85) assert that conceptualising writing in terms of 'skills' focuses on writing as a technology and disregards writing as 'meaning-making', 'negotiation of identity' and 'social participation'. Millar et al (1993:1) argue that the 'literacy myth' assumes that 'literacy did things to people' regardless of context, such as raising their cognitive skills, enabling meta-cognitive understanding of their social situation and developing a rational outlook that was crucial for progress. Some of the pedagogic implications of viewing 'literacy as a skill' are that it is prescriptive, producing a deficit identity for the individual; and that literacy can be acquired in an unproblematic fashion (Clark and Ivanič, 1997:85).

Ong (1982) from what Street called an 'autonomous model' perspective, argued that the introduction of literacy allows people to separate logic from rhetoric and therefore restructures thought, so that one can distinguish between 'oral' and 'literate' cultures. Goody (1977, 1986, 2000) made the case for literacy as a strong and socially determining technology which was at the base of the shift between oral and literate cultures (Prinsloo and Breier, 1996:17). Gee (1994:173) argues that Ong's 'take' on the effects of the introduction of literacy into cultures suggests that 'human consciousness cannot achieve its full potential without writing'. Goody (2000:165) goes as far as to suggest that history has shown that 'the book can empower the powerless'. Many of these claims were put to the test empirically however by Scribner and Cole (1976) whose research on the literacy practices among the Vai in Liberia concluded that illiterate adults, especially those in urban areas, shared some of the skills usually only associated with literate persons. Scribner and Cole's research concluded that cognitive attributes were the outcome of particular social practices, such as schooling and were not the direct results of the acquisition of literacy. They further argue that sweeping claims for substantial and universal cognitive skills resulting from literacy were not sustained by their research. Therefore the NLS makes strong arguments for the study of literacy in social contexts and its embeddedness in social practices instead of a decontextualised view on literacy as 'universal skills'.

Reder (1994) argues that the critical debate among literacy practitioners, policy makers and literacy researchers is whether to view literacy within a paradigm of individual skills or one of cultural practices. The individual paradigm emphasises

the cognitive processes and development underlying the ability to read and write, as the 'literacy myth' would suggest. Social context, in which these activities occur, is disregarded. The cultural practices paradigm views literacy as a set of social or cultural practices and its community as a community of practice. Within this paradigm, literacy is seen to spread and develop through a process of socialisation. Gee (1994:189) supports Reder's argument by suggesting that literacy acquisition is a form of socialisation and that different literacy practices in different social contexts allow the individual to practise 'different and quite specific skills'.

Street (1993) outlines two models of literacy, namely the 'autonomous' model and the 'ideological' model of literacy. He locates the 'literacy myth' and its assumptions within the 'autonomous' model. Street (1996) claims that an acceptance of the 'autonomous' model of literacy translates into imposing western conceptions of literacy onto other cultures. He argues that within the 'autonomous' model of literacy, cultural and ideological assumptions are embedded that can easily be represented as if they are neutral and universal. Within the 'autonomous' model literacy is promoted as a decontextualised and individual skill (compatible with the approach suggested by the NQF and ABET policies discussed above) that can be taught in a classroom. The 'autonomous' model suggests that individuals can easily transfer 'school literacy' from the domain of the classroom to the workplace.

Street (1984, 1996) provides an alternative model of literacy, namely the 'ideological' model of literacy. He argues that the ideological model offers a more culturally sensitive view of literacy practices as they vary from one context to the other. Literacy is seen as part of social practices rather than a range of neutral skills learned in formal schooling. Street (1984) argues that literacy as a technology is shaped and defined within a culture. Within the 'ideological' model of literacy, literacy is studied as it occurs in social life, taking note of the context and its different implications and meanings for different cultural groups. Street argues that the 'ideological' model suggests that literacy not only varies from one social context to another, but that its uses and meanings are always embedded in relations of power. The 'ideological' model allows researchers to investigate what constitute literacy among a certain group, what it means to them and from which social contexts reading and writing derive meaning. Street claims that 'school literacy' tends to define what counts as literacy and therefore those who 'lack' literacy are viewed as deficient and dysfunctional at a cognitive and social level. This notion

that Street is refuting through his polarisation of the 'autonomous' and the 'ideological' model of literacy is no different from the arguments made for the acquisition of literacy in the SAPS, ABET policy and the NQF.

Barton (1994) argues that everyone's literacy practices are situated within broader social relations. Insisting that the unit of analysis for the study of literacy in social practice should be an integral social unit, he suggests that researchers should study 'literacy events' which are seen as any interaction that is mediated by written text. Barton and Hamilton (2000) suggest that there are different literacies associated with different domains of life like the workplace, school and home. Therefore it is necessary to describe the social setting of literacy events and the power relations that exist in these settings. Gee (1990) supports Barton and Hamilton's argument by claiming that traditional notions of literacy do not recognise any social context and treat literacy as an autonomous, asocial cognitive skill that has little or no bearing on human relationships. Gee further argues that traditional views of literacy do not expose political power, social identity and ideologies, but tend to treat literacy as a given and neutral technology. Contrary to the 'literacy myth', nothing follows from literacy, but what needs to be researched is what comes with literacy, namely the attitudes, values, norms and beliefs that accompany it.

The New Literacy Studies and discourse theory

Although I agree with the NLS's theorisation of literacy I believe that it needs to be extended into discourse theory because I view all social practices (and therefore literacy) as embedded in discourses. In what follows I discuss the role of discourses in the theorisation of literacy and offer a further discussion concerning discourses in the section on developing a research question later in this chapter.

Wodak (1996:12) claims that:

the term 'discourse' integrates a range of meanings in its everyday and philosophical uses, which sometimes seem to contradict or exclude one another.

I have become aware of the contradictory as well as overlapping theorisations of the term 'discourse' by various scholars. In what follows below, I attempt to outline some of the theories on discourse that I have drawn on in this research and especially the areas where they overlap with each other and with the NLS.

In the tradition initiated by Ferdinand de Saussure (1959) it was argued that any systematic study of language use whether in a written or spoken form, must be a study of the language system itself and not its 'use' (Fairclough, 1992:63). After sociolinguists critiqued the Saussurean tradition it was argued that language use is shaped socially and not individually. They asserted that variation in language use is:

systematic and amenable to scientific study, and that what makes it scientific is its correlation with social variables.

(Fairclough 1992).

Fairclough argues that although the new shift in theorising language use represented an advance on the Saussurean tradition it had two limitations. Firstly, it emphasised how language use varied according to social factors thus suggesting that individuals, social relations and situation (or context) exist independently of language use. It therefore precluded the possibility of language use contributing to the constitution, reproduction and change of social variables. Secondly, Fairclough (1992:63) argues that the social variables which are seen as correlating with linguistic variables in this tradition, are relatively surface features of social situations of language use. No case was made for the properties of language use being determined by the social structure including such factors as social relations between classes and other groups and ways in which this may contribute to reproducing and transforming it.

Fairclough (1992:62) working within a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) paradigm argues that he uses the term 'discourse' to refer to spoken or written language use. He provides the following definition of the term 'discourse':

In using the term 'discourse', I am proposing to regard language use as a form of social practice, rather than a purely individual activity or a reflex of situational variables.

Wodak (1996:15) also working within a CDA paradigm provides the following definition of the term 'discourse':

critical discourse analysis sees discourse - the use of language and writing - as a form of 'social practice'.

The definitions of the term 'discourse' of both Fairclough and Wodak display commonality with the NLS's theorisation of literacy, namely that literacy forms part of social practice.

Fairclough suggests that his definition of the term 'discourse' has various implications. Firstly, it implies that discourse is a mode of action in which people may act upon the world and upon each other, as well as a mode of representation. His argument and therefore CDA's 'take' on discourse showed a shift from the arguments proposed by discourse theorists who critiqued the Saussurean school of thought mentioned above. These moves are similar to, and influenced by the work of Hymes (1964) in developing a socio-linguistic perspective on language. Secondly, Fairclough argues that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure which implies that a dialectical relationship exists between social practice (which includes literacy practices as argued before) and social structure. He suggests that the social structure is both a condition for, and effect of, the social practice. Discourse and therefore literacy practices as embedded in discourse are shaped and constrained by social structure at all levels which include class, social relations at societal level as well as the specific nature of institutions such as law and policing.

Fairclough (1992:64) asserts that discourse is socially constitutive, meaning that it contributes to the constitution of all those dimensions of social structure which directly or indirectly shape and constrain it. Therefore Fairclough argues that 'discourse is a practice not just of representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning'. He further argues that the constructive effects of discourse include firstly the construction of social identities of individuals, secondly the construction of social relationships between people and thirdly the construction of systems of knowledge and belief in society. The three constructive effects of discourse correspond in turn to three functions of language and dimensions of meaning which coexist and interact in all discourse. Fairclough (1992:64) calls these three functions the 'identity', 'relational', and 'ideational' functions of language. The identity function relates to the way social identities are constructed in discourses, the relational function to how social relationships between discourse participants are enacted and negotiated and the ideational function to ways in which texts signify the world and its processes, entities and relations.

Fairclough's take on discourse shows considerable overlap with Gee's theorisation of discourse within the NLS paradigm. Gee (1990:143) views discourse as:

a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network' or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful 'role'.

Gee like Fairclough and the CDA school of thought, suggests that discourses are always social therefore all literacy practices are integrated with and relative to social practices. Prinsloo and Breier (1996:22) claim that Gee takes discourse to mean 'the social' as opposed to the 'natural'. Although his definition of the term 'discourse' is much broader than that of Fairclough's, the identity, relational and the ideational function of discourse as suggested by Fairclough is embedded in Gee's theorisation of discourse.

Gee claims that there is no correct reading of a text, just different readings relative to different attitudes, values and ways of thinking, occurring within a particular discourse overlap with Fairclough's arguments on the way individuals interpret texts relative to discourses. Fairclough (1992:79) suggests that texts are consumed or interpreted differently in different social contexts due to the resources discourses make available to their members. As Lee (1992:50) argues, if we consider the enormous complexity of social structures within which a particular language (or a literacy practice as I would argue) operates, the discrepancies between individuals in terms of their access to the various social functions, the power differences between individuals in a range of social contexts, as well as the fact that all contexts are associated with different ways of speaking (and writing), one is inevitably led to focus on the heterogeneity of language use and literacy practices in various social contexts. Therefore the argument can be made that police officers sent to ABET classes consume or interpret texts differently in the classroom than in the workplace, due to the different nature of the social context and the resources they draw on.

Gee (1990) argues that all literacy activities occur within particular discourses after one has been initiated into the discourse through a process of *acquisition* and not through a process of *learning* or overt instruction. Prinsloo and Breier (1996:22)

commenting on Gee's arguments on literacy and its embeddedness in discourse, suggest that there can be no literacy learning without the accompanying acquisition of a discourse.

Gee (1990:146) argues that discourses are acquired and not learnt. He draws a distinction between the processes of *acquisition* and *learning*. To Gee *acquisition* and *learning* are two very distinct processes occurring within discourses. *Acquisition* is the process of acquiring something informally or subconsciously by exposure to models and practice within social groups (discourse communities) without formal teaching. *Learning* however is a process that involves conscious knowledge gained through teaching, but not necessarily by a teacher. *Learning* Gee argues, can lead to meta-level cognitive skills to critique other discourses. Gee (1990:146) therefore claims that discourses are mastered through *acquisition* and not *learning*. Discourses he suggests are never mastered through overt instruction, but through enculturation (apprenticeship) into social practices. Therefore literacy practices forming part of social practices are acquired through scaffolded and supported interaction with people who have already mastered the discourse and its associated literacy practices. Gee (1990:147) asserts that if you have no access to the social practice and therefore the literacy practices of the discourse, you will not acquire the discourse. Therefore someone cannot engage in a discourse and its associated literacy practices unless full fluency has been achieved in the discourse. Gee argues that we all read and write within discourses and never outside them. Therefore there is no literacy learning without the accompanying acquisition of a discourse.

Gee, like Fairclough, argues that discourses are also concerned with a display of identities. If you have not acquired a discourse fully you can be seen as a 'pretender' or a 'beginner'. Gee (1990:155) maintains that you cannot be allowed into a discourse and expected to function within it after you have missed the process of apprenticeship. If you have only partial control over a discourse, you are not a member of the discourse but an apprentice, an 'outsider' or a 'pretender'. Gee further argues that a given discourse could reserve a 'colonised' role for an individual, i.e. an individual internalised by the discourse as a subordinate. He claims that 'colonised' individuals control the discourse just enough to keep indicating that others in the discourse are their superiors in the discourse and to become more complicit with their own subordination. This will become clearer when

I discuss the literacy events in Chapter Four. Therefore Gee (1990:155) suggests that a discourse can label a person as an 'insider', 'colonised' or as an 'outsider'.

I have also drawn on Foucault's approach to discourse analysis although it differs from CDA's and Gee's approach to discourse analysis both of which are textually-oriented discourse theory. Foucault's work on discourse makes an important contribution to a social theory of discourse. He is particularly interested in how discourses are produced, maintained and circulated in relation to social institutions like prisons, hospitals and schools. Foucault's theorisation of discourse suggests that social institutions 'fix' what counts as normal, natural and deviant – such 'fixing' is social and cultural, but historically changing. His theorisation of discourse is important in such areas as the relationship of discourse and power, the discursive construction of social subjects and knowledge, and the functioning of discourse in social change as this is one of the concerns of this research (Fairclough, 1992:38). According to Foucault discursive practices may help produce or reproduce unequal power relations through the ways in which they represent things and people. Foucault's argument has considerable overlap with Gee in that a discourse can label you as an 'insider', 'colonised' or as an 'outsider'. Gee asserts that 'functional literacy' is another term for the literacy of the 'colonised' and is demonstrated in the identity Fivaz assigns the 30 000 police officers as 'functionally illiterate'.

According to Gee unequal power relations present themselves through the 'tension' or 'conflict' that can occur between discourses and within individuals while they are engaging in certain discourse practices. He argues that when 'tension' or 'conflict' exists between two discourses an individual is situated by, it can deter the acquisition of one or the other or both of the conflicting discourses. This is particularly true when considering that within an organisation like Phatisanani police station or an institution like the SAPS, where different discourses exist and interact with each other, conflict can occur between discursive practices of different discourses to which police officers belong. Foucault refers to the totality of discursive practices within an organisation, society or institution, and the relationship between them as 'orders of discourse' (Fairclough, 1992:43). However Wodak (1996:9) extends Foucault's notion of 'orders of discourse' and claims that although most cultural approaches to organisations start with the concepts of shared meaning and sense making, they generally disregard or fail to take into account adequately the conflicts occurring inside these organisations. Instead Wodak

suggests that the everyday life of institutions and their totality of discursive practices are characterised by conflicts, by 'disorders of discourse'. Wodak's (1996) arguments on 'disorders of discourse' overlap with Gee's notion of 'tension' and 'conflict' between discourses. I drew on both their arguments in my analysis of how 'conflict' between discourses leads to 'disorder' within the workplace of police officers because they do not share the same meanings associated with policing and its literacy practices.

Wodak (1996:26) suggests that Foucault claims that one of the most important techniques through which power operates is through 'discipline'. Discipline divorces the individual from the masses and subjects him or her to procedures of normalisation. Thus Foucault argues that discipline is intended to produce conforming people. Through discipline visible power becomes invisible.

Goodwin (1996:6) drawing on Foucault's theories of governmentality suggests that power operates at multiple points in the social network. Goodwin (1996:66) explains Foucault's notion of government as a 'certain way of striving to reach social and political ends by acting in a calculated manner upon the forces, the activities and relations of the individuals that constitute a population'. One of the key features of this expression of power is the notion of management. Thus Goodwin suggests that the process of management to achieve desired goals is central to the notion of governmentality, and one attempt to achieve control over police officers in the SAPS is through the bureaucratic procedures that involve literacy practices that police officers have to complete.

The notion of governmentality can give insights into the way literacy is used in the SAPS as a means of discipline and control. Management of the population and of police officers for that matter is central to the task of government. Continuous surveillance is a means of control and in the SAPS and at Phatisanani police station, this happens through the many forms and notebooks police officers have to complete.

The notion of governmentality can be supplemented with Foucault's theories on the Panopticon. Goodwin (1996:66) suggest that the notion of governmentality entails the notion of continuous surveillance. Foucault used the metaphor of the Panopticon from a prison design by Bentham that allowed for the continuous

surveillance of prisoners by the prison authorities. The Panopticon is a powerful metaphor for control by scrutiny; and for internalisation and normalisation of control mechanisms. The Panopticon requires the constant visibility or availability for scrutiny of the prisoner. Goodwin (1996:67) argues that although the surveillance of the prisoners by the prison authorities becomes a reality through the Panopticon, the prisoners start to develop attitudes of self-surveillance and the acceptance of the 'naturalness' of self-surveillance. The Panopticon thus induces a state of consciousness that assures the permanent, invisible and automatic functioning of power. Goodwin claims that eventually the external application of surveillance becomes unnecessary as the individual 'inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection'. Surveillance thus becomes a means of self-control or self-discipline. When the theories of Foucault are applied to the bureaucratic procedures that include literacy practices of police officers in the SAPS and at Phatisanani police station, the Panoptic quality of literacy becomes obvious. I discuss the Panoptic quality of literacy further in Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

Developing a research question

Discursive shifts and shifts in questions

My initial research question was very broad. The rationale for this was to develop an understanding of the scope and nature of researching literacy in the SAPS-a field that has never been adequately researched. Furthermore it was necessary to ascertain if it was the lack of literacy as a technical skill as proposed by the 'autonomous' model that was responsible for the SAPS's inability to make the shift from a **police force to a police service**.

My initial research question was as follows:

"What are the literacy practices of police personnel in a police station on the Cape Flats?"

The initial data gathering proved that the research question was too broad. This was due to the very nature of workplace ethnography, namely that of 'making strange' of taken for granted phenomenon or discursive practices (like the literacy practices of police officers) in the workplace and problematising the context of the

workplace (Sarangi and Roberts, 1999:27). In locating the literacy practices of police officers within discourses as I proposed in the theoretical section above, I realised that it was necessary to make the distinction between institutional and professional discourses. Sarangi and Roberts (1999:15) suggest that institutional discourse is seen as those features that are authoritatively legitimized by a set of formal rules and regulations governing an institution – these would include the bureaucratic procedures that include the everyday literacy practices of police officers in any police station in South Africa. Professional discourse can be seen as those everyday practices which professionals routinely engage in to accomplish their responsibilities and duties. I prefer to view professional discourse as the recontextualisation of institutional discourse and its associated bureaucratic procedures within situated contexts or workplaces.

Sarangi and Roberts (1999:16) claim that professional and institutional discourses share ways of constructing truth out of rhetoric and of developing rituals which both create and legitimate the practices of the profession and the institution. I suggest that the sharing of ways of constructing truth out of rhetoric can only occur if professional and institutional discourses do not conflict with each other. I further suggest that if however professional and institutional discourses do conflict with each other the conflict will lead to 'disorder of discourses' as suggested by Wodak.

I realised that to understand the context of Phatisanani police station where this research was conducted, and how professional discourse in South African policing had shifted and had been constructed in pre- and post- apartheid years required locating policing within its historical framework. As Wodak (1996:22) suggests, that context, and therefore the context of Phatisanani police station and the station's literacy practices, is constructed and created through discourses.

Furthermore identifying the institutional discourses shaping policing in pre- and post-apartheid years was particularly important because of the rapid social and political changes South Africa experienced after the 1994 democratic elections and the effect these had on the very nature of South African policing. Sarangi and Roberts (1999) drawing on the arguments of Cicourel (1985) argue that an ethnographer is involved in a variety of contexts which are embedded one within another – including the wider historical processes shaping institutional contexts:

Research based on data sources that are limited to single utterances, or conversational or discourse materials that are not ethnographically contextualised, or fragments of written texts do not clarify the interacting between schematized and locally produced knowledge.

(Cicourel, 1985:182-183)

In Chapter Two I discuss the shifts in institutional discourses and the effects they had on the professional discourses of police officers and policing over four historical periods, namely the union years (1910-1947), the apartheid years (1948-1990); the years when De Klerk was president (1990-1994)² and the post-apartheid years (1994-present) so as to pinpoint exactly what was constructing the gap between past and present literacy practices. Furthermore by tracking the discursive shifts in policing over these four periods I hoped to 'illuminate' the present situation in policing in South Africa and the effect it had on shaping the profession of policing as well as the literacy practices of police officers at Phatisanani police station. I discuss Phatisanani police station and the effect the shift in institutional discourses had on the literacy practices of police officers in greater detail in Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

Tracking the discursive shifts was also important for this research so as to demonstrate the ability of texts to transform prior texts and in doing so restructure existing discourses to generate new texts. Fairclough (1992:102) refers to the ability of texts to transform prior texts as intertextuality.

I therefore reformulated my research question to:

“What constructs the gap between past and present literacy practices of police personnel at Phatisanani police station?”

I also started to formulate the following sub-questions:

- what discourses shape literacy in the site?
- what and how are literacy and functional literacy defined and constructed in the South African Police Service and in the site?

² I refer to this period as the interregnum.

Locating the literacy practices of police officers within discourses over the four historical periods in South African policing proved to be problematic because there was little historical or theoretical work on policing in South Africa – the institution of policing was always a closed and secretive institution that was never open to public scrutiny. I battled to obtain any official documentation and had to rely mostly on secondary sources. Drawing on the works of Cawthra (1993), Van der Spuy (1989) and Schärf (1999) I documented the different discourses that were shaping policing in the past and at present. However these works did not relate directly to literacy and literacy practices within South Africa's police force. In a conversation with Professor Schärf from the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cape Town in which I related my difficulty in obtaining literature on literacy practices within the SAP or SAPS his comment captured my predicament: "You are entering uncharted waters, I know how it feels". I discuss the problems I encountered while conducting the research further in the data analysis section below.

Gaining access to a police station

Adopting an ethnographic approach which required detailed observations of the literacy practices of police officers within the context of their workplace, proved to be problematic from the beginning to the end. This was mainly because of two reasons which I discuss below.

Negotiating access to Phatisanani police station

As stated before the institution of policing was always a closed and secretive institution that was never open to public scrutiny. This would be an issue that plagued the research continuously. It took almost three months to obtain permission to conduct the research from the Western Cape's police commissioner Zelda Holtzman.

In the process of negotiating access to a police station I was asked to supply the commissioner's office with the names of four possible police stations in which I would like to conduct the research. I suggested four police stations that were in close proximity to my home. I was informed that out of the four police stations I was to be given access to two. In place of the other two the commissioner requested that I should conduct the research in two other police stations that were situated in Cape Town's townships of which Phatisanani was one. When I enquired the reason

for this, the commissioner's personal assistant jokingly said: "Jy weet dis mos hoe die polisie werk...jy kry nooit waarvoor jy vra nie³". He further said that the police stations in Cape Town's townships "are giving us many problems because of the low levels of literacy and lack of qualifications amongst police officers". After several visits to the four designated police stations I decided to conduct the research in Phatisanani police station. Many of the senior police officers at Phatisanani police station felt that the inability of police officers to shift from policing as a force to policing as a service was due to the lack of literacy skills amongst police officers. At the other three police stations literacy was not seen as a problem amongst police officers.

Misunderstanding the scope of the research

The police commissioner's office misunderstood the scope and nature of the research. Literacy within the SAPS's structures was viewed within Street's (1995) autonomous model of literacy and it was believed that traditional literacy teaching within a schooling context would be the most effective means of addressing the literacy problem in the SAPS. Therefore the ethnographic approach I adopted must have seemed to be unnecessary and time consuming – the commissioner's office was under the impression that I could conduct the research by visiting the station only once! I found myself explaining the nature of the research on more than one occasion to the officers at the commissioner's office and police officers at Phatisanani police station.

Methodology and data gathering

From researcher to teacher to being a spy

When I eventually gained access to Phatisanani police station and first visited the station it was obvious from the perspective of the Community Service Centre (CSC) commander, that "the biggest problems concerning reading and writing were in the Community Service Centre". It was in the CSC that I decided that I could witness whether literacy played a role in the shift from a police force to a police service.

The CSC was also the area of the police station where the domain of work of police officers and the domain of the public overlapped. It was at the interface between

³ You know how the police works – you never get what you ask for.

the public and the police officers. I discuss the CSC and Phatisanani police station in the next chapter.

It became very clear that the management never informed the majority of the officers working in the CSC of my research. Those officers who were informed of my research constructed my identity as 'oh, this is the man who is going to teach us to read and write'. Others, however, felt that I was coming to 'spy on them' and submit a report on their work performance to the provincial commissioner of police. Despite all my efforts at diplomacy the 'spy' stigma remained. On many occasions police officers would peep over my shoulder to see whether I was writing a report on their work performance for the provincial commissioner. This would eventually become one of the major 'stumbling blocks' of the research.

There were four shifts at the station and each police officer was assigned to a shift. A shift would be on day duty for four days after which the shift would go off duty for four days. After the four days off duty had elapsed a shift would come on night duty for four nights after which the shift would go off duty for four days. The system would then repeat itself. Day duty started at six o' clock in the morning and ended at four o'clock in the afternoon after which a different shift would come on night duty. Night duty started at four o'clock in the afternoon and ended at six o' clock in the morning after which a different shift would come on day duty. I decided to gather my data by staying with one shift and due to the shift system, I had to organise my data-gathering to fit with the shift system. I also decided to stay with one shift so that police officers could become acquainted with me and not construct me as a spy.

At one stage of the research I discovered that some literacy events occurred outside the CSC at the scene of a crime. These literacy events involved police officers who were patrolling the area. I therefore thought it would be a good idea to accompany police officers on patrol so as to record the literacy events taking place outside the CSC. However the SAPS's provincial office felt that 'it would be too dangerous' for me. Although the University of Cape Town and I made it quite clear that we would not hold the SAPS responsible for any bodily harm resulting from my research, permission was denied. The reason for the refusal was embedded in the discourses that were shaping policing practices on the ground. These discourses are discussed in greater detail in Chapters Three and Four. I was thus confined to

the CSC where I conducted all my observations on the literacy practices of police officers. Phatisanani police station and its CSC are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two.

Because I employed ethnographic methods to collect data I followed the principle of 'reflexive theorising' in making meaning of the data. I found Barton's (2000) model for collecting data on the literacy practices of police officers very useful, namely:

- identifying domains where literacy practices were taking place and in the case of this research it would be the domain of work of police officers;
- observing the physical environment;
- identifying particular literacy events and documenting them;
- identifying texts and practices around these events; and
- interviewing people, police officers in this case, about practices and sense making, although this proved to be very difficult at times.

I eventually gathered data on the literacy practices of police officers in the form of tape-recorded conversations and interviews (this happened only where police officers allowed me to record their conversations with me), documenting police officers' views and comments from memory (this happened where police officers did not allow me to record their conversations with me) and three literacy events which I discuss in greater detail in Chapter Four.

Reflections on data gathering

Being located in between the CSC and my car

As was stated before, management at the station failed to inform most of the police officers of my research. I found myself introducing myself and explaining the nature and scope of my research on a continuous basis to officers in the CSC. Neither the provincial offices of the SAPS and the management of the station knew the nature and scope of my research and conceptualised literacy within the 'autonomous' model.

Many officers did not trust me and saw me as a 'spy' working for the provincial commissioner of police coming to spy and write a report on their work performance. I had to gain the confidence of the officers which in itself was a difficult undertaking. I still believe I have not been very successful in doing this because of the powerful

discourses prevalent in the station and those shaping the institution of policing in South Africa. When I spoke to police officers and they either saw me writing or audio-recording their comments, they refused to speak or answer my questions. Therefore I could not conduct structured interviews, but interviews with the rank-and-file police officers and some detectives had to take the form of casual conversations in which I asked my questions very diplomatically. I had to remember the comments and answers of police officers and detectives by relying on my memory skills. Time and time again I found myself recalling their comments and recording them on paper in my car that was parked in the police station's parking area away from their watchful eyes. All of this made data gathering time consuming and extremely frustrating. I eventually managed to complete the data gathering after six months.

Using language mediators

I am fluent in both English and Afrikaans, but not in isiXhosa. Most officers working in the CSC were Xhosa speaking. I had to rely on those officers whose confidence and trust I gained to interpret conversations taking place in isiXhosa. This however did not prove to be much of a problem. The one factor that did prove to be very problematic was the fact that many officers had varying opinions on what Barton and Hamilton (2000:9) call the 'formal procedures and expectations of social institutions' or what I prefer to call the bureaucratic procedures that police officers must follow which include their literacy practices. This is discussed in greater detail in later chapters of this research.

Data analysis and limitations of the research

'Making strange' the taken for granted literacy practices

As stated before I recorded three literacy events which formed the focus of my data analysis. In analysing the literacy events I do not do a detailed linguistic analysis, but do refer to shifts between modes of communication, code switching, literacy mediation and the use of space at Phatisanani police station.

Analysing the literacy events, I attempted to integrate the theories of the NLS with discourse theories mentioned earlier in this chapter. I located the literacy events within the discourses and discursive shifts identified in Chapter Two so as to indicate what factors construct the gap between past and present literacy practices

of police officers. Furthermore, I located the police officers and their discursive practices in the literacy events within specific discourse communities – either ‘insiders’ or ‘outsiders’ as identified in Chapter Two in order to reveal the discourse conflicts and ‘disorder of discourses’ at the station; and then finally linking them to the theories of the NLS.

Protecting names and identities

In the data presented in this research I have renamed the police station to Phatisanani police station and have replaced the real names of police officers with pseudonyms for confidentiality purposes.

Employing the terms Black, Coloured, Indian and White

The nature and history of South African policing prior to the 1994 democratic elections were shaped by the ideology and discourses of apartheid. This made it unavoidable to work with the terms Black, Coloured, Indian and White. I have made use of these terms without any racist intention.

The term Black refers to people of Nguni- and Sotho-speaking origin; Coloured refers to people of mixed race; Indian to people of Indian origin; and White to people of European origin.

The term non-White refers to Black, Coloured and Indian people; and the term non-Black refers to Coloured, Indian and White people.

Limitations of the research

In this research I have made the case for the study of literacy practices within the social contexts in which they occur. I have suggested that the study of literacy practices requires the ‘making strange’ of taken for granted phenomena, like the literacy practices of police officers in the workplace. I have also argued for problematising the context of the workplace of police officers, Phatisanani police station.

The nature of ethnographic research and therefore participant observation rely upon the particular theoretical interpretations and conclusions of a single individual, and is specific to a particular place and time. Haralambos and Holborn (1995:847) argue that it is quite possible that a different researcher would have reached quite different

conclusions. Moreover the data that I collected and present here is unavoidably part of a selective method of data collection. The observer selects what to record and what to omit, therefore imposing a framework upon the data in the process of analysing and interpreting them (Haralambos and Holborn, 1995:847).

The conclusions that I have reached in this research apply to the specific group, the police officers at Phatisanani police station, that I have observed and therefore broad generalisations cannot be made on the basis of my conclusions. However, the extent to which my data illustrates and illuminates particular theoretical relations, as discussed in this study, is of general interest and value.

The structure of this research

Chapter Two

In this chapter I trace the shifts in institutional discourses in the SAP over four historical periods till after the 1994 democratic elections in South Africa. I discuss the nature of these institutional discourses and the effects they had on the professional discourses of police officers. I suggest that there exists conflict between contemporary institutional discourses in the SAPS and the professional discourses of police officers at present which were shaped by dominant institutional discourses in the SAP. I further argue that the conflict between contemporary institutional discourses and the professional discourses of police officers is causing 'disorder of discourses' (Wodak, 1996) within the SAPS.

Chapter Three

In this chapter I discuss the context of Phatisanani police station in relation to how space is organised in the station and what can be inferred from this in terms of the literacy practices of police officers. Furthermore I discuss the institutional discourses identified in Chapter Two and their implications for the identity of police officers at Phatisanani police station. I suggest in this chapter that there exists a gap between the identities of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' at Phatisanani police station in relation to the bureaucratic procedures which include the literacy practices of police officers.

Drawing on the arguments of Foucault (1977), I suggest that 'insiders' have inscribed the naturalness of self-surveillance through the acquisition of the

bureaucratic procedures of policing, allowing for the Panopticon to exercise its invisible power of control and discipline.

Chapter Four

In this chapter I present and analyse three literacy events so as to elaborate on the gap between past and present literacy practices at Phatisanani police station. I suggest that there exists a gap between the identities and roles of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in the everyday literacy practices of policing. I argue that this gap exists due to the manner in which 'insiders' and 'outsiders' were initiated into the SAP and the expectations the dominant institutional discourse had for these two groups. I also argue that the gap between past and present literacy practices at Phatisanani police station is embedded in the various ways bureaucratic practices have been recontextualised across various sites of practice prior to 1994.

Chapter Five

In this chapter I provide a summary of my findings and how they confirm the theories of the NLS. I also provide suggestions for the focus of future research into literacy practices in the SAPS. I reflect on the research methods and theories I employed as well as their limitations.

Chapter Two

Discursive shifts in South African policing

Introduction

According to Gunnarson et al. (1997) the role of discourse within the construction and reconstruction of the professions cannot be denied. The construction of professional discourse and professional practices extends over a period of time and is made manifest only under historically situated, concrete circumstances. Understanding how professional discourse within South African policing has shifted and been constructed in pre- and post- apartheid years, requires us to view policing within its historical framework. As was argued in Chapter One, literacy practices are embedded in discourses and therefore it is important to locate the discourses that have shaped literacy practices in the SAP and those that are shaping literacy practices currently in the SAPS.

Brogden (1989:1) argues that the history of the South African police will always remain inadequately documented. He notes that although colonial and republican governments have left official accounts and records, they tell a story from above. Brogden (1989:2) claims that due to minority rule and the monopoly on literacy and coercion, an SAP history 'from below' is rarely permitted. The partial record keeping, as noted by Brogden (1989), makes any attempt at reconstructing the origins of the SAP tentative at best.

Although the pre-1994 South African state which was founded on practices of racial and class oppression did not encourage open access, I attempt in what follows below, to give an historical account of South African policing in this chapter. In doing so I intend to capture the discursive shifts experienced by the institution of policing in South Africa across four periods in its history, namely the union years (1910-1947), the apartheid years (1948-1990); the years when F.W. de Klerk was president (1990-1994) and the post-apartheid years (1994-present).

I identify four institutional discourses characteristic of these four historical periods, namely 'the frontier', 'the Volk', 'the emerging human rights' and 'the human rights' institutional discourses respectively. By tracking the discursive shifts in policing over these four periods I hope to 'illuminate' how these institutional discourses:

- have shaped and are shaping the face of policing in South Africa;
- conflict with each other at present;
- were either compatible or conflicted with the professional discourses of police officers, and
- are the cause for the 'disorder of discourses' within the institution of policing at present.

Furthermore I will attempt to demonstrate how police officers are drawing on the discourses of these four periods to make sense of the everyday discursive practices (which include literacy practices) that they and their fellow colleagues are engaged in.

I suggest in this chapter that due to shifts in institutional discourses many police officers have become 'trapped' in past professional discourses and identities. The shaping of the professional identities of police officers through past discourses has led to conflict in relation to contemporary and professional discourses. The conflict between professional policing discourses has resulted in causing the 'disorder of discourses'. Lastly I argue that police officers have been 'colonised' as Gee (1990) would suggest, by contemporary institutional discourses that have gained dominance at the level of the state in South Africa.

The union years (1910-1948)

The appropriation of institutional discourse of 'the frontier'

The SAP was established after the Act of Union of 1910 was passed. The formation of the SAP united former adversaries in the Anglo Boer War, namely Boer (Afrikaner) and British settlers. The unification of these opposing groups against the indigenous people was achieved through the dominance of a strong frontier discourse, which existed amongst Boer and British settlers prior to the Act of Union.

Most of the forces, which preceded the SAP, were military in nature. In the British colonies of the Cape and Natal, the Cape Mounted Police and the Natal Mounted Rifles respectively, were engaged in the conquest and subjugation of the Black

population (Cawthra, 1993:8). Van der Spuy (1989:264) quoting Steenkamp notes that in those days the clear modern distinction between police and soldiers did not exist. She claims that official thinking on the organisational structure of the SAP was strongly influenced by the tradition of 'policeman-cum-soldier' at the time due to the dominance of the institutional discourse of 'the frontier'. The tradition of 'policeman-cum-soldier' was clearly demonstrated when, during World War One, SAP members were conscripted for the South African invasion of German South West Africa in support of the British Empire's war effort. The same tradition was demonstrated during World War Two when a small group of policemen volunteered to serve abroad in Britain's wartime effort against fascism.

Cawthra (1993:8) argues that the SAP formed after 1910 retained many of the characteristics of a colonial military force. He claims the police were essentially an 'internal army of occupation' during the union years and worked closely with the newly established Union Defence Force whose duties were also primarily the maintenance of internal security. The dominance of the institutional discourse of 'the frontier' in shaping the institution of policing and the professional discourse of police officers at the time was clearly demonstrated in Section 5 of Act No. 7 of the South African Police Act of 1958 also known as the 'principal Act' which stated that:

The functions of the South African Police shall be, *inter alia*-

- (a) the preservation of the internal security of the Union;
- (b) the maintenance of law and order;
- (c) the investigation of any offence or alleged offence; and
- (d) the prevention of crime.

The Union's obsession with the preservation of internal security led to the establishment of a separate frontier unit of the SAP, the South African Mounted Riflemen with the primary function of patrolling the most densely populated Black rural areas in the event of mass resistance until 1920.

Initiation of police officers into the SAP

The police force was at the onset one-fifth Black. Blacks were incorporated into separate police units under White command before the establishment of the SAP. Although Blacks were incorporated, they could only be promoted to the rank of sergeant. Most of the White recruits were drawn from the impoverished Afrikaner rural communities. White Afrikaners' recruitment into lower ranks outnumbered that

of White English speakers who were previously members of the British armed forces (Cawthra, 1993:9). After 1927, ninety percent of the annual White intake in the SAP was Afrikaners although English-speaking Whites still dominated the government.

The institutional discourse of 'the frontier' allowed for the replication of the relationship between 'White master' and 'Black slave' within the SAP. Cawthra (1993:11) claims that Black policemen were treated worse than their White counterparts and were instructed to 'leave the European population alone'. Van der Spuy (1989:271) argues that the racially defined society of the Union had implications not only for the external tasks of the SAP, but also for the internal organisation of the force. Discrimination was embedded in such basic matters as recruitment, training, occupational duties, pay scales, leave, uniforms and the issuing of armaments.

Different criteria were applied for the recruitment of Blacks and Whites. In the case of Black policemen, no educational qualifications were necessary and recruits were described as 'uneducated and illiterate' (ibid, 1989:272). Within the SAP they received no systematic training. The dominance of the institutional discourse of 'the frontier' meant that Black policemen were kept in the lower rungs of the SAP and the institutional discourse of 'the frontier' was further sustained by a racially stratified society.

The dominance of 'the frontier' discourse in shaping policing at an institutional level meant new recruits whether Black or White were initiated into the SAP through training programmes that had a strong emphasis on military-styled discipline. Both Black and White officers chafed against the militaristic-styled discipline they were subjected to, their poor pay and working conditions (Cawthra, 1993:10). During the union years, Black and White police officers complained of long working hours, low morale, the negative image the White public held of them and the open resentment of Blacks. These grievances have persisted throughout the SAP's history.

The frontier shifts to the interior of the Union

The White union of South Africa was characterised by internal conflicts between Boer and Briton, Black and White and capitalist and worker. Cawthra (1993) notes that the SAP became an instrument of the government, which was dominated by British capitalist interests. Van der Spuy (1989:268) argues that by 1920 the emergence of an urban proletariat meant that the frontier had shifted 'to within'. In 1922, the SAP

supported by the army was called in to put down a White workers' strike, which rapidly turned into an armed insurrection (Cawthra, 1993:9).

The 'wars of dispossession' that took place on the Union's frontiers were over and the SAP's focus shifted to that of urban disorder. For urban pacification a force with a strong paramilitary character was required. To this end a dual policing system for Black and White population groups emerged in the SAP. In the Cape and Natal colonies, efforts were made to model policing on the London Metropolitan force based on the 'bobby on the beat system' (Cawthra, 1993). However, the municipal model was applied almost exclusively to the White population who mainly inhabited separate residential areas. Cawthra (1993:8) argues therefore that a dual model of policing emerged, that of Blacks being subjected to repressive, militarised policing and Whites to a less repressive system.

Policing in the burgeoning Black urban areas followed the frontier tradition rather than the metropolitan model (Cawthra, 1993:9). The SAP became involved in mounted raids on what was seen as 'enemy territory' to demonstrate their power, enforce regulations and suppress any form of resistance. A host of colonial-styled laws regulated the lives of Black South Africans and were aimed at forcing them into the wage economy so as to provide revenue for the state. Police officers were expected to enforce these oppressive laws.

By the late 1920s resistance hardened and policing in Black urban areas took an increasingly political turn. The Commissioner of Police, Colonel I.P. de Villiers blamed the increase in resistance to White minority rule as a result of 'propaganda by communist agents' (Cawthra, 1993:10). The SAP started to request for greater powers of surveillance and repression, knowing that the Communist Party was expanding its base in the White working class to include the struggle for Black rights (Cawthra, 1993:10). This was seen as a threat to the state. A 'special branch', established from the SAP's Detective Branch, was set up at police headquarters in Pretoria to counter those whom the Commissioner of Police labelled as 'communist and other agitators, unscrupulous persons who issued propaganda to ignorant and peaceable natives' (Cawthra, 1993:10). This 'special branch' was the forerunner of the Security Branch, which was to play a pivotal role in suppressing Black resistance with the institutionalisation of apartheid in the second half of the twentieth century.

Permeability between the institutional discourse of 'the frontier' and the professional discourse

I suggest that there existed considerable overlap and permeability between the institutional discourse of 'the frontier' and the professional discourse of police officers during this time due to common understandings of what the nature of policing should be at both state and within situated contexts like police stations. The permeability between the institutional and the professional discourse is embedded within what Pêcheux (1982) refers to as discursive formations - the meanings discourses assign to words and concepts. Pêcheux claims that discourse formations can be understood as the phenomenon where words change their meaning according to the positioning of individuals who use them within different discourses. Discourse formations I suggest are linked to Fairclough's argument that texts are consumed or interpreted differently in different social contexts due to the resources or meanings discourses make available to their members as well as to Gee's claims that there is no correct reading of a text, just different readings relative to particular discourses.

If we consider the Police Act of 1958 the discourse formations of 'the preservation of the internal security', 'the maintenance of law and order', 'the investigation of any offence or alleged offence', and 'the prevention of crime' within the institutional discourse of 'the frontier' and the professional discourse meant the preservation of a colonialist and oppressive government which promoted inequality, lack of human rights for all its citizens and a dual policing system with little emphasis on crime prevention. The permeability between the institutional discourse of 'the frontier' and the professional discourse involved police officers in discursive practices such as war, civil strife and enforcing repressive and racist laws like the pass laws¹ for Blacks (Cawthra, 1993:8-9). Therefore much of a police officer's time was spent on checking passes, tax receipts and enforcing restrictions like the liquor laws which prevented Blacks from drinking certain types of alcohol (Cawthra, 1993:9-10). For police officers this meant that they did not have access to the discursive practices associated with a traditional crime fighting policing system because it conflicted with the values of both the institutional discourse of 'the frontier' and professional discourse. During this time public complaints against the police increased for not combating crime and tension mounted as officers struggled to enforce the pass laws, liquor laws and taxation on the growing Black urban population.

¹ The pass laws were passed to control the movement of Blacks from their homelands to the urban areas.

These discursive practices undermined any efforts to develop and stabilise the SAP as an organisation with a traditional crime fighting function. Commissioners' reports during the 1920s and 1930s focused primarily on organisational problems in the SAP. Its first commissioner, T.G. Truter complained that 'a more complex system can hardly be imagined' because of the lack of uniform policy regarding the organisation and control of the police. In 1936, the Lansdown Commission, appointed to investigate the problems in the SAP concluded that:

relations between natives and police are marked by a suppressed hostility which excludes whole-hearted co-operation.... This is due partly to the odium incurred by the police in enforcing unpopular legislation, but is contributed to by the manner in which such enforcement is carried out and the general attitude of some individual policemen to the native population (Cawthra, 1993:11).

The compatibility of the institutional discourse of 'the frontier' with and its instances of permeability between the professional discourse of police officers provided them with the freedom to take on the role of the 'dispensers of punishment' for any Black person transgressing these laws without the proper court proceedings characteristic of a legitimate judicial and policing system. In cases where court proceedings were held, police officers often took on the role of prosecutors. The Lansdown Commission also criticised Black police for their 'tendency to consider arrest in itself as a punitive measure justifying the application to the arrested person of some measure of unnecessary force, if not assault'. Brogden and Shearing (1993:16) argue that all policing maintains order and that all policing may involve physical coercion, but what distinguished South African policing from most other policing is its oppressive nature, the order it promoted and the violence it employed. Although the Lansdown Commission criticised the behaviour of police officers during this period, their professional discursive practices were legitimised by the compatibility and permeability between the values of the institutional and professional discourses during this period.

The emergence of the institutional discourse of 'the Volk'

The outbreak of the Second World War traumatised the Afrikaner-dominated SAP who opposed the government's war against Germany. The majority of the policemen during this time were members of the Ossewa Brandwag, an Afrikaner organisation that supported the Nazis. Cawthra (1993:11) argues that support for the Brandwag amongst Afrikaners decreased after its wartime attempts at sabotage failed. The

National Party, disowning the Brandwag, increasingly became the voice of the Afrikaner people. The security section of the SAP, the 'special branch' started to play a prominent role in cracking down on the activities of the pro-German activists of the Ossewa Brandwag (Cawthra, 1993:11).

The Soviet's contribution to the defeat of Hitler and the increase in militancy amongst the Black urban working class allowed the Communist Party to extend its influence in the Black trade union movement. The period after World War Two also saw the ANC and PAC mobilising mass action to secure Black rights. In this political climate, the 'special branch' of before was transformed into the Security Branch. It was established to counter any form of mass resistance or threats to 'internal security'. Most of its members were drawn from the SAP's Detective Branch and were accustomed to operating covertly (Cawthra, 1993:12).

The state of affairs in the SAP and the resentment prevalent against Afrikaner policemen, gave rise to Afrikaner nationalist sentiment amongst lower-ranking White policemen. A distinct institutional discourse of 'the Volk' drawing on aspects of 'the frontier' institutional discourse, emerged and started to shape the professional discourse of police officers during the latter period of the Union years.

The apartheid years (1948-1990)

Interdiscursivity and intertextuality between the institutional discourses of 'the Volk' and 'the frontier'

The police force the National Party inherited when it came to power after the 1948 White election was already quasi-military and racially segregated due to the institutional discourse of 'the frontier'. Taking on the political role of combating any form of resistance or threat to the status quo became part of the professional discourse and professional identity of police officers. This was due to the compatibility with and permeability between the institutional discourses of 'the Volk' and 'the frontier'. Thus the stage was set for the close alliance between the apartheid state and the SAP as was the case in the Union years so as to enforce the restrictive and racially defined laws of the day. The apartheid government saw the SAP as its 'first line of defence' and due to this, strengthened the manpower of the force by fifty percent between 1952 and 1958 (Cawthra, 1993:12).

The National Party passed legislation, which strengthened the powers of the police and removed them from public scrutiny and accountability. Cawthra (1993:50) also suggests that this period was also characterised by Parliament exercising little control over the discursive practices of the SAP. No parliamentary committee was established to monitor the activities of the force and little information was made available to the members of Parliament. The ministers responsible for the SAP had themselves not been kept fully informed of the SAP's discursive practices.

The institutional discourse of 'the Volk' discourse spelled out the nature of the professional discourse of police officers in the SAP when in 1964 Section 5 of the Police Act 7 of 1958 was amended as follows:

3. Section *five* of the principal Act is hereby amended by the substitution in paragraph (a) for the word "Union" of the word "Republic".

The Police Act of 1958 was no different from the one passed during the Union years except for replacing the word 'Union' with that of 'Republic'. The discourse formations of 'the preservation of the internal security,' 'the maintenance of law and order', 'the investigation of any offence or alleged offence', and 'the prevention of crime' within the institutional discourses of 'the Volk' and 'the frontier' had similar if not the same meanings for police officers during this period. The permeability between these two institutional discourses demonstrated by the common understandings of discourse formations discussed above is also indicative of the intertextuality and interdiscursivity between these two discourses.

Bridging the gap between the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' and professional discourse

Cawthra (1993:13) argues that the nation that the police served consisted of Whites only. Brogden and Shearing (1993:45) argue that South African policework during the apartheid years was sustained and legitimised by a 'circular ideology' rooted in the Christian-Nationalist discourse of the 'Volk' or nation. I suggest that it is the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' that justified the professional discourse of police officers characterised by violence, and the criminalisation of Blacks (ibid, 1993:45). Not only did the characteristics of the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' serve to bridge the gap between the apartheid state and the White rank-and-file member of the SAP, but I suggest that it bridged the gap between institutional and professional discourses as well.

Bridging the gap between the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' and that of the professional discourse was also achieved through the training that police officers received before they entered a police station. During training White recruits were taught that policing is not an occupation but a sacred mission and a religious calling in life to ensure the continued survival of 'the Volk'. Brogden and Shearing argue that during the apartheid years White police recruits, through the institutional discourse of 'the Volk', were socialised into believing that the mission of the police was to guard over the 'lesser peoples' of South Africa whose resistance to what God had ordained needed to be broken. The Afrikaans Cultural Organisation (Akpól), established in 1955 in the SAP, promoted loyalty to the National Party and strengthened Afrikaner and Christian nationalism amongst White officers (Cawthra, 1993:12). Needless to say that non-Whites were excluded from Akpól whose motto was: "The trek² continues". Dippenaar (1988:246) commenting on the SAP's history notes:

The force was regarded as an important component of the nation which supplied its manpower and it was believed that policemen felt called upon to contribute, as individuals and as a unit, to the maintenance and expansion of the nation's common spiritual concerns.

Black South Africans were increasingly criminalised. Afrikaner nationalist criminologists argued that non-White cultural systems were undermined when exposed to the culture of the Whites (Cawthra, 1993:13). It was argued that integration of Whites and non-Whites led to crime and eventually that integration itself was a crime. The same logic was used in employing non-White officers. Apprenticing and integrating White and non-White officers in the same manner into the SAP was seen as being in conflict with the ideology of apartheid and the institutional discourse of 'the Volk'.

The values of the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' meant that different recruitment criteria were used for White and non-White police officers. Different educational levels were specified for Whites and non-Whites wanting to enter the SAP while a strong emphasis was placed on physical ability. Training for new recruits was racially segregated. Until 1992 there were four separate training colleges for each population group – Pretoria for Whites, Bishop Lavis near Cape Town for Coloureds,

² The trek refers to the movement of dissatisfied Afrikaans speaking Whites known as Afrikaners or Boers with British rule from the British controlled Cape Colony for the interior

Wentworth in Durban for Indians and Hammanskraal near Pretoria for Blacks. Researchers from the University of the Witwatersrand who visited the Pretoria college in 1991 and 1992 found that the 'training was dominated by a military approach', and that the college operated like a secondary school, 'with the students being tightly controlled in every aspect of their lives' (Cawthra, 1993:81).

The training, which took six months included courses in law, police science and administration, English and Afrikaans, firearms handling, extensive drilling and physical exercise. After completing their basic training all male SAP members were sent for six weeks to the counter-insurgency and anti-riot control training centres (ibid, 1993:81). I was told by an officer that after receiving counter-insurgency training 'you could easily become a soldier and patrol the border'. Therefore it can be argued that the policeman-cum-soldier of the Union years remained. The military nature of the training of new recruits was sustained, after recruits left the training colleges in police stations by what are called standing orders. Standing orders were a code of conduct for all police officers that ensured that the hierarchy and strict military discipline of the SAP were maintained.

The ideology of apartheid made it necessary for the government to employ more Black police because in theory each racial group would be responsible for its 'own' policing. Cawthra (1993:12) notes that for the first time some police stations in Black areas were managed by Black non-commissioned officers but under close White supervision.

Permeability between the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' and professional discourse

Considerable overlap and permeability existed between the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' and the professional discourse of police officers. Research conducted by the South African Institute of Race Relations in 1949 concluded that Black members of the SAP took on many of the key characteristics of the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' within the professional discourse:

African police, taking their cue from their European superiors, are especially inclined to assault Africans before and after arrest.

(Quoted in Brogden and Shearing, 1993:44)

regions of South Africa between 1834-1854.

The 1950s and the early 1960s saw an intensification of defiance campaigns amongst Black South Africans organised by the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan African Congress (PAC) against apartheid. The Sharpeville massacre of 21st March 1960 sparked off uprisings nationally and the government declared a State of Emergency. Within the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' and the professional discourse of police officers, the uprisings were viewed as a challenge to divine and legitimate authority by 'agitators' and 'intimidators' who instigated riots. Cawthra (1993) argues that the police saw the majority of Black South Africans as law-abiding citizens who accepted the legitimacy of the state, and its institutions. The SAP's view on the uprisings during the apartheid years was similar to their response during the union years. The institutional and the professional discourses shared discourse formations such as to label an uprising as a 'riot' and any anti-apartheid leader as a 'communist' or an 'agitator' or a 'communist'. With the banning of the ANC and PAC and the launching of the armed struggle and several incidents of sabotage operations, the SAP took this as an indication that guerrilla war was imminent.

Anti-riot training which included instruction in aspects of counter-insurgency warfare was introduced in the 1960s. The SAP also started to forge closer operational links with the SADF. Surveillance, interrogation and torture became the mainstay of the professional discourse of police officers and the SAP's political strategy. In rural areas counter-insurgency became more important than intelligence work, taking the form of mobile units reminiscent of the Old Mounted Rifles of the Union years.



Police officers in army attire carrying an arrested political activist in the apartheid years.

Many members of South Africa's liberation movements went into exile in the 1960s and started to prepare for guerrilla war (Cawthra, 1993:16-17). However, their access into South Africa was hampered by White-ruled Rhodesia, now known as

Zimbabwe, and the Portuguese colonies of Angola and Mozambique. In the mid 1960s African nationalists started to launch armed struggles in the Portuguese colonies and Rhodesia. In South West Africa, now known as Namibia, the South African People's Organisation (SWAPO) took up arms in 1966 to rid itself of South African occupation that had been in place since the First World War. Cawthra suggest that these countries were South Africa's buffers against the new independent states in the northern part of the African continent. The apartheid state feared that these states might be liberated from colonial rule which in turn would lead to further political turmoil in South Africa.

An inspector at Phatisanani police station informed me that officially the SAP's jurisdiction ended ten kilometres inside the borders of South Africa. Patrolling the borders was the responsibility of the SADF. Instead of despatching the SADF the apartheid state sent members of the SAP to Rhodesia and South West Africa in 1966 and 1967 respectively. Rhodesia, South West Africa and later Angola as well as other countries in Southern Africa were simply referred to and known as 'the border' within the institutional and professional discourses of policing in this period even though the fighting sometimes occurred a thousand kilometres from the borders of South Africa. Again this is reminiscent of the institutional discourse of 'the frontier' that dominated policing during the years when South Africa was a union.



SAP officers in Namibia fighting SWAPO soldiers.

The SAP was engaged in counter-insurgency warfare for a quarter of the 20th century. Most members of the SAP were accustomed to fighting for up to three months or more in the counter-insurgency wars against African nationalists outside its borders. The guerrilla wars in which the SAP were involved, eventually led to the arming of Black police. The SAP quickly learnt the value of Black counter-insurgency forces because they were cheaper and their lives were 'politically expendable' (Cawthra, 1993:17). It was argued that Black counter-insurgency forces drawn from the local communities of South West Africa and Rhodesia knew the local terrain and its people better.

Many of the strategies learnt in the bush were transferred to the townships of South Africa and a culture of counter-insurgency was employed to quell the anti-apartheid uprisings in the townships and any other area. Cawthra (1993:17) argues that the policing strategies used in the political uprisings in South Africa during the 1980s and 1990s were pioneered in the Rhodesian and South West African wars. Drawing on the experiences of the bush wars, the SAP decided to train Black auxiliary forces consisting of the special constables referred to as 'kitskonstabels' (which translates as instant constables) and the municipal police (also known as greenflies, Blackjacks, greenbeans, amatsakas and Amstels³). The SAP also introduced ethnic units in Transkei, Bophutatswana, Venda and Ciskei under the control of the 'homeland' authorities and chiefs. These four 'homelands' were commonly known as the TBVC states.

Auxiliary forces: Black on Black policing

Cawthra (1993) refers to the auxiliary forces as the 'canon fodder' of South African policing. Although they were responsible for gross human rights violations, they were the targets of attacks and had a much higher casualty rate than the regular SAP rank-and-file members. Brogden and Shearing (1993:82) refer to them as the 'forlone hope surrogates' who were cheap to train and employ; and were there to save White lives by taking the 'sting' out of township anger. They argue that the auxiliary forces provided the state with a 'buffer' behind which minority White rule could be hidden.

³ A brand name for green-bottled beer.

Instead of being trained like the new recruits in the SAP in the academic subjects of policing, the auxiliary forces' training was more rudimentary with more emphasis on military aspects like drilling.

The municipal police: The greenflies in the SAP's ointment

Cawthra (1993:62) claims that the municipal police were introduced during the political crisis of the mid-1980s. Minimal educational qualifications were required to be employed as a municipal police officer. The first units were trained by the SAP at Oudtshoorn in the Cape and were deployed in the townships under the control of the illegitimate Black municipal authorities in 1984.

The municipal police obtained their powers from the Black Local Authorities Act of 1982. The apartheid state called them 'law enforcement officers', but the people referred to them as the 'greenflies' after their green uniforms. In the final analysis they were a 'fly by night police unit' attempting to legitimise the authority of the municipal authorities. In comparison with the cost of employing White police officers they were very inexpensive and were paid R225 a month.

They were largely recruited from rural areas, were very conservative and had little or no sympathy for the communities of the townships (Brogden and Shearing, 1993:81). The greenflies were used to guard town councillors and government property and soon gained a reputation for easily flying off the handle, indiscipline, brutality, a lack of legal knowledge and meagre firearm training.

The greenflies became the proverbial 'fly in the ointment' for the SAP and in at least four townships they went on strike complaining about poor pay and being victims of racism by SAP members. By 1989 the SAP took over the control of the municipal police, removing them from the jurisdiction of the Black local authorities. Brogden and Shearing (1993:82) note that the state claimed that their incorporation was to 'upgrade their standard of work'. However, they suggest that in reality they were incorporated into the SAP to hide their embarrassing abuses and to increase the numbers of the SAP. In 1990 they made up one-fifth of all Black police in the SAP (ibid, 1993:82).

The kitskonstabels: "Botha's fucking dogs"

In September 1984 South Africa experienced a wave of uprisings that spread like a wild fire to all the townships. On 12 June 1986 a national state of emergency was

declared after the townships became no-go areas and the SAP in conjunction with the SADF could only patrol the townships in armoured vehicles (Institute of Criminology, 1990:5). Anti-apartheid organisations started to call for a 'troops out' in the townships (Brogden and Shearing, 1993:83). It was in this political climate of unrest and drawing on the SAP's experiences in the counter-insurgency wars, that the kitskonstabels were introduced in September 1986.

Brogden and Shearing (1993:83) argue that the major advantage of the kitskonstabels like the municipal police was that they were inexpensive. Kitskonstabels were paid on a daily basis. If they stayed absent on a day they received no pay for that day. Their wages ranged from R250 to just over R400 per month. Kitskonstabels were paid cash with no pay slips. They qualified for no benefits and no sick or annual leave. The SAP could dismiss kitskonstabels without notice. Brogden and Shearing argue that there existed no career structure for kitskonstabels in the SAP. It was very easy to identify them because they wore one- or two-piece royal blue overalls, peak caps and blue, Black or brown boots. In summer they were allowed to wear royal blue short-sleeved shirts and in winter, a royal duffel-jacket (Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town, 1990:13).



Kitskonstabels on parade wearing their two-piece royal blue overalls.

Security around the recruitment of kitskonstabels was very tight and in some townships people were not even informed about the type of employment for which

they were recruited. An officer told me that SAP recruitment officers drove around Khayelitsha and other townships with loudhailers announcing that the SAP was looking for people who were interested in working for the SAP. Although ninety percent of the kitskonstabel recruits were Black males, some Coloured males and one White male were recruited as kitskonstabels. "Yes, there was one White who was recruited as a kitskonstabel, but he was slow. If you take two seconds to sign your name, he would take five minutes. He was mentally retarded. He is still working in the police and has been promoted to the rank of sergeant," said one officer at the SAP's provincial offices during an interview. In some cases recruits were only told they would 'get plenty of money' (Brogden and Shearing, 1993:84). Kitskonstabels did not need any formal educational qualifications and many of them could not read or write. All their lectures were given orally. The SAP described the training methods employed for kitskonstabels as follows:

Everything they learn is drummed into them and they are fully competent to carry out their tasks once they leave the centre...A number of the students are illiterate and thus all information that is given has to be of an oral nature. Repetition is the key word. Each student is tested very thoroughly in all aspects of the work, but obviously the tests are all oral. (ibid, 1990:120).

The SAP did not see the lack of formal schooling amongst the kitskonstabel recruits as a major problem but complained about their lack of discipline and militaristic conduct. Major J.B. Smith, who used to be the commanding officer at the Koeberg Training Centre in Cape Town where the kitskonstabels were trained, complained:

The staff members are faced with a particular challenging task. The students under their care are mostly undisciplined and unfamiliar with a military style set up. (ibid, 1990:12).

Topics covered in training included crime prevention, riot control, weapons safety and handling legal aspects of arrest, searches, roadblocks and the use of weapons, foot drill, and lectures on misconduct. "They were trained in using the 9mm, the shotgun, the tonfa⁴ and they were given lectures on the law. How they were tested I don't know, but as you can see it could never prepare them for police work," said one Coloured police officer working at the provincial offices of the SAPS during an interview. Kitskonstabels were trained for only six weeks after which they were

⁴ A baton used in the Far East and in the martial arts.

expected to be familiar with all these aspects of policing. It is therefore no wonder that kitskonstabels were notorious for displaying more ignorance of basic criminal procedure, legal rights of citizens and the use of firearms than the ordinary police officer. When asked how many times they practised using firearms, they said: "Four times. We shot at boards. In total we fired only sixteen shots in those six weeks" (Institute of Criminology. University of Cape Town, 1990).

Kitskonstabels were deployed in urban and rural townships to 'stop unrest', 'maintain law and order' and 'prevent crime'. From the first weeks of their deployment serious abuses were reported which included fatal shootings, random attacks, sexual and verbal abuse, harassment and drunkenness on duty.



Kitskonstabels being deployed in the townships.

Brogden and Shearing (1993:83) argue that the apartheid state used the kitskonstabels' excesses as merely further examples of what was referred to as 'Black-on-Black' violence. By using the kitskonstabels the state could easily obscure its own role and hide the most blatant racial overtones that were prevalent when non-Black police and army members were used to quell the political uprisings in the

townships. They further suggest that by using the kitskonstabels the impression was created that 'law-abiding, moderate' Blacks supported the White regime.

Many kitskonstabels complained about the abusive methods used to train them:

"If we pointed the gun the wrong way then the instructor shouted: 'You bloody fucking kaffir – kyk daarso'. They sometimes hit us when we made a mistake like that... They hit us sometimes in the chest with a gun butt, kick our buttocks and stomachs... a certain Constable van der Walt shot one of the recruits in the back of his legs. Then we were forced to sign papers denying this".

(Brogden and Shearing, 1993:84 and the Institute of Criminology, University of Cape Town, 1990:13).

Brogden and Shearing (1993:84) claim that kitskonstabels often complained of being referred to as 'kaffirs' or as 'hey you, you fucking Black dog' by White officers; and as 'Botha's fucking dogs' by township communities. Although abuse and discrimination against kitskonstabels was even worse than toward ordinary Black police officers, resignation was a complication:

"...It's better than no money and no job at all" (Brogden and Shearing, 1993:84).

The effects of the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' on the professional discourse of police officers

The counter-insurgency strategy employed had brought South Africa to the brink of civil war, isolated it from the international community and led to international economic sanctions (Cawthra, 1993:36). Although the 1960s saw an increase in serious crime levels in South Africa, police used their skills to ensure the preservation of the apartheid state instead. The SAP used their time to trap White men suspected of sleeping with Black women, enforcing discriminatory laws and conducting propaganda campaigns (Cawthra, 1993:16). During this time the SAP was plagued with personnel shortages primarily because it could not compete with the private sector for labour. It started to recruit the 'dregs' of the White, especially Afrikaner, workforce. Cawthra (1993:16) notes that although this might have ensured full White employment, the SAP could not meet its authorised personnel requirements.

The state of emergency that was declared in the 1980s led to a considerable rise in crime. Gangs in non-White areas, many times with the tacit support of the SAP, took

advantage of the breakdown of community and authority structures. Rates of reported crime rose by up to seven percent annually by the second half of the 1980s. The SAP's ability to solve crimes decreased rapidly because most of their energy was used to counter political opposition rather than combating crime (ibid, 1993:36). Van der Spuy (1989:286) suggests that during this period the discursive practices of the professional discourse of police officers suggest that the SAP appeared to have relinquished the 'last vestiges of an image that related to a traditional crime-fighting function' and instead consolidated its identity as a counter-insurgency force with the policeman-cum-soldier identity of the union years remaining.

'Greenflies' and the kitskonstabels were never really initiated into the professional discourse of ordinary police officers. Instead they were seen as 'outsiders' to the ordinary police officer's professional discourse who had received training at the four police colleges mentioned above. Their 'outsider' identity was embedded in the period of time they received training (only six weeks), the uniforms they had to wear, the manner in which they were treated by ordinary police officers, and their lack of discipline expected from an ordinary police officer or 'insider'. I discuss the social identity of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in greater detail in the next chapter.

The De Klerk years (1990-1994)

The emergence of the institutional discourse of 'human rights' – the start of the interregnum

By 1989 P.W. Botha's influence was decreasing in the National Party and at the end of an internal power struggle F.W. de Klerk emerged as the new president of South Africa. Cawthra (1993:37) claims that De Klerk was believed to have represented the section of the National Party that did not support the usurpation of executive decision-making power by politicians who supported the military nature of policing within the National Party.

The resistance movement re-emerged from underground. Under the De Klerk government the SAP realized that they could not act in the 'old way'. De Klerk instructed the police to allow anti-apartheid marches to go ahead and said to the sections of the National Party who supported the counter-insurgency strategy under Botha's rule:

You cannot simply have a counter-insurgency approach, because it may be that the enemy is the majority of the population. The only way to prevent a revolution is a negotiated political settlement that can win majority credibility among all population groups. The season of violence is over.

With this in mind, Nelson Mandela was released and all banned organisations of the apartheid era were unbanned. The Minister of Law and Order Adrian Vlok accepted the political strategy of De Klerk and admitted that it was political action that would 'kill communism in the hearts of people' (Cawthra, 1993:37).

In the National Party there was a tacit recognition that reform would have to include some form of democratic process. Cawthra argues that this was an important psychological and political shift from the past. The institutional discourses of 'the Volk' and 'the frontier' had taken it for granted that it was White minority rule that needed protection and defending - now it was the process of change itself that had to be protected and controlled. Cawthra claims that security action would now, to some degree, be dictated by the broader political agenda.

Major General George Fivaz who was the chief of Efficiency Services in the SAP during this period suggested in the SAP's Strategic Guidelines (1993-1994), that the SAP has 'accepted the philosophy of community-policing'. Fivaz outlined the SAP's mission as ensuring the safety of all people in the country through community involvement and the rendering of professional service. He admitted that the SAP 'is considered unacceptable in certain sections of the community' and this has led to a 'loss of efficiency'. Fivaz suggested that the 'loss of efficiency' had given certain groups the opportunity to 'misuse the SAP for political purposes'. In relation to training in the SAP Fivaz claimed that it was too technical and legalistic in nature – little attention was given to human rights, consultation, dealing with conflicts and negotiations. Fivaz claimed that the traditional approach to policing depended primarily on law enforcement and that 'a shift is at present being made from an approach of force- to an approach of service'. He suggested that the SAP plans to initiate its members into policing 'directed towards the needs of the community' through training, but that the 'shift is detrimentally influenced' by attacks and verbal assaults on police members. An officer at Phatisanani police station told me that they were sent for three or four day workshops where they are 'taught' by means of lectures the different aspects of the new 'shift' in policing.

The anti-apartheid movement assumed that after liberation was achieved, the SAP would be replaced by a new policing force based on democracy and human rights. The negotiated settlement that marked the period before South Africa's first elections made it clear that the new government would inherit the SAP virtually still intact. The ANC proposed a new approach to policing which made references to a **police service** and not a **police force**. At a national conference in May 1992 the ANC set out its policy guidelines for the new approach to policing. Its guidelines suggested that the 'police service shall respect the ideals of democracy, non-racialism, non-sexism, national unity and reconciliation and act in a non-discriminatory fashion' (Cawthra, 1993:166). Furthermore it was suggested that the SAP would be accountable to society and perform its duties in a non-militarised and depoliticised manner.

In government circles efforts were made to create a new polished public image of the SAP. Advertisements in newspapers claimed that the police are at the service of the community.

The start of the 'disorder of discourses': The gap between the institutional and professional discourse emerges

Cawthra (1993:39) claims that within a few months it became evident that the strategy at government level and the proposals of the ANC did not filter through to police on the ground. I however suggest that 'the emerging human rights' institutional discourse was in conflict with the professional discourse of police officers. Many of the discursive practices of counter-insurgency characteristic of the professional discourse of police officers, developed in the second half of the 1980s, still remained in the SAP.

Although Cawthra (1993:40) notes that it is not clear if the De Klerk government authorised or approved of these actions, I suggest that this period was characterised by the emergence of a definite gap between the institutional and the professional discourses of policing. I further suggest that the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' that emerged during the union years and had gained dominance during the apartheid years was now under serious threat from an emerging inclusive 'human rights' institutional discourse drawing on the discourses of human rights, nation building and democracy.

The post-apartheid years (1994-present)

The interregnum continues

Schärf (1999:1) argues that the transformation of the police force cannot be viewed in isolation from the broader political transformation of the state. In 1994 South Africa's first democratic government was voted into power. The Government of National Unity saw it as necessary to establish the institutional mechanisms to secure its legitimacy 'in the eyes of a sceptical public' (Dixon, 2000:14). It is in this political climate that the South African Police Act of 1958 was repealed and the South African Police Service Act (68 of 1995) was passed. The act led to the establishment of a 'new' police force, the South African Police Service (SAPS). The SAPS consisted of the 'old' SAP and integrated all the eleven separate police units created during the apartheid era.

The preamble of the South African Police Service Act of 1995 (Act No. 68 of 1995) states:

AND WHEREAS there is a need to provide a police service throughout the national territory to-

- (a) ensure the safety and security of all persons and property in the national territory;
- (b) uphold and safeguard the fundamental rights of every person as guaranteed by Chapter 3 of the Constitution;
- (c) ensure co-operation between the Service and the communities it serves in combating crime;
- (d) reflect respect for victims of crime and an understanding of their needs; and
- (e) ensure effective civilian supervision over the Service.

The discourse formations of 'safety and security of all persons', and 'uphold and safeguard the fundamental rights of every person', within the institutional discourse of 'human rights' now meant that police officers were called upon to perform a traditional crime fighting function that included 'all persons' regardless of their political affiliation or racial group. The new institutional discourse now placed an expectation on the rank-and-file of the SAPS to protect the new democracy, display loyalty to the new Constitution and reflect the values associated with democracy in their workplace discursive practices. The discourse formations of 'co-operation' and 'civilian supervision' meant that the SAPS had to become accountable to the communities it

served and the nation as a whole without any form of racial discrimination associated with the institutional and professional discourses of the past.

Viljoen (1997) suggested that an analysis of Constitutional requirements and of policing in South Africa have shown that fundamental changes are required within policing. He argues that these changes relate to the nature and style of policing, policies and practices within the police force. Viljoen (1997:1) claims that these changes can be defined as 'the re-invention or re-engineering of policing in South Africa'. Schärf (1999:5) quoting Van der Spuy argues that the post-apartheid era was characterised by six aspects of police transformation that are discussed below.

- Institution-building – decentralisation of communication processes within the SAPS including greater autonomy to take decisions for each province on policing matters.
- Transformation of service delivery – including community policing and the establishment of crime information centres as well as restructuring the detective services.
- Human resource development – new labour regulations were introduced within the 'new' SAPS.
- Promotion of a service ethos – the 'new' police force was demilitarised. But many police felt that the changes were unrealistic. Schärf (1999:5) argues that the promotion of a service ethos also meant that the police had to undergo 'culture changes' such as victim-sensitive statement taking.
- Democratisation – the SAPS was to have mechanisms built into the 'new' policing system which would allow for civilian oversight at provincial and national level.
- Equal opportunities and redressing historic imbalances – redress had to occur along race and gender lines. Schärf (1999:5) argues that redress included 'second-level status groups' as well.

Disorder of discourses: Constructing the gap between the institutional and the professional discourse

Schärf (1999) argues that one of the first things to change were the symbols of the 'old' SAP. He suggests that police resisted the symbol changes and saw it as an 'insult' to their contribution to the apartheid era and everything they believed in. The public viewed these changes as cosmetic because they came at a time when there

was no evidence of attitude changes and service improvement in the 'new' SAPS. Accelerated promotions took place to 'rectify' the past imbalances of the 'old' SAP for historically disadvantaged groups. Schärf argues that promotional positions did not always complement the expected competence of individuals.

The period after the first democratic elections saw the start of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) process where police were expected to reveal their complicity in human rights violations during the apartheid era. Schärf (1999:7) suggests that many police demonstrated their inability to combat organised crime because organised crime and the police worked together in destabilising communities during the apartheid years. He claims that due to this, police had difficulty in 'managing their pasts'. No processes were put in place to 'let police know what it is about the old order or their professional discourse (actions and attitudes) that had to be left behind, and which attitudes and actions had to be celebrated and taken forward to the new political era' (ibid, 1999:7).

The new institutional discourse of 'human rights' dominating policing at the level of the state meant that a plethora of new laws had to be passed to replace the apartheid laws which were now in conflict with the new institutional discourse. More than a hundred new laws had been passed each year since 1994 as the institutional discourse of 'human rights' gained hegemony over the institutional discourse of 'the Volk'. Schärf suggests that police members on the ground were given little training about what implications the new laws had for their professional discourse. The new Constitution and the Bill of Rights and its implications for every element of policing were not understood by police officers and therefore they could not implement them properly in their professional discourse. Schärf mentions that by mid 1998 police still referred to the Bill of Rights as the 'criminal's code of conduct'.

The shift from confession-based policing to that of evidence-based investigations was too 'big a jump' for the professional discourse of police officers seeing that the skills they were expected to employ during the apartheid era were more military in nature than actual policing skills (Schärf, 1999:8). Altbeker (1999:60) quotes Albert Eksteen, Head of Detective Development in the SAPS: "We are not, any longer, policing 'enemies of the state', but criminals. The demands are completely different." Altbeker (1999:61) suggests that for the SAP maintaining order, and maintaining an order, were not completely distinct. He quotes one detective saying: "Every commissioner of police before George Fivaz came from the Security Branch. All they

thought about was state security. They didn't care how we policed South Africa." The opinions expressed by the detective demonstrate the influence of the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' on the professional discourse of police officers.

Besides being allowed to draw on their experiences in the counter-insurgency wars which 'moulded' police officers' professional discourse, police also enjoyed political sanction for their confession-based convictions during the apartheid years. One officer said: "In the past, confessions were used to get convictions – many were obtained in ways they should not have been" (Altbeker, 1999:61). Schärf (1999:8) suggests that the shift to an evidence-based system of policing had no 'guarantee of cover' at station or state level if a mistake was made. He argues that this was a huge shock for the police.

Drawing on the arguments of Altbeker (1999) I suggest that while police management belonging to the institutional discourse of 'human rights' is committed to developing a policing model premised on the rights of citizens, the rank-and-file officers tend to believe that policing needs to be more 'old-fashioned', aggressive and less bound by 'unrealistic' legal and moral norms. One officer asked: "How are you going to take a man like me, who is used to taking people out, kicking them and doing all sorts of things, and turn them into people who work in a service and focus on the core function in terms of human rights?" (Altbeker, 1999:61). The dominance of the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' and its compatibility with the professional discourse of police officers meant that thousands of detectives and police officers never received basic training in statement taking, holding identification parades, giving evidence in court and maintaining their dockets properly (ibid, 1999:61).

During the apartheid era, staff transgressing the rules were sent to the toughest township stations as 'punishment'. This was seen as a 'career graveyard' and resulted in the townships getting the staff most prone to committing crime. When human resources were redistributed to the townships after the first democratic elections, police officers saw this as part of the 'Punishment Station Syndrome' within their professional discourse (Schärf, 1999:8).

Schärf (1999:9) argues that police always seem to take you back to the 'image of emasculation'. They refer to themselves as 'second-status' men whose hands had been cut off by the new laws. Schärf claims that the police still celebrate their icons of the 'good-old-days' such as the torturer Jeff Benzien, 'who could even make the

most hardened terrorist sing within thirty minutes'. Schärf argues that while police still hang on to that image of the 'archetypal script for policing' there is little hope for a marked change in the professional discourse of police officers.

I suggest that the professional discourse of police officers was now characterised by uncertainty because police officers were not clear on the role they were supposed to play in the new political dispensation. Furthermore I suggest that police officers became trapped in past professional discourses shaped by past institutional discourses. As was suggested above, police officers still believed that policing should be old fashioned, based on the model of policing as 'a force' instead of 'a service'. Therefore a definite gap between the institutional and the professional discourses of policing emerged which I attribute to the conflict between the institutional discourse of 'human rights' and past professional discourses of police officers. I suggest that the conflict between the institutional discourse and the professional discourse that emerged led to and is still leading to disorder of discourses within situated contexts like Phatisanani police station. I will discuss the disorder of discourses and how it presents itself at Phatisanani police station and its link with police officers' literacy practices in the chapters which follow. The institutional discourse of 'human rights' that was shaping policing during the De Klerk years and gained dominance at state level after the democratic elections of 1994 reserved a 'colonised' identity for the majority of police officers and constructed their identities as 'outsiders' and 'pretenders' as suggested by Gee.

Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter demonstrates that the policing discourses of the apartheid years are still competing for dominance with the policing discourses of the post-apartheid years amongst the rank-and-file in police stations. The apartheid years also saw the introduction of Black auxiliary forces like the 'greenflies' and the kitskonstabels seen as 'outsiders' to the professional discourse of the ordinary police officer who received training at the four police training colleges mentioned in this chapter. What becomes evident in the historical account given in this chapter is that the post-apartheid years saw Black auxiliary forces being integrated into the SAPS although they were seen as 'outsiders' by ordinary police officers to the professional discourse.

The post-apartheid years also led to police officers being 'colonised' by the new policing discourses and their associated literacy practices which gained dominance at the level of the state only. I suggest that these literacy practices have not become part of what Barton and Hamilton (2000) call the 'formal procedures and expectations' of the social institutions, or as I prefer to call them the bureaucratic procedures of policing. It is now expected that the SAPS fulfil the traditional crime-fighting role that the SAP relinquished during the apartheid years. Crime-fighting and its associated literacy practices were now supposed to become part of the bureaucratic procedures of the social institution of policing.

In the next chapter I discuss Phatisanani police station and the fact that at the station police officers who I have called 'insiders' differed on the bureaucratic procedures associated with a traditional crime-fighting policing institute and its literacy practices were absent in the station amongst police officers.

Chapter Three

A station like Phatisanani

Introduction

In September 2000 the then-station commander of Phatisanani police station wrote a letter thanking all the station's personnel for their support while he was station commissioner for more than four years. He mentioned that 'it is not an easy job to be a station commissioner at a station like Phatisanani', referring to the problems at the station.

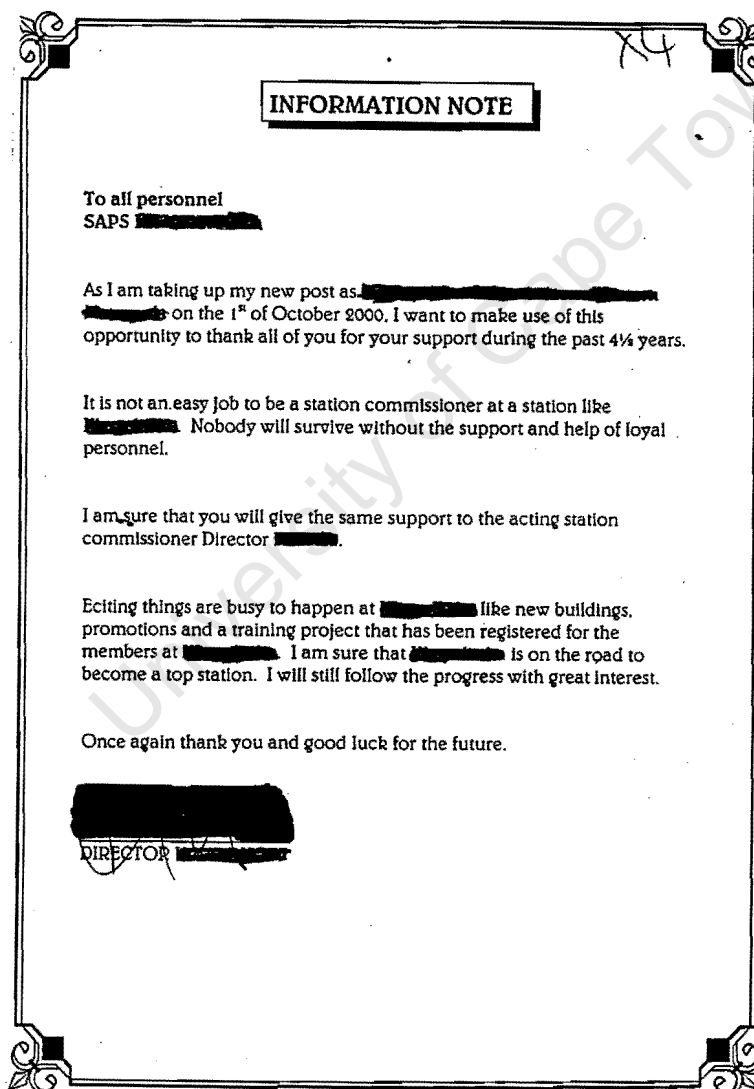


Figure 1: Letter from Phatisanani's station commissioner.

One male Coloured officer confirmed this opinion by mentioning to me the experiences of two previous station commissioners emphasising that 'it is not an easy job to be a station commissioner at a station like Phatisanani'. One was locked out of the station by the personnel of the station and was denied access, while the other was locked up in the station and denied the liberty to leave. I was told that both resigned after being station commander for a very short period. "Jy moet half aan die slaap wees om hier reg te kom¹," said the officer, implying that you should not be conscientious or too serious if you wanted to cope. A White male detective told me in an interview that the problems at Phatisanani police station are numerous and therefore the station commissioners do not last long at the station: "In one year we had six station commissioners who left because of the challenges at the station." He noted: "When I was redeployed here I first had to see how things are being done and how things work here. Once you know how things work here at the station, you can easily start to function at this station".

As was stated in Chapter One, the NLS argues against pervasive ideas on literacy equating its acquisition with positive and unproblematic outcomes regardless of context. The notion of literacy as a 'skill' suggests a set of neutral technologies separate and separable from the social context that favours them. Conceptualising writing in terms of 'skills' focuses on writing as a technology and disregards writing as meaning making, negotiation of identity and social participation. Drawing on the arguments of Clark and Ivanič (1997), who argue that the physical and social behaviour surrounding writing is often 'lumped' together with mental processes under the broad heading 'skills' regardless of social context, I have suggested in Chapter One that it is necessary to study literacy practices as they occur within a particular context. The 'ideological' model of literacy (Street, 1984, 1996) argues for a more culturally sensitive view of literacy practices as they vary from one context to the other (Street, 1996).

In this chapter I discuss how the institutional discourses discussed in the previous chapter are recontextualised at Phatisanani police station as the professional discourse of police officers and how the professional discourse of the station assigns either an 'insider' or 'outsider' identity to police officers. As was argued in Chapter Two, I suggest in this chapter that the problems at the station are caused by the 'disorder of discourses' caused by the conflict between the contemporary institutional

¹ "You have to be half asleep to survive here."

discourse of 'human rights' which subsumes the notion of policing as a service; and the professional discourses of police officers shaped by past institutional discourses based on policing as a force, prior to the 1994 elections.

Furthermore I also provide a brief history of Khayelitsha, the area in which Phatisanani police station is located and discuss the attitudes and expectations the residents of Khayelitsha have toward the police and policing as well as police officers' attitudes towards policing at Phatisanani police station in relation to the discourses discussed in Chapter Two.

Khayelitsha – 'Our new home'

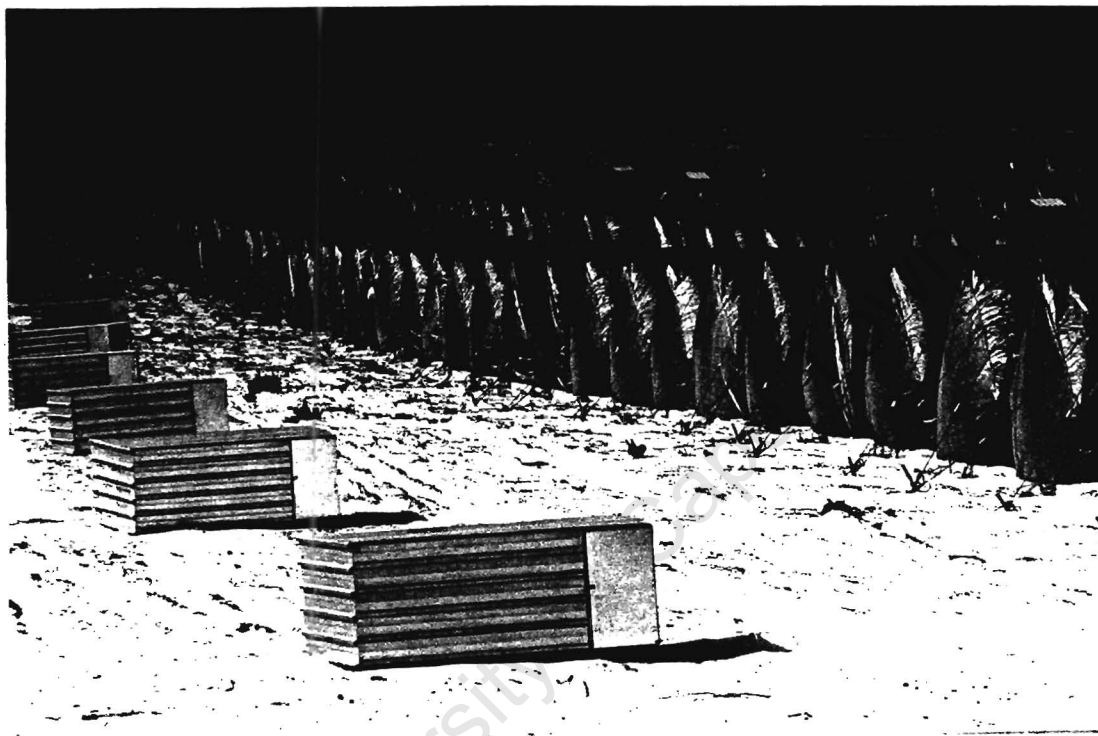
Political and economic reasons for the creation of Khayelitsha

Phatisanani police station is located in the Black township of Khayelitsha situated about 36 kilometres outside Cape Town on the Cape Flats on the east coast of the Cape Peninsula.

Khayelitsha was established in the 1980's due to political and economic reasons. The policy of influx control which aimed to keep unemployed Blacks out of White areas, was ineffective and by 1983 there were 76,000 'illegal Blacks' in the Western Cape (Van Heerden and Evans, 1985:10). Conditions in the TBVC states were of such a nature that 5,2 million people out of 6,2 million had no fixed measurable income in 1980. In coming to the Cape Peninsula Blacks were hoping to find some form of employment and consequently a means of feeding their families. Therefore the state at the time had to find improved methods of enforcing control over this influx if the policy of influx control was to be realised fully.

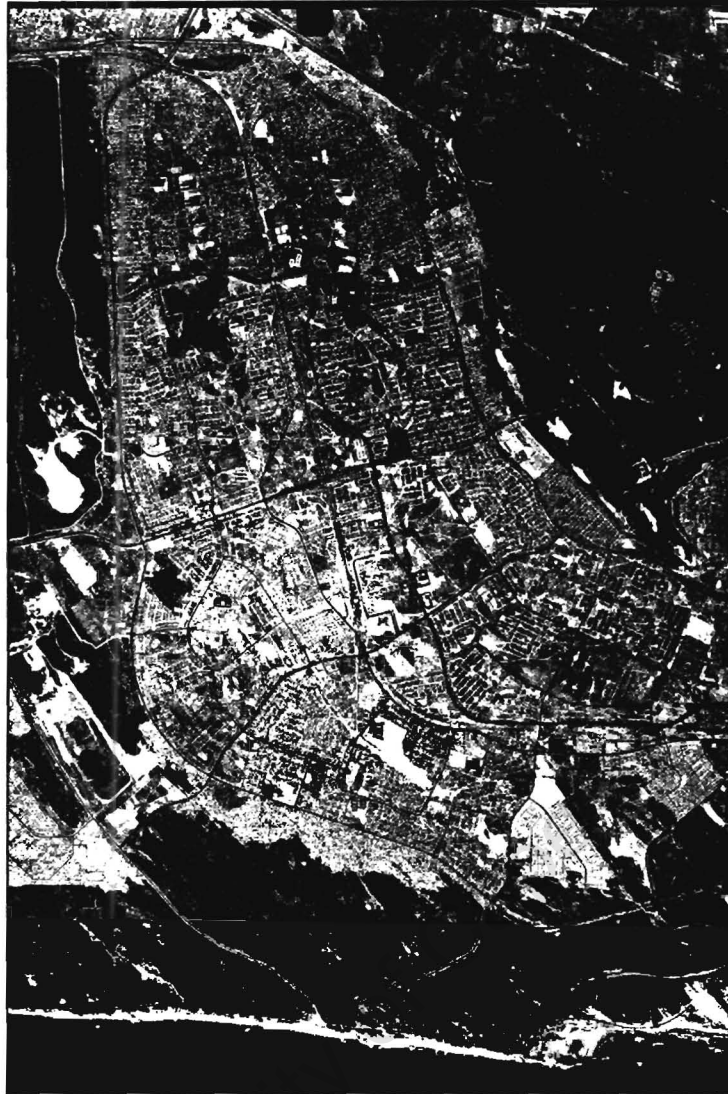
Crossroads, a squatter settlement a few kilometres outside of Cape Town, increasingly became a thorn in the side of the apartheid state especially during the 1980's. A strong community spirit of resistance had developed amongst the residents of Crossroads and Blacks from the TBVC states who were seeking employment in the Western Cape and who were squatting illegally in the area. Evans and Van Heerden (1985:11) argue that the state regarded Crossroads as a symbol of provocation. They further suggest that the apartheid state feared that the spirit of defiance would spread to surrounding townships and areas.

At the same time as the state feared the spreading of a spirit of defiance to other areas on the Cape Flats from Crossroads, the industrial sector of the Cape voiced its opposition to the Coloured Labour Preference Policy. This policy forced businesses to give preference to Coloureds over Blacks when employing individuals. The industrial sector started to lobby for Blacks to live in the Western Cape legally. These political and economic developments led to the establishment of Khayelitsha which translates as 'Our New Home', but in actual fact Khayelitsha was a 'dormitory suburb' for a cheap Black labour reserve.



The early days of Khayelitsha: Government-provided tents and blown over toilets.

Today Khayelitsha is a township having a mixture of low-cost houses and an ever-expanding informal settlement with dwellings constructed from wood and corrugated iron sheeting. Although Khayelitsha's residents have access to running water and municipal services, these are inadequate for the number of people staying in the area. Social problems in Khayelitsha include high levels of crime, domestic violence, unemployment, HIV/AIDS incidence, teenage pregnancies, tuberculosis and unemployment rates of over fifty percent. These rate amongst the highest in the Western Cape.



Khayelitsha as seen from the air.

According to police officers at Phatisanani police station murder, armed robbery, robbery, rape, assault with the intent to inflict serious bodily harm, assault and hijacking are the crimes most frequently reported in the area. I remember vividly the first day I arrived at Phatisanani police station – it was a Monday morning and there was a queue of Khayelitsha residents stretching from inside Phatisanani's charge office to well into the street in front of the station. Police officers told me that most people came to report violent crimes committed over the weekend. One officer told me that over a thousand unsolved murders were committed in Khayelitsha between 1994 and the beginning of 2002. The reality is that Phatisanani police station is too understaffed and under-resourced to combat the high levels of crime in the area.

Attitudes towards the SAPS in Khayelitsha

The general feeling amongst the residents of Khayelitsha who came to the station to report crimes and to whom I spoke informally felt that police officers are reluctant to

combat the high levels of crime in the area. Residents construct police officers' identities as lazy, unprofessional, unhelpful, insensitive, drunk and corrupt. Expectations from Khayelitsha's residents are that reported crimes should be solved as quickly as possible without all the legal formalities required of police officers. Residents whom I spoke to felt that the police were more interested in protecting the rights of criminals than law-abiding citizens.

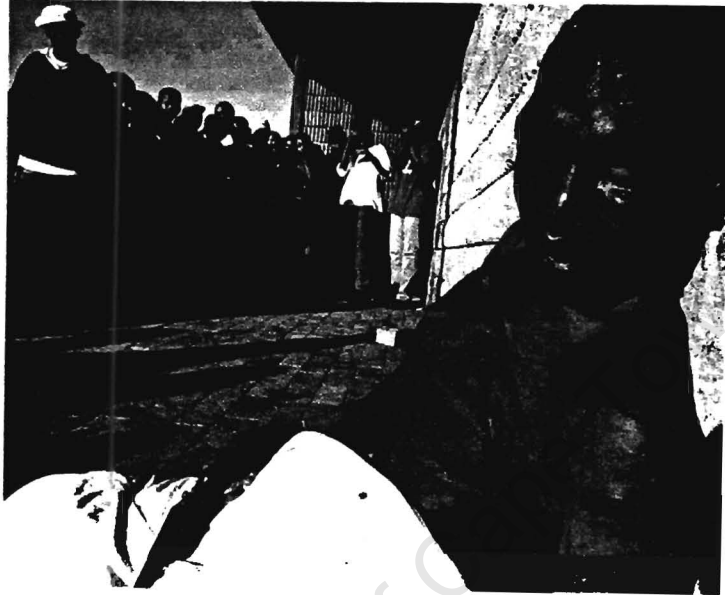
A Black police officer noted that the residents are especially harsh and critical towards Black police officers. He cited an incident where he was called out one night to investigate an incident of damage being done to a local shebeen². When he arrived at the shebeen he chose not to enter fearing that if he were spotted, the local newspapers would report that Black police officers frequent the shebeens when they are supposed to be on duty fighting crime. Instead he radioed the police station and requested them to contact the shebeen so that the owner could meet him outside.

The officer mentioned that the residents are not as critical of non-Black police officers and view them as more competent and professional. He referred to an incident where a murder was committed and he and a few Black officers were sent to the scene of the crime. When they arrived at the scene the murdered victim's body was lying in the sun. "We could not move the body because the forensics experts did not arrive to examine the body and search the area for clues to the murder." [verbatim reconstruction] The officer mentioned that there are no Black police officers trained as forensics experts and that the only forensics experts are stationed at police stations in previous White areas. "We had to wait for these forensics experts to arrive from these areas located quite a distance from Khayelitsha." The residents started to become impatient and shouted verbal abuses at them. "We were called lazy, incompetent and insensitive because we allowed the body to remain in the sun." The officer noted that when the White forensics experts eventually arrived almost two hours later and the body was eventually moved, the public viewed the White police officers as 'the heroes'.

The dissatisfaction with police officers' inability to combat crime has led to Khayelitsha's residents and residents of other townships taking the law into their own hands, giving rise to vigilante groups led by taxi drivers and community leaders. At the time of collecting data for this research dissatisfaction with Phatisanani's police

² A house or dwelling in the township selling alcohol many a times illegally to the public.

officers was particularly high due to an ongoing transport conflict between the Golden Arrow Bus Company and taxi operators on the Cape Flats in which a few of Khayelitsha's residents lost their lives. The establishment of vigilante groups as a response to the SAPS's inability to combat the increase in crime in townships made scenes like those depicted below commonplace in Khayelitsha and other townships on the Cape Flats.



An alleged rapist lies battered on the ground after taxi drivers whipped and assaulted him.



A woman accused of a crime being paraded in a township street after being whipped by taxi drivers.

I drew a schematic diagram of Phatisanani police station which I have included below. I have simplified the details for purposes of confidentiality and have omitted

distance between blocks. I have included it to give an indication of how time and space in terms of the domain of work of police officers is organised at the station.

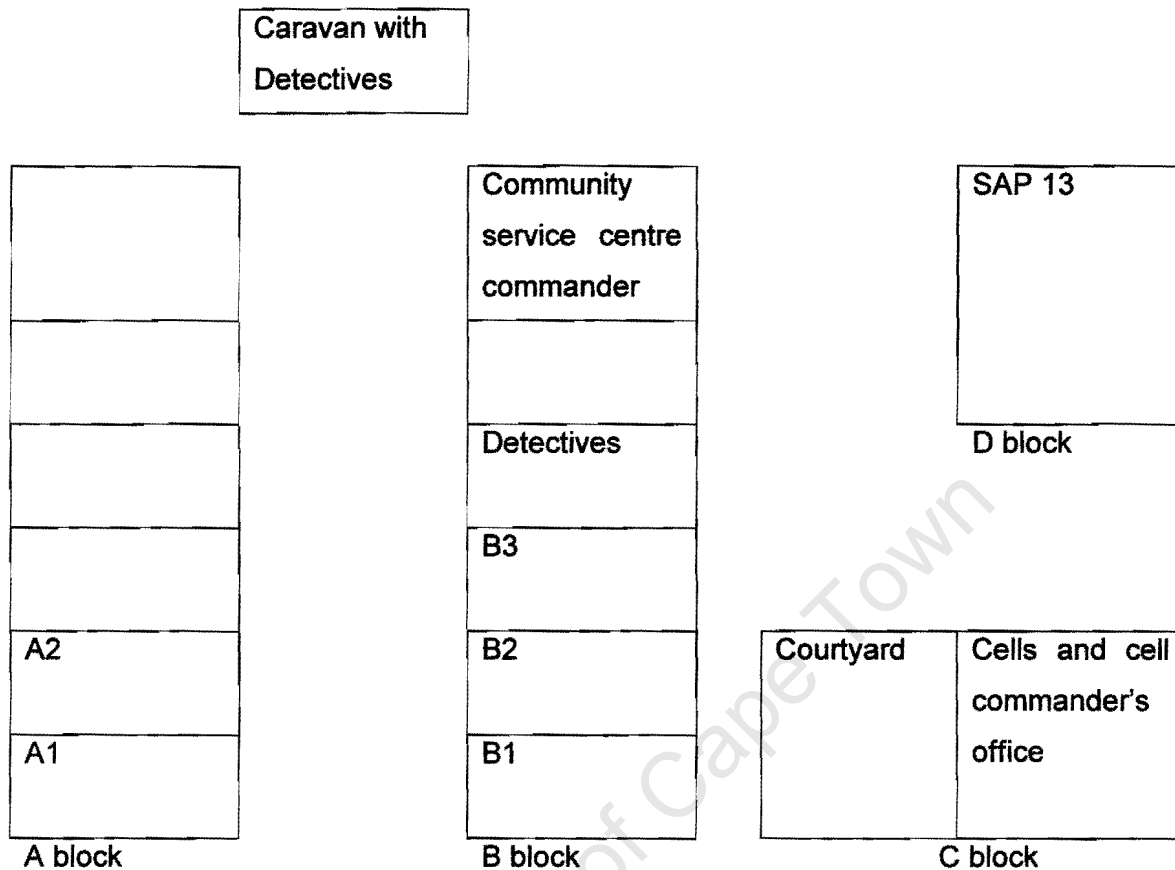


Figure 2: A simplified schematic diagram of Phatisanani police station.

The station is divided into A, B, C and D blocks. I have divided the four blocks further into two areas, namely the area where the domain of work comes into contact with the public domain and the area where the domain of work has little or no contact with the public domain. Below I give a descriptive account of how time and space are involved regarding the procedural activities which include the literacy practices of police officers at the station. It must be noted, as will be discussed below and in the following chapter, that the literacy practices of police officers are inextricably linked to certain designated spaces in the station.

Craib (1992:98) drawing on the arguments of Giddens suggests that in pre-modern cultures, time and space were linked together – 'when' was connected with 'where'. The invention of the clock marked the separation of time and space; time became uniform and abstract. An hour in a certain social setting became the same time as an hour in another social setting. The 'emptying' of time took 'causal priority' over the

emptying of space from association with particular places. A kilometre in one place is the same as a kilometre somewhere else.

Craib argues that the separation of time and space was accompanied by the growth of a more general uniformity in social life. The abstraction of time also meant that spaces came to be shaped by social forces existing at a distance from them. Drawing on the arguments of Giddens I suggest that there are bureaucratic procedures that shape the literacy practices of police officers from a distance which in turn are linked to the organisation of space at Phatisanani police station. I discuss the regulation and control of police officers' literacy practices from a distance in greater detail below and in Chapter Four when I draw on the arguments of Foucault (1975) relating to governmentality and the Panoptic quality of bureaucratic procedures which include the literacy practices of police officers.

Areas where the public and work domains do not meet

In the A-block the Archives and Internal Communications of the station are located. This part of the station is almost entirely dedicated to administrative and managerial activities. In the archives all the old Occurrence Books³ (OB) or SAP10's and old dockets are stored. It is also the block where the station commander's office is located. Personnel working in the A-block have very little contact with the public. In the D-block the SAP13⁴ is located. The SAP13 is the place where all the evidence of criminal cases is stored for safekeeping.

Police officers working in the areas identified above work normal office hours – from half past seven in the morning to four o' clock in the afternoon.

Areas where the public and work domains meet

The B- and C-block combined form the CSC. Unlike the personnel who works in blocks A and D, the officers who work in the CSC work on a shift system which I had discussed in Chapter One with the exception of the CSC commander, Superintendent Du Plessis, a White Afrikaner female. She saw to the smooth running of the CSC but worked the normal office hours mentioned above. Her office was located a few rooms away from the charge office.

³ The book used to record all occurrences.

⁴ SAP13 is an official form as well that police officers complete when evidence is seized at the scene of a crime or in an investigation.

The charge office is located in the B-block and consists of rooms B1, B2 and B3. Some of the offices of the detectives are also located in this block. The majority of people working in the CSC were Black isiXhosa-speaking officers with the exception of two or three officers who were Afrikaans-speaking Coloureds. This was the case because the members of the public were isiXhosa-speakers and therefore the CSC needed Xhosa-speaking officers. One day I asked Superintendent Du Plessis who the officers were that they send out on patrol and her reply was: "We only send our best officers out on patrol while the others work in the CSC." This was strange because if the station wanted to promote a service ethos they required their best officers in the CSC as well because it is at the interface between the Phatisanani police station and the public.

Police officers' literacy practices working in the CSC as well as in other spaces in the station are controlled and regulated by bureaucratic procedures. Discursive practices including the literacy practices of police officers are routinised and normalised in the station forming part of a state apparatus. Barton and Hamilton (2000:9) argue that many literacy events in life are regular, repeated activities and these are often an effective point of departure for the study of literacy in context. They further claim that some literacy events are linked into routine sequences and these may be part of the formal procedures and expectations of social institutions like policing. As was stated in Chapter Two, I prefer to call the formal procedures and expectations of social institutions like policing, bureaucratic procedures. In B1 complaints and statements from the public are recorded. It is also the place where police officers open and complete dockets after an arrest has been made or when a member of the public comes to report a criminal offence that needs further investigation. In B2 the officers who are on night shift duty store evidence obtained during an arrest. Therefore B2 becomes the SAP13 room after four o' clock in the afternoon. It is also the room where mobile radios and ammunition are stored.

In B3 the charge office commander is seated. He has an administrative role and has to keep records on the weapons, ammunition, mobile radios and vehicles issued to officers. The charge office commander also has to record all the evidence obtained during an arrest or investigation in the OB. In B3 the station's Criminal Administration System (CAS) is located which in essence is a computer on which all the dockets completed in B1 are recorded and given a CAS number. After dockets have been registered on the CAS a detective collects the dockets and 'signs' for

them on the CAS by entering his force number⁵. It is only when a docket is collected by the detectives that it leaves the CSC. If a docket disappears it can be tracked by identifying the detective who 'signed' for it by looking at the force number entered on the CAS. These dockets are then taken to the detectives where they are distributed amongst them. Members of the public come to B3 to obtain the CAS numbers of the cases they have reported and the name of the investigating officer. Officers in B3 write CAS numbers of cases and the names of investigating officers on pieces of paper which are certified as correct with an official stamp and given to members of the public. The piece of paper gives a member of the public the authority to visit the spaces that the detectives occupy so as to ascertain the progress of a criminal offence that they have reported.

In the C-block the cells and the cell commander's office are located. It is here where the fingerprint and the *Notice of Rights in terms of the Constitution* forms are completed as will be demonstrated in two of the literacy events discussed in Chapter Three. The cell commander's office also has an OB in which the cell commander records the names of those arrested and the nature of their arrest, the names and force numbers of the arresting officers. Members of the public coming to visit arrested persons have to report to the cell commander's office before they are allowed to pay them a visit. The cell commander also has to ensure that all relevant forms are included in the dockets accompanying arrested persons to their first appearance in court.

The notion of governmentality can give insights into the way control and power operates at Phatisanani police station through the spatial organisation and the bureaucratic procedures police officers have to follow as outlined above. Goodwin (1996:6) drawing on Foucault's theories of governmentality suggests that power operates at multiple points in the social network. Management of the population and of police officers for that matter is central to the task of government. Continuous surveillance is a means of control and at the Phatisanani police station this happens through the bureaucratic procedures which include the literacy practices police officers must follow. Goodwin (1996:66) explains Foucault's notion of government as a 'certain way of striving to reach social and political ends by acting in a calculated manner upon the forces, the activities and relations of the individuals that constitute a population'. One of the key features of this expression of power is the notion of

⁵ A number given to all officers once they enter the SAPS. No two force numbers are

management. Thus Goodwin suggests that the process of management to achieve desired goals is central to the notion of governmentality, and one of the chief instruments to achieve this in the station is through the bureaucratic procedures officers have to follow.

The concept of governmentality can be supplemented with Foucault's theories on the Panopticon – the notion of governmentality entails the notion of continuous surveillance. Foucault used the metaphor of the Panopticon from a prison design that allowed for the continuous surveillance of prisoners by the prison authorities. The Panopticon is a powerful metaphor for control by scrutiny; and for the internalisation and normalisation of control mechanisms. The Panopticon requires the constant visibility of the prisoner. Goodwin (1996:67) argues that although the surveillance of the prisoners by the prison authorities becomes a reality through the Panopticon, the prisoners start to develop self-surveillance and the acceptance of the 'naturalness' of self-surveillance. The Panopticon thus induces a state of consciousness that assures the permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. Goodwin claims that eventually the external application of surveillance becomes unnecessary as the individual 'inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection'. Therefore I suggest that the acquisition of the bureaucratic procedures by police officers is a means of exercising control over police officers from a distance as suggested by Giddens's arguments discussed in this chapter. I also suggest that the Panopticon operates through the spatial organisation and the bureaucratic procedures associated with these spaces at Phatisanani police station.

Differences between the two spaces

What is very striking about the spaces located in the area where the domain of work and the public domains meet or overlap, is that its walls had many notices and posters. I have included these texts to demonstrate how they form part of particular discourses and associated literacy practices – either the institutional or professional discourses of policing outlined in the previous chapter. Fairclough (1992:78) argues that discursive practices involve processes of text production, distribution and consumption. He further suggests that texts are produced, distributed and consumed in specific ways in specific contexts as I will demonstrate below in the case of Phatisanani police station.

identical.

One glossy poster on the wall of B1 which I could not find on the walls of other spaces in the police station depicting a Black male, a Coloured male and a White female officer reads as follows:

Are your local police doing a good job?

Help them do a better job.

Let us know – (021) 483 4332

I suggest that the poster as a text is produced within the institutional discourse of 'human rights'. Choosing this poster for the CSC is both for display and control purposes seeing that the CSC is the space where the public and work domains of police officers overlap considerably. The poster suggests that members of the public have partial ownership of the spaces in which the CSC is located and that they have the right and are requested to 'help' shape the professional discourse of police officers working in the CSC of Phatisanani police station so as to be compatible with the institutional discourse of 'human rights' in which the notion of policing as a service is embedded. However no such request is to be seen on the walls of the other spaces where there is little or no overlap with the public domain. Furthermore, depicting a Black male, a Coloured male and a White female in the poster is a means to suggest that all races have been integrated and accepted into the SAPS as well as at Phatisanani police station – the racial division that shaped both the institutional and the professional discourses of the SAP is something of the past. The poster also suggests that Phatisanani police station as part of a state apparatus reflects and has accepted the values and attitudes of the dominant institutional discourse of 'human rights' discussed in the previous chapter.

The following notice drawn up by Internal Communications of the station located in the A-block was pasted on the wall of B3 and reads as follows:

Members please don't refer people verbally to A1 and A2 without prior consultation. Once more give a referral letter with your details stating the problems and the kind of help.

*Captains, Inspectors, Sergeants and other colleagues must co-operate failing which further steps will be taken. **Remember we are monitored.** (in bold)*

Advice By: Communication Thank you.

The word 'people' is a discursive formation referring to those people from the public domain. Moreover the literacy practice of underlining the word 'people' suggests that the public cannot visit at will spaces other than those forming part of the CSC without a referral letter from a police officer in the CSC. Therefore the public's partial ownership of the CSC does not apply to the other spaces at Phatisanani police station. This bureaucratic procedure is similar to that of members of the public who want to visit the spaces the detectives occupy – the public can only visit the detectives once they have obtained a piece of paper with the CAS number and the name of the investigating officer from an officer in B3 as was discussed above.

Writing 'Remember we are monitored' in bold is an indication of how the institutional discourse of 'human rights' is shaping text production at Phatisanani police station in the form of the poster mentioned. As was mentioned in the previous chapter the shift from policing as a force to that of a service meant that there was no 'guarantee of cover' at station or state level if a mistake was made. I suggested in the previous chapter that the professional discourse of police officers is now characterised by uncertainty because police officers are not clear on the role they are suppose to play in the new political dispensation.

Foucault (1977:207) argues that the Panopticon does not preclude a permanent presence from the outside – any member of society will have the right to see with his own eyes how state institutions function. The glossy poster suggests that any person from the public may enter the CSC and exercise the functions of surveillance. Therefore there is no risk that the increase in power created by the Panopticon may degenerate into tyranny. Instead the disciplinary mechanism will be democratically controlled since it will be constantly accessible 'to the great tribunal committee of the world'. Surveillance thus becomes a means of self-control or self-discipline.

Superintendent Du Plessis also designed posters reminding police officers of the bureaucratic procedures that they had to follow in the CSC regarding their literacy practices. These included the bureaucratic procedures amongst others, of ensuring that a detective 'signs' for a docket on the CAS, the procedures to be followed when a rape case of a person older than fourteen is reported, ensuring that the fingerprint forms are taken to the court and that bail forms are included in dockets as can be seen below.

From: Monday 26/6.

PROTOCOLS FOR INITIATION OF [REDACTED] CARE CENTRE

Rape Cases: Older than 14.

[REDACTED] POLICE CHARGE OFFICE PERSONNEL:

THIS IS THE NEW PROCESS FOR RAPE CASES 14 YEARS AND OLDER

1. 1. NO REPORT MAY BE DISMISSED. EVERY REPORT MUST BE ACCEPTED.
5. 2. OPEN A DOCKET AND GIVE IT A CAS NUMBER
3. 3. THIS DOCKET MUST BE GIVEN TO THE EMERGENCY SERVICES TO BE TAKEN TO JOOSTE HOSPITAL
4. 4. DO NOT TAKE ANY DETAILS OF THE RAPE FROM THE VICTIM
2. 5. DIRECT THE VICTIM TO THE COMFORT ROOM
3. 6. INFORM THE VICTIM THAT SHE WILL BE COLLECTED BY A VEHICLE TO TAKE HER TO JOOSTE HOSPITAL WHERE SHE WILL BE ATTENDED TO
4. 7. TELEPHONE THE EMERGENCY SERVICES IMMEDIATELY - [REDACTED]
8. 8. INFORM THE EMS THAT A RAPE HAS BEEN REPORTED AT KHAYELITSHA POLICE STATION AND THAT THE EMERGENCY VEHICLE MUST BE SENT TO PICK HER UP TO TAKE HER TO JOOSTE HOSPITAL
9. 9. IF REPORT IS BETWEEN 7AM AND 12 MIDNIGHT TELEPHONE THE NDPP/BJA PERSON ON DUTY AND INFORM HER/HIM TO ATTEND AT JOOSTE HOSPITAL
10. 10. NO STATEMENT MAY BE TAKEN FROM THE VICTIM
11. 11. ONCE THE VEHICLE ARRIVES, ASSIST THE VICTIM TO THE VEHICLE
12. 12. DO NOT CONTACT THE INVESTIGATING OFFICER ON STANDBY

22 June 2000

Figure 3: Procedures to follow in B1 when a rape case of a person older than fourteen is reported.

What is interesting about Figure 3 is that Superintendent Du Plessis has changed the order of the bureaucratic procedures that police officers must follow when a rape is reported of a person over the age of fourteen. It is an example of how an institutional discourse has been recontextualised to suit the professional discourse of police at Phatisanani police station. Thus it can be argued that the bureaucratic procedures as outlined in the notice above have been reified to suit the professional discourse of 'a station like Phatisanani'.

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910353

ALL CELLGUARDS

THE FORMS FOR THE JUVENILES MUST AGAIN BE COMPLETED WITH EVERY ARREST.

THE ARRESTING OFFICER MUST COMPLETE HIS PART.

THEN THE CELLGUARD COMPLETE HIS PART.

THE DETECTIVE COMPLETE HIS PART. WHEN CHARGING THE SUSPECT.

THE FORMS MUST BE KEPT IN THE DOCKET.

IF FORMS ARE DONE AT CELL GUARDS OFFICE COLLECT NEW ONES AT B10

Handwritten notes and diagrams:

- 3617 159
- 148 274
- No 7
- 252
- 255
- 257
- 0509
- 509
- 1101/04/2000
- SP
- 250
- 255
- 258
- 20
- 2/01
- SP

Figure 4: Bureaucratic procedures to follow at the cells when a juvenile has been arrested.

All cellguards

Every morning the fingerprints in the box must be taken with the van to the box in Mitch. Blair C/office. Send it with the members taken the prisoners to court

Thanks.



Figure 5: Procedures to follow by the cell guards when an arrested person is to appear in court for the first time.

4.2.1

CAS MEMBERS

Please do function 4.1.1.1 or 4.1.1.2 immediately after a docket/GDO is registered!!

Do not give a docket to a detective without him\her doing function 4.2.1 on the CAS.

If the CAS is off line, the detective must sign for the docket in the OB!!

Figure 6: Procedures to follow in B3 when registering a docket on the CAS

It was also interesting to note that the station commander, who was a Black male, drew up separate standing orders for the CSC reminding officers of the bureaucratic procedures to follow and the disciplinary code that police officers should adhere to at 'a station like Phatisanani'.

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copy for
complainant heads, please
R

STATION ORDERS

1. COMMUNITY SERVICE CENTRE
 - 1.1. The relief commander to parade the members, inspect their uniform and their sobriety.
 - 1.2. Members to perform their duties as prescribed in the SAP 15.
 - 1.3. No members allowed behind the counter except members on duty, detective on call duties and the officers.
 - 1.4. No docket should be lying in the C.S.C. for more than 2 hours during the working hours, the detectives to sign for the dockets on the CAS system.
 - 1.5. The CAS operator will register the cases as they are reported, if the CAS is out of order, the relief commander must see to it that the dockets are registered at the nearest police stations or satellites.
 - 1.6. Shift members and/or any members in the community service centre to stand up from their chairs if an officer comes in for the first time.
 - 1.7. Shift commanders to check OB, SAP 14, firearm register and all other registers in the community service centre everyday.
 - 1.8. Shift commanders to make a certificate in the OB before the handing over certificate that all cases reported during the tour of his duty has been registered and accused have been charged in respect of the straight arrest.
 - 1.9. Shift commanders to ensure that the flag is hoisted and lowered accordingly.
 - 1.10. If the complainant is sent away, an OB entry must be made indicating the reasons thereto.
 - 1.11. CELLS
 - 1.11.1 Cells must be visited by not less than two members at all times.
 - 1.11.2 No firearm is allowed in the cells.
 - 1.11.3 Direct arrests eg. possession of dagga, firearm, cell-guards not to accept prisoners where no fingerprints and warning statement has been obtained from the accused.
 - 1.11.4 All the columns in the SAP 14 register must be completed properly.

ION COMMISSIONER	✓
E PREVENTION	✓
CTIVES	✓
UNITY SERVICE CENTRE	✓
ICES	✓
ETICS	✓
ISTRATION (CONTRL)	✓
VESTS (BAKANA)	✓
N RESOURCE MAN.	✓
RU	✓
UNITY POLICE FORUM	✓
ME INTEL	✓
U	✓

2/.....

Figure 7.1. : Standing Orders for Phatisanani police station.

1.11.5 Visitors may be allowed between 12:00 and 14:00 only and the food and clothing should be searched before taking it to the cells.

1.11.6 The prisoners not to be let out of the cell rooms except when bathing and if they are having a bath, it must be done under supervision.

1.17.1 Every escaping should be attended to by a duty officer and the Area office be informed immediately.

1.12. VEHICLES

1.12.1 Vehicles to be inspected by the shift commander or the next senior member as he may delegate every Tuesdays.

1.12.2 Vehicles should be inspected once a week on all components.

1.12.3 Damage report (SAP 298) must be completed for every damage to the state vehicle.

1.12.4 Private persons except witnesses, complainant and prisoners may not be conveyed in the state vehicles.

1.13. DRINKING

1.13.1 Drinking on duty is a serious offence and no warning should be given, i.e. it must be treated in terms of Reg 8(2) of the Disciplinary Regulations.

1.13.2 Drinking within the station premises whether on or off duty, is an offence and no warning will be issued.

1.13.3 If the member is under the influence of smelling of liquor, he should not be booked on duty.

lib01\stationorder\no



DIRECTOR

Figure 7.2. : Standing Orders for Phatisanani police station.

Although the station orders above were pasted on the walls of the CSC, police officers from the management and the ordinary rank-and-file working in the CSC never adhered to them completely. I have observed on many occasions that police officers reported drunk on duty, although the station orders suggest that the sobriety of members should be inspected. Off duty members were allowed to frequent the areas behind the counters of the CSC. On one occasion a Khayelitsha resident who came to report a crime was turned away from the CSC. After being turned away he came to report the incident to Superintendent Du Plessis. The resident told Superintendent Du Plessis that he was told that dockets and complaints are not recorded on this particular day.

No notices listing bureaucratic procedures or standing orders were evident on the walls of the spaces where there was little or no contact with the public. Compared to the CSC these spaces were more personalised with newspaper cartoons, birthday cards and photographs of family members that its occupants pasted on the walls. It is also interesting to note that the community service centres of police stations I visited prior to choosing Phatisanani police station as a research site did not have the type of notices mentioned above on its walls. I suggest that the discursive practice of placing posters on the walls of the CSC is for purposes of display – it is a way of creating the impression that Phatisanani police station has efficient and disciplined police officers who are committed to providing a service to Khayelitsha residents and who have internalised the bureaucratic procedures associated with everyday policing.

The discourse formation of 'members' in the station's standing orders above inevitably suggests that all police officers in the CSC and at Phatisanani police station are seen as 'insiders' to the professional discourse at Phatisanani police station. 'Members' also implies that everyone at the station has acquired the bureaucratic procedures and therefore they have come under the control and constant surveillance of the Panopticon operating through the bureaucratic procedures at Phatisanani police station.

However as will be demonstrated further in this and chapters to follow, this is not the case due to 'disorder of discourses' at the station caused by the conflicting discourses discussed in the previous chapter. Wodak (1996:2) argues that 'disorder of discourses' result from the gulfs separating 'insiders' from 'outsiders', members of institutions from clients of those institutions, and initiates and uninitiated individuals

into bureaucratised discursive practices such as literacy practices. I further suggest that 'disorder of discourses' also occurs when the surveillance of the Panopticon cannot exercise its control completely over police officers who have not acquired the bureaucratic procedures which include the everyday literacy practices of police officers. Therefore I argue that 'outsiders' at Phatisanani police station pose more of a threat to the notion of policing as a service.

Constructing the gap between the identities of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' at Phatisanani police station

The 'insiders' at Phatisanani police station

The personnel at the station consisted of White, Black, Coloured and Indian officers from the old SAP who received training at the various SAP colleges mentioned in the previous chapter – these officers I view as the 'insiders' of Phatisanani police station. Officers at the station had the following ranks, constable (the lowest rank at the station), sergeant, inspector, captain, inspector, superintendent and director (the highest rank at the station).

As was mentioned in the previous chapter the dominance of the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' with its emphasis on policing the continual existence of apartheid, shaped the training and recruitment of police officers regardless of their racial classification. A Coloured officer said the following concerning the recruitment of police officers into the SAP during the apartheid years: "In die ou dae (*referring to the apartheid years*) toe ek by die SAP aangesluit het, het hulle na jou hoogte, fisiese bou ensovoorts gekyk. Kwalifikasies was nooit 'n vereiste nie"⁶ [verbatim reconstruction]. Another Coloured officer confirmed that qualifications were never a prerequisite when he entered the SAP but that your height was important. "I was not at least five feet six inches tall, but the SAP was keen to employ me. I was told to stand on my toes to make the required height. That is how I made it into the SAP."

Black police officers I spoke to were of the opinion that their initiation into the SAP was of a more abusive nature due to apartheid and the dominance of the institutional discourse of 'the Volk'. Black officers spoke of how they had to keep their heads clean-shaven everyday so that the White training officer could beat them on their heads if they did anything wrong during the training sessions. Coloured officers at

Phatisanani mentioned that they had to keep their heads clean-shaven as well but that they said that this was because they sweated profusely during training.

Either way, the clean-shaven heads of new recruits identified them as initiates occupying a liminal state of transition from their status prior to presenting themselves for training at the police colleges to that of a police officer. Van Genep (1960) calls these states of transition 'rites of passage'. He argues that during these rites of passage individuals are symbolically killed, reborn, nurtured as they take on new social statuses, and then reborn into society as new and different persons as is the case with police officers. Initiates undergo rituals meant to strip them of their identities and separate them from their previous social statuses. They may be forcibly removed geographically, or made to remove clothing, hair (as was the case with police officers at Phatisanani police station), or other physical markings of their previous selves. According to Van Genep (1960) liminal individuals are neither here nor there – they are betwixt and between the positions assigned by custom, convention and ceremony. Initiates re-emerge from this liminal state often through formal ritual procedures, to the normal social fabric with a newly defined identity namely that of 'insider' to a discourse and a changed social status as is the case with police officers. Rites of passage are exactly what people go through to become 'insiders'. However the 'insider' status of Black, Coloured and Indian policemen was qualified by the racial discrimination embedded in the institutional discourse of the 'the Volk'

'Disorder of discourses' between 'insiders'

I also suggest that there exist 'disorder of discourses' between 'insiders' at Phatisanani police station which are rooted in past institutional and professional discourses.

As was stated in the previous chapter a non-White police officer could not give orders to a White officer even if he or she was of a higher rank. One Coloured police officer told me that during the apartheid years a Coloured captain could not give any orders to a White constable although he was of a higher rank. "He was only a captain amongst Coloured officers and a White constable was his superior, but that has changed now," said the officer. However Black officers felt that this discursive practice which I linked to the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' discussed in the

⁶ "In the old days when I joined the SAP, they considered your height, physical built and so

previous chapter still remained at Phatisanani police station. "If a Black officer with a lower rank is disrespectful towards a White officer of a higher rank, he is disciplined here at the station. But if a White officer of a lower rank is disrespectful towards a higher ranking Black police officer no disciplinary measures are taken," said a Black sergeant at the station. The same officer would not allow me to interview him while I was taking notes or when my dictaphone was on for fear that I might make his comments available to his superiors. He felt that he would be victimised for his viewpoints.

Much of the mistrust that Black 'insiders' have for White, Coloured and Indian 'insiders' at Phatisanani police station is rooted in past institutional discourses discussed in the previous chapter. The institutional discourse of 'human rights' required the redistribution of human resources in the SAPS from police stations outside the Black townships to the Black townships. White and non-White officers (excluding Black officers) were redeployed to the station after 1994. To be sent to Phatisanani police station during the apartheid years as was mentioned in the previous chapter, was seen as a form of 'punishment' and as a 'career graveyard' as was mentioned by Schärf (1995) in his discussion of the 'Punishment Station Syndrome'. Some of the Black police officers at Phatisanani police station are still of the opinion that any non-Black officer sent to the station is there because he or she was unproductive in stations outside the Black townships as one of the literacy events will indicate in the next chapter. Therefore Black police officers believed that the state was disinterested in combating crime in the Black townships and that the dual policing system of the apartheid era still remains. Black officers that I spoke to were of the opinion that the redeployment of non-Black officers from police stations outside the Black townships to Phatisanani police station was seen as a punishment for Khayelitsha's residents because it had implications for the professional discourse of the Phatisanani police station – it would never aid in the promotion and provision of a police service. I discuss the 'disorder' or conflict between 'insiders' further in the next chapter.

The 'outsiders' at Phatisanani police station

One of the Coloured male officers told me during an interview that between eighty and ninety percent of the rank-and-file at Phatisanani police station were members of the Black auxiliary forces. Most of the auxiliary forces at the station were ex-

on. Qualifications were never a prerequisite."

kitskonstabels discussed in the previous chapter. I was told by police officers at Phatisanani police station that when the SAP changed its name to the SAPS kitskonstabels were given the option of becoming officers or cleaners in the SAPS at one of the police stations.

My observations in the station and conversations I had with officers proved that full integration of kitskonstabels into the SAPS and into the professional discourse of Phatisanani police station after 1994 was problematic. Police officers at the station told me that one could easily identify a police officer who belonged to the Black auxiliary forces through their force numbers – “You just need to look at their force number, if it starts with an XX you know that the person was a kitskonstabel or a municipal police officer.” [verbatim reconstruction]

At Phatisanani police station force numbers assign a certain identity to a police officer and link a police officer to a particular history in relation to the type of initiation and training he or she experienced before entering the SAP. Force numbers allow police officers to identify those officers who have acquired the bureaucratic procedures involving the literacy practices of policing and the expectations of the institution of policing, namely that of discipline, commitment and conscientiousness. It is a way police officers identify those who have undergone training at the four police training colleges mentioned in the previous chapter and those who are ‘insiders’ and ‘outsiders’ to the professional discourse at the station.

Kitskonstabels are labelled as ‘outsiders’ to the professional discourse at Phatisanani police station. One Coloured male detective told me: “We used some of them as interpreters at the detective branch at Phatisanani police station. Some were quite good and were of a great help in solving cases.” Therefore the kitskonstabels were involved in more verbal practices than in the literacy practices of everyday policing. As was mentioned in the previous chapter the kitskonstabels were mostly tested verbally and were previously expected to fulfil a more physical role within the institutional discourse of ‘the Volk’ by destabilising township communities. Allowing kitskonstabels to act as interpreters still kept them from being initiated into and acquiring the bureaucratized literacy practices of policing. A Black female constable involved in on-the-job training of police officers remarked: “I had to teach an old officer from these kitskonstabels. I had to teach him sentence structure and many other things. It was time consuming and frustrating. Teaching these basic things is not part of my job.” Gee (1990) suggests that acquisition of a discourse or in the

case of this study, the professional discourse of Phatisanani police officers and its associated literacy practices can only occur through exposure to models and practice within social groups or communities of practice. Exclusion from the social practice and therefore the literacy practices of the professional discourse means that you will never become a member of a discourse and will remain an 'outsider' or a 'non-member' as suggested by Gee (1990). Lave and Wenger (1991:64) argue that if individuals want to acquire the discursive practices of a certain social group or professional discourse they must be legitimate peripheral participants engaged in ongoing practice so that the learning identity of 'outsider' or apprentice can be transformed into that of full participant or 'insider'. Gee (1990:155) argues that communities of practice or social groups like the 'insiders' discussed above will usually not give their social goods including literacy practices to 'outsiders'.

At Phatisanani police station two of the kitskonstabels were integrated into the detective branch after 1995 but they did not acquire the literacy practices of policing. A Coloured officer who used to be a detective said: "Two years after becoming detectives they were sent on a course and it was found that they couldn't even complete a docket! How they did their detective work for the two years I still don't know." [verbatim reconstruction]

'Insiders' humorously related kitskonstabels' unprofessional behaviour to me reinforcing their identity as 'outsiders'. A Coloured male police officer remembers the first weekend the kitskonstabels were deployed at Phatisanani police station as follows: "The duty officer, who is the person on standby who has to conduct an investigation if there is a shooting involving a police officer, had no rest that weekend. At four o' clock Friday afternoon he was called out and he had to stay at the station until Monday morning! There were so many shootings involving kitskonstabels. If they told you to stop and you didn't they would just shoot you. They were also allowed to take their shotguns home with them." He further noted: "I still don't know why they were kept on, crime increased when they were introduced in the townships and many of their firearms were stolen or they lost them. The first weekend of their deployment should have been an eye opener." [verbatim reconstruction]

Another officer who was redeployed from a police station in a Coloured area on the Cape Flats to Phatisanani police station said: "When I was sent to Phatisanani police station on official business I was warned that I should never tell a kitskonstabel that

he does not have a real shotgun because he will try it out on you to prove it is a real shotgun!" [verbatim reconstruction]

One officer said. "There was a kitskonstabel who was integrated into the SAPS. He was always drunk on duty. One day he was accused of rape. He actually came to the court drunk! Can you believe it? He is still working at Phatisanani police station as a police officer." [verbatim reconstruction] My observations at the station proved that many ex-kitskonstabels reported drunk for duty at the station. After reporting for duty some ex-kitskonstabels would leave the station for the nearest shebeen and return drunk as one of the literacy events in the following chapter will demonstrate.

Constructing the gap between the literacy practices of 'insiders' and 'outsiders'

Barton and Hamilton (2000) argue that a shared cognition or as I would suggest a shared understanding between participants in literacy events shape literacy practices. However I suggest that the absence of a shared understanding between participants in literacy events results in 'disorder of discourses' or conflict. The difference between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' at Phatisanani police station results in 'disorder of discourses' due to gaps between distinct and insufficiently coincident worlds of these two groups. The gap between these two worlds of understanding results in 'disorder of discourses' revealed in the bureaucratic practices which include literacy practices of police officers at Phatisanani police station.

A senior officer in charge of the SAP13 had the following to say about the literacy practices of police officers after an officer in the CSC asked him to show me the other spaces in the station, especially the SAP13: "No, don't send him to me! Let him first see the rubbish you people write, it doesn't make sense at all. Why don't you show him some of those rubbish dockets you people fill in?" He laughed and said: "You know that many a time the Department of Home Affairs⁷ sends affidavits back to be redone by a more competent officer. They trash many affidavits coming from this station". [verbatim reconstruction] One senior officer working in the A-block said in an interview that 'there are people working in the community service centre who do not know how to take statements from the public'. "The problem starts when police officers have to take statements from complainants who speak Xhosa, but they have

to write the statements in English. When the docket reaches the detectives, they cannot work with it. The detectives eventually have to redo the dockets themselves because some police officers working in the charge office do not know what it is that the detectives want in the dockets," said the officer. A detective summed up his frustrations when he receives dockets from the CSC in the following statement: "I have to sit here with these brown donkeys (*referring to the dockets on his desk*) and I have to try to figure them out". [verbatim reconstruction] When I asked police officers working in the CSC if they are involved with a docket once it left the CSC the common answer was: "No, once it leaves here it is none of my concern".

In a managerial meeting held in the A-block called to discuss a new human resource development programme for the station it was said that if the station was to promote a service ethos, officers should be sent on courses where they would learn the bureaucratic procedures involving literacy practices of taking statements from the public, handling crime scenes, using the CAS, answering the telephone, handling the public and knowing the basics and definitions of a crime. Other problems that were identified at the station were that officers do not know what bureaucratic procedures to follow in the station like 'how to book off sick', completing simple reports, dockets and statements.

In the meeting it was said that only officers who 'can do the job' should be sent on these courses because 'some people's brains are getting older' and they 'won't be able to handle the content of the courses'. A White male Afrikaner captain suggested that the officers who are sent on courses should be able to 'handle the whole system', meaning those police officers who are able to understand the functions of every space in the station as was discussed elsewhere in this chapter. These officers were seen as the dedicated staff of the station or as I would suggest the 'insiders' to the professional discourse of Phatisanani police station – those who could understand the bureaucratic procedures of the different spaces of the station.

In the meeting it became obvious that the gap between the literacy practices of the professional discourse at Phatisanani police station which are in turn embedded in the bureaucratic procedures of policing of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' were also inextricably linked to the values associated with schooling as was found by the research conducted by Scribner and Cole (1981) who studied the literacy practices

⁷The state department responsible for screening applications for state grants. The applicant

among the Vai in Liberia. They found that unschooled adults, particular in urban areas, shared some of the skills and attitudes usually associated with schooled persons. Scribner and Cole concluded that cognitive attributes were the outcome of particular social practices, such as schooling and not direct results of the acquisition of literacy. Likewise Street (1996) and Gee (1990) argue that what needs to be researched is what comes with the acquisition of literacy, namely the attitudes, values, norms and beliefs that accompany it. Opinions expressed in the meeting suggested that you can only 'train members who are committed and who want to be trained', suggesting the values and attitudes of a military-styled discipline reminiscent of the institutional discourse of 'the Volk'.

It became obvious that the discipline associated with the military was most valued in the professional discourse at Phatisanani police station – it either labelled you as an 'insider' or 'outsider'. One officer at the meeting who was the head of the human resource development unit of the station felt that 'it was a pity that we cannot send officers on a course on discipline, you either have it or you don't'. 'Having discipline' labelled a police officer as an 'insider', and as an 'outsider' if he or she was seen as displaying ill-discipline. Disciplined behaviour was also extended to include a sense of accountability. One officer suggested that police officers working in the CSC should be 'workshopped on accountability' because they were negligent in the use of police vehicles and stationery at the station. A White Afrikaner male officer suggested that the old militaristic standing orders of the apartheid era should be re-introduced at the station to ensure discipline. He said: "You know in the old days (*referring to the apartheid years*) the standing orders stated that you couldn't socialise with a higher ranking officer after hours. Now it is happening. That's why discipline has deteriorated here. We should re-introduce the old standing orders again". [verbatim reconstruction] The concerns around discipline at the station made it clear that many officers in managerial positions at the station, who occupied the spaces other than that of the CSC, still valued a strict discipline ethos that closely mirrored the discipline of the military. The military-styled discipline, as was discussed in Chapter Two, is embedded in the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' and shaped the professional discourse of police officers.

In fact many officers at the station were of the opinion that you can never demilitarise the SAPS as required by the institutional discourse of 'human rights' because it

requires an affidavit from the SAPS stating their financial situation.

would lead to a decline in discipline. “Essentially the police are paramilitary. When the changes came we were told not to have parades any more”, said a detective at the station during an interview. The same detective referred to an incident where officers of the SAPS’s dog unit let their dogs loose on illegal immigrants. The officers allowed the dogs to maul the immigrants. The whole incident was captured on video and screened in a programme on national television on the evening of 7 November 2000. The National Commissioner of Police, Jackie Selebi was interviewed concerning this abuse of power and the action he was going to take to discipline the officers. “The National Commissioner of Police stated on national television that they won’t still worry about issuing a warrant of arrest, or opening a docket but will arrest the officers and their commander immediately. You can’t just arrest someone, when there is a Constitution guarding people’s rights. We are being reminded on a continual basis of proper procedures to follow before arresting someone. A man like Selebi who is in a senior position makes a statement that completely goes against what they are preaching to us,” said the detective. [verbatim reconstruction]

The detective also told me that after the screening of this event a circular was sent to all police stations concerning the indiscipline of police officers. It also stated that all officers were to start wearing their police caps in what seemed to be an effort to punish and discipline police officers and to promote human rights amongst police officers. “We read this circular, laughed and threw it into the bin. That is what we normally do to these circulars that are unrealistic, “ chuckled the detective. He said: “Imagine being told to wear your cap? There are bigger problems to worry about.” [verbatim reconstruction] The detective also said that the wearing of police caps was reminiscent of the days when the police were seen as paramilitary. Therefore it was felt that the changes the state introduced were contradictory and impractical in nature for the professional discourse of police officers at Phatisanani police station. As Schärf (1999) suggested in the previous chapter, no processes were put in place to ‘let police know what it is about the old order (actions and attitudes) that had to be left behind, and which attitudes and actions had to be celebrated and taken forward to the new political era’ and be included as part of the professional discourse of police officers. I suggest that the conflict between the new institutional discourse of ‘human rights’ and the existing professional discourse of police officers are further compounded by the contradictions in the expectations of the state. Many police officers at the station denied the aggressive nature of policing in the past and felt that the discursive practices then were no different to those valued at present. An old Black officer at Phatisanani police station said: “People say we just arrested people

in the old days (*meaning the apartheid years*) without having evidence. We always looked for evidence before we arrested a suspect. People had their rights then already." [verbatim reconstruction]

Conclusion

In this chapter I have suggested that the shift from a police force to a police service is not an unproblematic process at Phatisanani police station, but that it is a cause for 'disorder' at the station because of conflicting past and present discourses. I have also linked the 'disorder of discourses' to the manner in which police officers were initiated into the SAP during the apartheid years and the acquisition of bureaucratic procedures involving the literacy practices of policing. Acquisition of the bureaucratic procedures and their associated literacy practices either labelled a police officer at Phatisanani police station as an 'insider' or an 'outsider'. Through the acquisition of bureaucratic procedures 'insiders' inscribed the naturalness of self-surveillance therefore allowing the Panopticon to exercise its invisible power of control and discipline.

I have also argued that ex-kitskonstabels were labelled as 'outsiders' at Phatisanani police station. During the apartheid years and the dominance of the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' kitskonstabels were required to fulfil a more physical role in policing and recruits that were chosen were from the outset seen as ill-disciplined. As was stated in this chapter the ability to display disciplined behaviour was linked to the bureaucratic procedures which include the everyday literacy practices of policing effectively. Kitskonstabels were also tested verbally and therefore I have argued that they were never expected to engage in any type of literacy practices associated with policing. 'Outsiders' like the ex-kitskonstabels never really acquired the bureaucratic procedures associated with policing and therefore they pose a threat to the systems of control at Phatisanani police station – they have not come under the close scrutiny of the Panopticon operating through the bureaucratic procedures.

At managerial and the ordinary rank-and-file level many officers were still drawing on and located by the institutional discourse of 'the Volk'. There exists a sense that the lack of strict discipline of the old order was the cause for police officers' inability to function effectively at the station and to internalise the bureaucratic procedures involving the everyday literacy practices of police officers.

The meeting called by the management of the station made it clear that it was felt that police officers working in the CSC should be sent on courses where they would learn the literacy practices associated with policing and its bureaucratic procedures. However according to Gee (1990) you cannot train or teach someone a new discourse and its associated values, skills and attitudes, but that this can only occur through a process of acquisition by exposure to models and practice within social groups or discourse communities. Dedication, conscientiousness and discipline were attributes that were highly valued at Phatisanani police station and were seen as inextricably linked to the bureaucratic procedures and literacy practices that police officers had to perform.

In the next chapter I discuss three literacy events that were recorded in the CSC to demonstrate how the conflicting discourses of both the past and present give rise to 'disorder' and misunderstanding in the station and between officers.

Chapter Four

(Un)covering the literacy practices of police officers

Introduction

Barton and Hamilton (2000:8) argue that literacy is best understood as a set of social practices; which can be inferred from events mediated by written texts. Barton suggests that there are several occasions in everyday life where the written word has a role. To understand literacy and literacy practices it is important to analyse certain events where reading and writing are used (Barton, 1994:37). Barton calls these events literacy events, and claims that this approach to the analysis of literacy events avoids broad generalisations often associated with reading and writing. Instead it works from the premise that it is necessary to understand 'something', or literacy in this case, within a particular context before looking to generalisations. Barton and Hamilton (2000:9) argue that many literacy events in life are regular, repeated activities and these are often an effective point of departure for the study of literacy in context. They further claim that some literacy events are linked into routine sequences and that these may be part of the formal procedures and expectations of social institutions (like policing, I would add). Barton's claim can be linked to the routinised bureaucratic procedures involving literacy practices as was discussed in the previous chapter.

In this chapter I will analyse three literacy events included below, recorded in the CSC of Phatisanani police station. The three literacy events demonstrate that police officers and individuals use written language in an integrated way as part of a range of semiotic systems during literacy events (Barton and Hamilton, 2000:9). Through the analysis of the three literacy events I intend to elaborate on the arguments about discourse acquisition made in Chapter One, specifically the professional discourse of police officers at Phatisanani police station, and illustrate how the gap between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' results in 'disorders of discourses' which can be located in the literacy practices of police officers. The literacy events also demonstrate that there is 'disorder of discourses' between 'insiders' and 'insiders' and between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' concerning the bureaucratic procedures to follow in their everyday literacy practices in the CSC of Phatisanani police station. I attribute this to the destabilising effects the institutional discourses shaping policing during the apartheid years had on the professional discourse of police officers as well as the

lack of initiation of ex-kitskonstabels into the bureaucratic procedures which include the literacy practices of everyday policing. Barton and Hamilton (2000:7) argue that literacy is a social practice and that the notion of literacy practices offers a means to conceptualise the link between reading and writing and the social structures and therefore their associated bureaucratic procedures in which they are embedded. Drawing on the arguments of Gee (1990), I would further suggest that the notion of literacy practices offers a means to conceptualise the link between reading and writing and the discourses they are embedded in.

Drawing on the historical perspective offered on policing in South Africa in Chapter Two, the arguments in Chapter Three and the three literacy events below, I suggest that many police officers who have been excluded from the literacy practices of policing during the apartheid years, like the ex-kitskonstabels, are still struggling to acquire the literacy practices of the institution of policing due to the unequal power relations between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. Therefore legitimate peripheral (Lave and Wenger, 1991) participation in the bureaucratic procedures which include the literacy practices of everyday policing cannot occur due to the unequal power relations or gap between 'insiders' and 'outsiders'. I further suggest that some police officers choose to be excluded from the new literacy practices shaped by the contemporary institutional discourse of 'human rights' discussed in Chapter Two because this conflicts with previously acquired professional discourses shaping policing during the apartheid years.

First literacy event

"It is easy to complete a docket once you get used to it"

"A bus driver was shot and a passenger killed this morning," said the voice over the radio as I drove to Phatisanani police station.

The charge office, room B1 was crowded and dusty. A queue of women carrying crying babies wrapped in blankets on their backs and members of the public was stretching from the inside of B1 to well into the courtyard past police vans and South African National Defence Force (SANDF) trucks. The queue never seemed to be getting shorter, its length being maintained by people joining the queue continuously. This was the norm for Mondays and Tuesdays at Phatisanani police station. Most of the single mothers were here to obtain affidavits from the police to secure state grants from the social welfare department or to lay charges of domestic violence.

The rest of the queue came to have personal documents certified and to open dockets. The air was heavy with the smell of smoke from open fires and paraffin given off by the clothes of some of the shack dwellers in the queue. The thudding of the oath stamp occasionally pierced the deafening noise caused by the SANDF and SAPS trucks outside in the courtyard mixed with the chatter of people, the crying of babies and workers scraping the walls of B1. I later learned that the SANDF and SAPS had combined forces to quell the ongoing transport conflict between the Golden Arrow Bus Company and taxi operators on the Cape Flats.

Two female constables and one male reservist were working in B1, but the number of personnel attending to the public constantly changed. Some of the personnel would leave to smoke a cigarette outside, leaving sometimes only one person to attend to the public. A half an hour after arriving at the station, two male sergeants, one carrying a plastic bag, entered B1. Accompanying them were two male Rastafarians¹. The shift commander, Inspector Mlungu, arrived soon afterwards looking for paper, but there was none on the shelf. He told me that the two sergeants arrested the two males for the possession of *dagga*² earlier this morning during a police search of houses in Khayelitsha.

The two sergeants climbed over the counter and sat themselves each at a cubicle leaving the two Rastafarians on the other side. I asked Sergeant Yeki if I could witness and record the method they used to open a docket. He said it would not be a problem. The other sergeant, Sergeant Miti (who I later learnt was an ex-kitskonstabel) started to fill in the *Aanhef tot Verklaring/Preamble to Statement* form (see Figure 8 below).

¹ A name given to followers of Rastafarianism.

² A local South African name given for marijuana.



AANHEF TOT VERKLARING • PREMBLE TO STATEMENT

PERSOONLIKE BESONDERHEDE • PERSONAL PARTICULARS	
Van Surname	[REDACTED] Titel Title MALE SERG
Voorname Christian names	[REDACTED]
Identiteitsno Identity No	79089 Paspootnommer Passport number
Persal No	Geboortedatum Date of birth 11/01/36
Ras Race	Geslag Sex M Beroep Occupation SAPS Taal Language TSONGA
ADRESBESONDERHEDE—(Vul slegs toepaslike besonderhede in) ADDRESS PARTICULARS—(Fill in relevant particulars only)	
WŌONADRES • RESIDENTIAL ADDRESS	
Gebou/Plaas/Plot/Plek Building/Farm/Plot/Place	1120 No
Straatnaam Street name	[REDACTED] No
Voorstad/Uitbr/Gebied Suburb/Ext/Area	SOSHANGUUE No
Dorp/Stad Town/City	PRETORIA Tel Kode Tel Code No
ADRES—WERK/BEESIGHEID/INSTANSIE/ORGANISASIE • ADDRESS—WORK/BUSINESS/INSTITUTION/ORGANISATION	
Naam van Instansie/Organisasie Name of Institution/Organisation	POLIS No
Gebou/Plaas/Plot/Plek Building/Farm/Plot/Place	[REDACTED] No
Straatnaam Street name	[REDACTED] STRAAT No
Voorstad/Uitbr/Gebied Suburb/Ext/Area	ARDATE BAGWIG No
Dorp/Stad Town/City	KOSSTRA No
Telefoon—Kode Telephone—Code	012 Nummer Number Uitbreiding Extension
KONTAKPERSOON (INDIEN VAN TOEPASSING) • CONTACT PERSON (IF APPLICABLE)	
Van Surname	[REDACTED] Voorletters Initials M
Titel Title	SERGEANT Tel Kode Tel Code No [REDACTED] Uitbr Ext

2000-07-04
Datum/Date

Figure 8: First Aanhef tot Verklaring/Preamble to Statement Form completed by Sergeant Miti.

He called on Sergeant Yeki to assist him. After explaining the form, Sergeant Yeki moved away leaving Sergeant Miti to complete the form on his own.

Sergeant Yeki asked the two Rastafarians to write their names, addresses and ages on pieces of paper which had writing on them already and that were lying on the counter (see Figure 9.1. and Figure 9.2. below).

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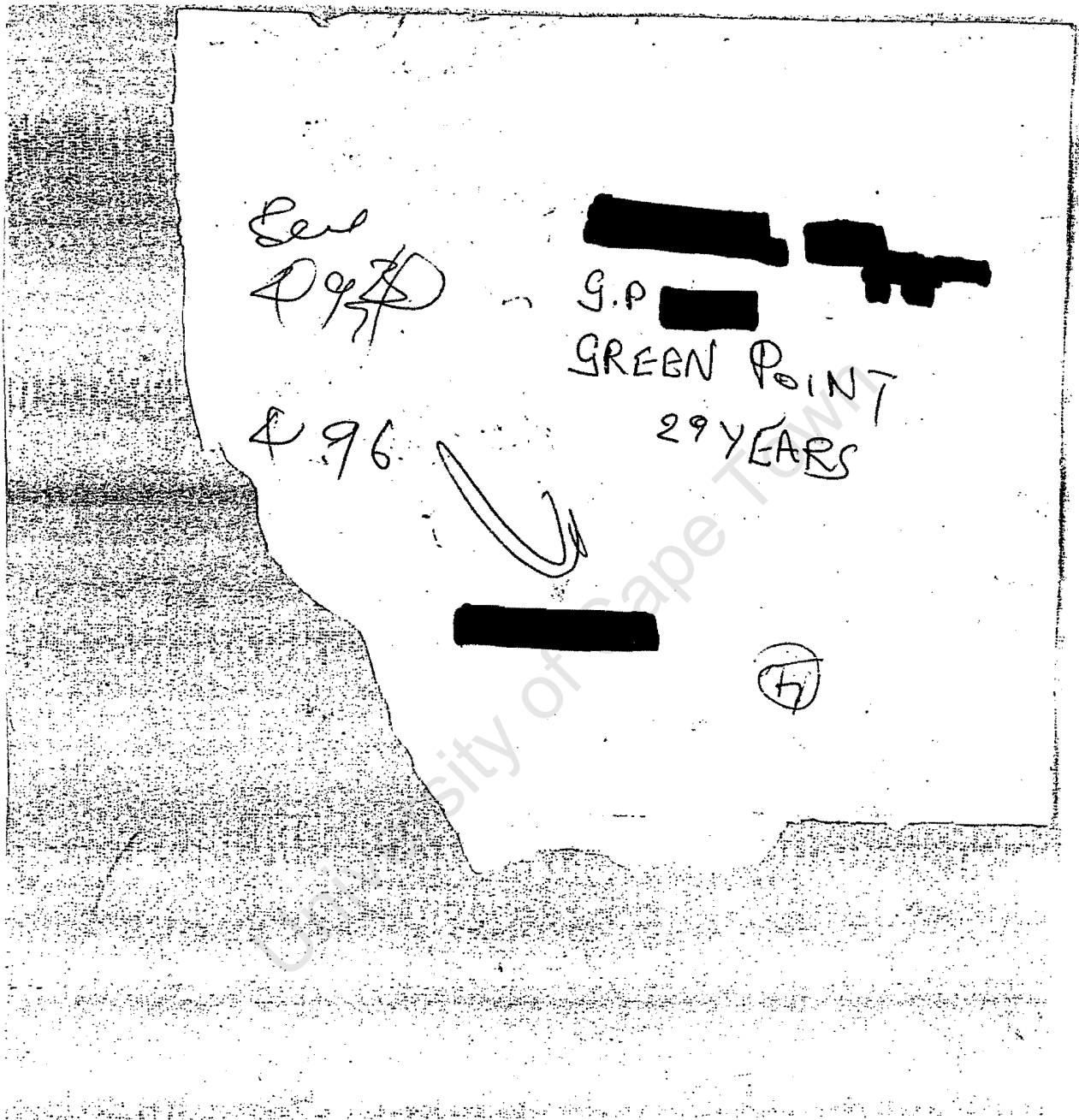


Figure 9.1. : Pieces of paper given to the Rastafarians to write their names and addresses.

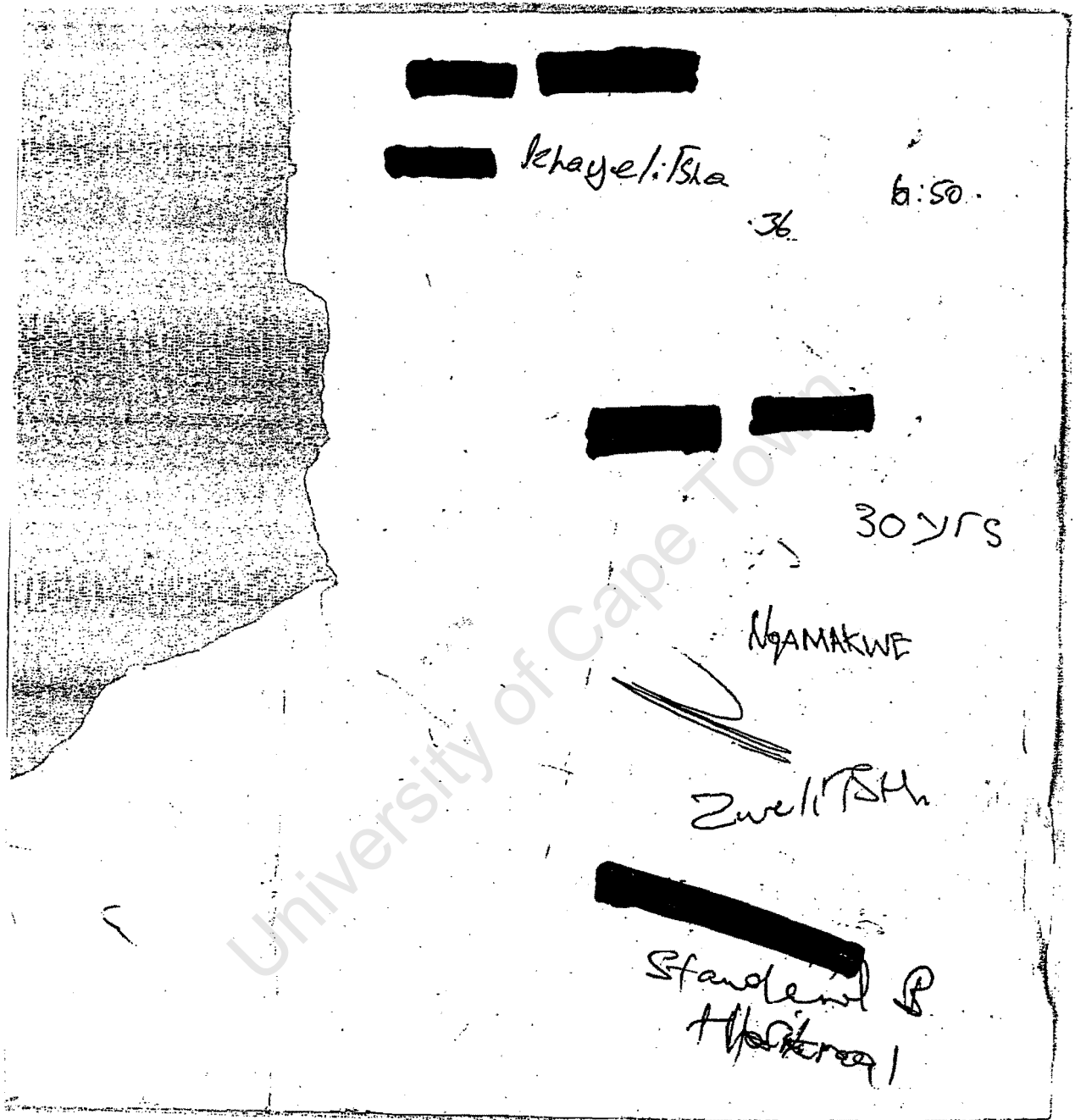


Figure 9.2. : Pieces of paper given to the Rastafarians to write their names and addresses.

While the two were writing the information that was requested, Sergeant Miti still struggled to fill in the *Aanhof tot Verklaring/Preamble to Statement* form. He progressed very slowly. Sergeant Yeki went over to the table, behind the cubicles that were near to the shelf, with all the various forms, where he left the bag he brought with him. He emptied the contents on the table. The dagga was wrapped in brown paper. An iron pipe was also amongst the small parcels of dagga. Sergeant Yeki told me that the parcels were called 'stoppers' and were ready-packed to be sold. He told me that the *dagga* would eventually be stored at SAP13 as evidence. SAP13 is a form as well as a building in the D-block of the police station where all evidence is stored.

Sergeant Miti called Sergeant Yeki to explain some parts of the *Aanhof tot Verklaring/Preamble to Statement* form to him again. After a brief explanation Sergeant Yeki returned to where I was standing. He asked me what my profession was. I told him that I was a Mathematics teacher at a high school in Khayelitsha. He said: "I always wanted to be a teacher but ...". He shrugged his shoulders and continued, "I joined the SAP in 1989 and for one of my assignments I was sent to the scene of a politically motivated massacre. My heart went out to the families of the victims, but I was wearing a police uniform,... I must have been seen as part of the enemy." [verbatim reconstruction] A sad silence settled over him. Sergeant Yeki suddenly broke his silence and told me that he will continue talking to me, but that he had to assist his partner to fill in the forms, take the statements and to complete the docket.

Sergeant Miti now started filling in the *Verklaring/Statement* form (see Figure 10 below).



A.....

VERKLARING • STATEMENT

Die volgende gegewens met betrekking tot die misdryf/voorval word verstrek—
The following particulars in respect of the offence/incident is supplied—

Datum en tyd van misdryf/voorval Date and time of offence/incident		J J J J M M D D 2 0 0 0 0 7 0 4	H H M M 0 7 5 0	Of Or	Tydperk: Tussen Period: Between	H H M M 0 8 1 0
op on		J J J J M M D D 2 0 0 0 0 7 0 4	H H M M 0 7 5 0	en and	J J J J M M D D 2 0 0 0 0 7 0 4	Dag van week Day of week
Metode gebruik/Toegang verkry Method used/Entrance gained		SEARCHING OF A HOUSE				
Tipe instrument gebruik Type of instrument used		JAGGA				

TONEEL VAN MISDAAD • SCENE OF CRIME	
Tussen: Pleknaam Between: Name of place	HOUSE [REDACTED] AMN [REDACTED]
en: Pleknaam and: Name of place	GREEN ADAPT
OF • OR	
Gebou/Plaas/Plot/Plek Building/Farm/Plot/Place	[REDACTED] No [REDACTED]
Straatnaam/name Street name/s	[REDACTED] No [REDACTED]
Voorstad/Uitbr/Gebied Suburb/Ext/Area	KWATJELITSHA
Dorp/Stad Town/City	CAPE TOWN
Geogr Blokno Geogr Block No	[REDACTED] Tipe perseel Type of premises [REDACTED]

2000-07-04
Datum • Date

Handtekening • Signature

In die geval van diefstal van 'n motorvoertuig moet die verklaring op vorm SAP 3M (c) voortgesit word.
In die geval van diefstal van 'n vuurwapen moet die verklaring op vorm SAP 3M (d) voortgesit word.
In alle ander sake moet die verklaring op 'n blanko foliopapier voortgesit word.

In a case of theft of a vehicle the statement must be continued on form SAP 3M (c).
In a case of theft of a fire-arm the statement must be continued on form SAP 3M (d).
In all other cases the statement must be continued on blank folio paper.

Figure 10: Verklaring/Statement Form completed by Sergeant Miti.

In the meantime Sergeant Yeki started writing his statement on paper. I later learned that Sergeant Yeki's statement is called the *Witness Statement* or A2 (see Figure 11 below).

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A2

(I, SGT E.P. [REDACTED] PERSONAL NO. [REDACTED] STATIONED
 AT POPS - PTA ROSSLYN AND RESIDING AT PTA -
 ORIN AT [REDACTED] 259 [REDACTED] PTA - MURSH
 TEL: (W) (012) [REDACTED] AND CELL: [REDACTED].

ON 2000.07.04 I AND SGT [REDACTED] WERE SEARCHING
 THE HOUSES AT GREENPOINT AND THE SEARCHING
 COMMENCED AT 05:00.

AS WE WERE BUSY SEARCHING, CAME TO HOUSE NO.
 3/P. [REDACTED] GREENPOINT BELONGING TO MR [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] 29 YRS. IN THE HOUSE WHILE SEARCHING, SGT
 [REDACTED] M.S. FOUND THREE PARCELS OF DAGGA, AND
 THIRTY (30) STOPPERS. THEY WERE PUT INTO A FOOD-BEAN.

WHEN MR [REDACTED] TOLD US THAT THE STUFF BELONGS
 TO MR [REDACTED] 30 YRS. MR [REDACTED] ACCEPTED
 THAT THE DAGGA BELONGS TO HIM. THEN BOTH
 WERE ARREST FOR THE FOLLOWING. MR [REDACTED]
 FOR POSSESSION AND MR [REDACTED] FOR DEALING
 WITH DAGGA. LASTLY A SMOKING-PIPE WAS ALSO FOUND.

I KNOW AND UNDERSTAND THE CONTENTS OF THIS DECLARATION.
 I HAVE NO OBJECTION IN TAKING THE PREScribed
 OATH, AS IT IS BINDING IN MY CONSCIENCE.

Figure 11: Witness Statement or A2 completed by Sergeant Yeki.

Sergeant Miti who was the arresting officer had to fill in the *Charge Statement* or *A1* (see Figure 12 below). While Sergeant Yeki was writing his *Witness Statement*, Sergeant Miti continually checked with Sergeant Yeki if he was completing the *Aanhel tot Verklaring/Preamble to Statement* form correctly. Sergeant Yeki told me that the two who were arrested for possession of *dagga* that morning, had to read the statements taken and then sign if they agreed with their contents. This however never happened.

Sergeant Yeki started interviewing the two Rastafarians in English. The taller of the two, Mr Nazo said that the '*ganja*'³ was his and not Mr Mandla's, the shorter of the two accused. There seemed to be some difficulty in deciding where the two Rastafarians were staying. Sergeant Yeki asked a few questions and soon it was ascertained that both stay at G.P. XXX, Green Point, in Khayelitsha. The addresses of the two were written from the pieces of paper (see Figure 9.1. and Figure 9.2. above) that were given to Mr Mandla and Mr Nazo.

After completing the form he was busy with Sergeant Miti started to write the *Charge Statement* or *A1* (see Figure 12 below). Sergeant Miti who was looking very uneasy and uncertain stopped writing his *Charge Statement*. He got up, climbed over the counter and left B1. I noticed that he only wrote about seven lines (see Figure 12 below). I thought that he must have felt uneasy because I was observing the completion of the docket.

³ A word used by followers of Rastafarianism to refer to marijuana or cannabis.

I, SERGEANT [REDACTED] PERSAL NO [REDACTED]
STATIONED AT POPS - PRETORIA ROSSLYN AND
RESIDING AT HOUSE NO [REDACTED] [REDACTED] SOSHANGWU
AND CELL PHONE NO: [REDACTED]

ON 2000-07-04 I AND SERGEANT [REDACTED] WERE
SEARCHING THE HOUSE OF MR [REDACTED] [REDACTED] DAY
AT HOUSE NO G.P. [REDACTED] GREEN POINT.

Figure 12: First Charge Statement or A1 completed by Sergeant Miti.

Checking the information of Mr Mandla on the piece of paper, Sergeant Yeki continued with the completion of the *Witness Statement*. "Is Mr Nazo a relative of yours?" asked Sergeant Yeki. "Yes," said Mr Mandla. Sergeant Yeki continued writing. He later rose to fetch the *dagga* from the table, and placed it on the counter in the cubicle. He started counting it. "Wrap the *dagga* as it was found", he instructed Mr Mandla.

Mr Mandla who was looking very distressed started to speak with Sergeant Yeki. The following dialogue which I recorded occurred:

1 Mr Mandla: I don't understand why I was brought here ... because you ... you
2 find the owner of the *ganja* and you get the guy and you get it (*the dagga*) in
3 my place and you ... you get the owner. Why am I here?

4 (*Sergeant Yeki started to become very irritated*)

5 Sergeant Yeki: I understand ... the bottom line is that according to the law this
6 was found in your possession. Whether you are guilty or not it was found in
7 your possession. You told me that *dagga* is his (*pointing to Mr Nazo*) but it
8 was found on your premises. I don't have the power to say you can go or stay
9 ... the magistrate is the one who can decide that. My job is to arrest anyone
10 who deals in drugs without a licence.

11 Mr Mandla: You know I understand ... but where I get lost is ...

12 (*Sergeant Yeki interjects*)

13 Sergeant Yeki: This *dagga* is his (*pointing to Mr Nazo*)....All this stuff was
14 found in your house, that is why I am arresting you ... for possession ... for
15 possession of *dagga*.

16 Mr Mandla: Ah, I know what you mean. I know what you mean yah, but I am
17 not satisfied.

18 Sergeant Yeki: You are not satisfied?

19 Mr Mandla: Yes ... because.....

20 Sergeant Yeki: If you are not satisfied, you'll be asked in court
21 that...OK.....that you are not satisfied to this and this and that.....and his the
22 one or she's the one to decide that not....

23 Mr Mandla: OK, I want to know what....OK....we are here together....we are
24 here together....we are wrong?

25 Sergeant Yeki: No, I can't judge you

26 Mr Mandla: No,....because I am here mos so I am wrong....because you say I

27 am house of the owner (*sic*) you see....I'm here....I'm wrong....
28 (*Sergeant Yeki interjects*)
29 Sergeant Yeki: All right ... I told you I am ... a ... a sort of a ... a messenger of
30 the government.
31 Mr Mandla: OK, OK let me see about that ... now you see I am here nê?
32 Sergeant Yeki: Just phone a lawyer he can arrange with the magistrate to
33 release you. I can't judge to say if you are wrong or right ... all I have to do is
34 to arrest you for the possession of this (*the dagga*)... that is what I do
35 Mr Mandla: ... and then to find the wrong
36 Sergeant Yeki: For what?
37 Mr Mandla: You find mos the wrong because now ...
38 (*Sergeant Yeki interjects*)
39 Sergeant Yeki: No! Not the wrong ... my man I only arrested you for
40 possession of dagga ... perhaps you must ask your brother to explain to you in
41 Xhosa.
42 Mr Mandla: No I understand what you but I am not really satisfied because I
43 am here and then this thing you see ... yah ... because you find thing by me ...
44 because when you find the thing ... this property of other man ... yah ... and
45 then that man he says no it is not for me and then he brings the owner for this
46 thing ... does that mean that that man must stay here? You see ... You know
47 that is why I am not satisfied because you did not get this thing with me
48 Sergeant Yeki: Tell you what I am going to do or what I'm suppose to do and
49 those questions that you are asking are good, very much good. So my advice
50 to you is ask the your honour in court to ...
51 (*Mr. Mandla interjects*)
52 Mr Mandla: No ... I must ask you because ... no, no, no, ... the magistrate is
53 not going to take me there. The magistrate is just going to see me there in
54 front of the court, nê, nê? If you take me there the magistrateI must ask
55 you because it is you who take me there you see ... it is you who take me
56 there
57 Sergeant Yeki: OK my man ... I am just a messenger of the government.
58 Mr Mandla: The magistrate doesn't know about me ... don't know nothing
59 about me ... and then you take me there and then you get the owner for the
60 stuff. I am here ... I am here just for nothing.
61 Sergeant Yeki: This are not yours but his. The problem is it was found in your
62 possession. That is the problem. He is dealing in dagga....

63 Mr Mandla: I am here for ... for what?
64 Sergeant Yeki: For being in possession of...
65 *(Mr Mandla interjected)*
66 Mr Mandla: I am here to pay for that?
67 Sergeant Yeki: You are not here to pay for that...
68 Mr Mandla: I am not quite ... I am not satisfied ... yah, because I telling you the
69 owner and you bring the owner and then I came to also here ... yes *(he*
70 *turned to me in desperation)* The same like ... the same like maybe you get
71 my wife nê, yah with him and then I came and say not it is me who own her ...
72 you see ... you see. So who must I say is my wife? ... It is me mos because I
73 am the owner so no I am not the owner because the man is there who is the
74 owner ... you see. So unfortunately we both must come nê, yah ... right ... you
75 see ... but now the owner has said I'm the owner of this thing....
76 Moeain: I don't know the law so speak to the sergeant here.
77 Sergeant Yeki: No I told him many a times. You are charged with possession
78 of dagga. Once you are in possession you are going to be arrested. Anything
79 if you are in possession of dagga, possession of drugs such as ecstasy and
80 the like you know that and other thing like unlicensed firearm, possession of
81 dagga ... it is the same thing. Just possession ... being in your possession.
82 Get my point? Huh?
83 Mr. Mandla: I get your point.
84 Sergeant Yeki: Thank you.

Sergeant Yeki continued writing the *Witness Statement*. Sergeant Miti returned and asked me to pass him another *Aanhef to Verklaring/Preamble to Statement* form. He started to complete it, but made a mistake. He asked me to pass him another one. I passed him the wrong form and after looking through the forms on the shelf I eventually found the correct one. He started completing it by looking at the first one (see Figure 8 above). Once he had finished with the second *Aanhef tot Verklaring/Preamble to Statement* form (see Figure 13 below) he crumbled the one on which he made a mistake and tossed it into the bin. Sergeant Miti rose and walked away. I removed the crumbled form from the bin and placed it in my file.

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIEDIENS



SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

AANHEF TOT VERKLARING • PREAMBLE TO STATEMENT

A.....

PERSOONLIKE BESONDERHEDE • PERSONAL PARTICULARS			
Van Surname	[REDACTED]	Titel Title	SERGEANT
Voorname Christian names	[REDACTED]		
Identiteitsno Identity No	[REDACTED] 79089	Paspoortnommer Passport number	[REDACTED]
Persal No	[REDACTED]	Geboortedatum Date of birth	J J J J M M D D [REDACTED] 1912 Y Y Y Y M M D D
Ras Race	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> A <input type="checkbox"/> Br <input type="checkbox"/> Sw <input type="checkbox"/> W <input type="checkbox"/> Br <input type="checkbox"/> Bi <input type="checkbox"/> W	Geslag Sex	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> M <input type="checkbox"/> V <input type="checkbox"/> F
		Beroep Occupation	SAPS
		Taal Language	TSONGA
Of—Ouderdom Or—Age			
			36
ADRESBESONDERHEDE—(Vul slegs toepaslike besonderhede in) ADDRESS PARTICULARS—(Fill in relevant particulars only)			
WOONADRES • RESIDENTIAL ADDRESS			
Gebou/Plaas/Plot/Plek Building/Farm/Plot/Place	1129 [REDACTED]	No No	[REDACTED]
Straatnaam Street name	[REDACTED]	No No	[REDACTED]
Voorstad/Uitbr/Gebied Suburb/Ext/Area	SOSHANGUUE		
Dorp/Stad Town/City	DRETOERIA	Tel Kode Tel Code	No No
			[REDACTED]
ADRES—WERK/BESIGHEID/INSTANSIE/ORGANISASIE • ADDRESS—WORK/BUSINESS/INSTITUTION/ORGANISATION			
Naam van instansie/Organisasie Name of Institution/Organisation	DAPS [REDACTED]		
Gebou/Plaas/Plot/Plek Building/Farm/Plot/Place	[REDACTED]	No No	[REDACTED]
Straatnaam Street name	[REDACTED] STREET	No No	[REDACTED]
Voorstad/Uitbr/Gebied Suburb/Ext/Area	MELBATE BAG XI9		
Dorp/Stad Town/City	ROSSLYN		
Telefoon—Kode Telephone—Code	012	Nommer Number	[REDACTED]
		Uitbreiding Extension	[REDACTED]
KONTAKPERSOON (INDIEN VAN TOEPASSING) • CONTACT PERSON (IF APPLICABLE)			
Van Surname	[REDACTED]	Voorletters Initials	M
Titel Title	SERGEANT	Tel Kode Tel Code	No No
			[REDACTED] 5 Ext

2000-07-04
Datum/Date

Handtekening/Signature

Figure 13: Second Aanhef tot Verklaring/Preamble to Statement Form completed by Sergeant

Miti.

In the meanwhile, Sergeant Yeki called Mr Nazo. He asked him if Mr Mandla's name and surname is correct by showing him the name on the piece of paper. After Mr. Mandla's details had been verified, Sergeant Yeki requested Mr Nazo's name, surname and age. Sergeant Yeki continued with his *Witness Statement*. Sergeant Miti who had left re-entered B1. Sergeant Yeki asked Mr Nazo what the pipe was called because he was not quite sure what to call it in his statement. Mr. Nazo studied the pipe as if he was seeing it for the first time. "It is called a smoking pipe," said Mr Nazo. After signing the *Witness Statement* or A2 (see Figure 11 above), Sergeant Yeki left B1.

Sergeant Miti climbed over the counter and started with his *Charge Statement* or A1. While writing his *Charge Statement*, he continually studied Sergeant Yeki's *Witness Statement* to complete his. It appeared as if Sergeant Miti was studying Sergeant Yeki's *Witness Statement* or A2 so as to obtain the correct format for his own *Charge Statement* or A1. This crosschecking continued throughout the time Sergeant Miti was writing his *Charge Statement* or A1. After ten minutes of writing, Sergeant Miti stopped and started rewriting his *Charge Statement* or A1 (see Figure 14 below) on another clean sheet of paper by copying it from the first one (see Figure 12 above).

A1

I SERGEANT [REDACTED] [REDACTED] PERSAL NO [REDACTED]
 STATIONED AT POPS-PTA ROSSLYN AND RECEIVING
 AT HOUSE NO 1120 [REDACTED] SOSHANGUVE AND
 CELL PHONE NO [REDACTED]

ON 2000-07-04 I AND SERGEANT [REDACTED] WERE
 SEARCHING THE HOUSES AT GREENPOINT AND THE
 SEARCHING COMMENCED AT 05:00.

AS WE WERE BUSY SEARCHING, WE CAME TO
 HOUSE NO G.P. [REDACTED] GREENPOINT THAT IS BELONGING
 TO MR [REDACTED] [REDACTED] 29 YRS. IN THE HOUSE
 WHILE SEARCHING, I FOUND THREE PARCELS OF DAGGA
 AND THIRTY (30) STOPPERS. THEY WERE PUTTED INTO THE
 FOOD-BEAN.

THEN MR [REDACTED] TOLD US THAT THE STAFF STUFF
 BELONGS TO MR [REDACTED] [REDACTED] 30 YRS. MR [REDACTED]
 ACCEPTED THAT THE DAGGA BELONGS TO HIM. THEN
 BOTH WERE ARRESTED FOR THE FOLLOWING. MR [REDACTED]
 [REDACTED] FOR POSSESSION AND MR [REDACTED] FOR DEALING
 WITH DAGGA. THE SMOKING-PIPE WAS ALSO FOUND.

I KNOW AND UNDERSTAND THE CONTENTS OF THIS
 DECLARATION.

I HAVE NO OBJECTION IN TAKING THE PRESCRIBED OATH,
 AS IT IS BINDING IN MY CONSCIENCE

Figure 14: Second Charge Statement or A1 completed by Sergeant Miti.

Once this was completed, he studied Sergeant Yeki's *Witness Statement* again to make sure he had all the relevant information.

Sergeant Yeki returned and started to complete the docket cover (see Figure 15 below).

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DOSSIER • DOCKET

MR No MM JJ
 CR No 07 / 2000
 Mas No
 Cas No MM YY

Beheerregisternommer
 Control Register Number

Sakeregisternommer
 Case Register Number

Stasie
 Station

Merk met Indicate with <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Saakdossier Case docket	GDO Inquest	Hofnommer Court number	Hofsaaknommer Court Case Number
---	----------------------------	----------------	---------------------------	------------------------------------

Ondersoeker
 Investigator Tel No

Ondersoeker
 Investigator Tel No

Ondersoeker
 Investigator Tel No

Ondersoeker
 Investigator Tel No

Datum en tyd van misdryf/voorval
 Day and time of offence/incident

2000 / 07 / 04 / 06 / 50 of Tydperk: Tussen 07 / 10 op
YYYY MM DD HH MM or Period: Between HH MM op on

2000 / 07 / 04 en 07 / 50 op 2000 / 07 / 04
YYYY MM DD HH MM DD and YYYY MM DD op on YYYY MM DD

Dag van week SO MA DI WO DO VR SA
 Day of week SU MO TU WE TH FR SA

Metode gebruik/Toegang verkry/Omstandighede van dood
 Method used/Entrance gained/Circumstances of death

Tipe instrument gebruik
 Type of instrument used

DAGGA Datum oorede
 Date deceased

Plek
 Place

Klaer (voorletters en van)
 Complainant (Initials and surname) STATE AS PER [REDACTED]

Tel No (H)

Tel No (W)

Aard en beskrywing van misdryf Nature and description of offence	Aard van eiendom/beserings Nature of property/injuries	Waarde/Skade Value/Damage	Waarde Value
1. POSSESSION OF DAGGA			
2. DEALING WITH DAGGA			

Vir verdere misdrywe—Sien A • For further offences—See A

BEVINDING/UITSLAG VAN VERHOOR • FINDING/RESULT OF TRIAL

Datum skuldig bevind/Bevinding Date of conviction/Finding	HOFDATUMS COURT DATES	REDES VIR UIT REASONS FOR I
COORTREDINGS WAARAAN SKULDIG BEVIND EN VONNIS: of- LANDDROS SE BEVINDING OFFENCES CONVICTED OF AND SENTENCE: or- FINDING OF MAGISTRATE		
Datum • Date	Aanklaer • Prosecutor	

BEWYSSTUKKE • EXHIBITS

Stasie/Plek Station/Place	SAP 13 No	(A)	SAP 43 No
BESIKKING OOR DOSSIER en/of Bewysstukke DISPOSAL OF DOCKET and/or Exhibits	L/V Datums B/F Dates	Paraal/Initials	L/V Datums B/F Dates
Opmerkings Remarks			

Figure 15: Docket cover completed by Sergeant Yeki.

He asked Mr Mandla if he knew his birth date, but Mr Mandla struggled to remember. "I don't remember because I don't feel 'iree⁴?" said Mr Mandla. Sergeant Yeki told Mr Mandla to start with the year, month and day of his birth. This information was filled in on the docket cover (see Figure 16 below).

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⁴ A word used by Rastafarians to express that they are feeling in high spirits.

Besonderhede van beskuldigde No 1 Van Surname [REDACTED]
Particulars of accused

Voorname Christian names [REDACTED]
Identiteitsnommer Identity number [REDACTED] Paspoortnommer (indien beskikbaar) Passport number (if available) [REDACTED]

Geboortedatum Date of birth 1979 05 08 of ouderdom or age 29 Ras Race X BR SW W Geslag Sex M F
MM MM DD

Huwelikstaat Marital status SINGLE Beroep Occupation SELF-EMPLOYED Onderwyspeil Standard of education STD 8

Geboorteplek Place of birth NQAMAKWE Nasionaliteit Nationality XHOSA Taal Language XHOSA

Woonadres Residential address Cop. [REDACTED] GREEN POINT Tel No N/A

Werkadres Business address AS AS ABOVE Tel No

Datum en tyd gearresteer Date and time arrested [REDACTED] SAP 14 No [REDACTED] J398/J127/534 No [REDACTED]

VA geneem op FP taken on [REDACTED] VA versend FP despatched [REDACTED] SAP 69 ontvang SAP 69 received [REDACTED]

OR nommer IR number POSITIEF/NEGATIEF Datum uitskakeling VA versend POSITIVE/NEGATIVE Date elimination FP forwarded Duimafdruk Thumb print

VA No [REDACTED] VB No [REDACTED] OB No [REDACTED] (waar persoon aangekla word/where person is charged). Datum Tyd Date Time

Besonderhede van beskuldigde No 2 Van Surname [REDACTED]
Particulars of accused

Voorname Christian names [REDACTED]
Identiteitsnommer Identity number [REDACTED] Paspoortnommer (indien beskikbaar) Passport number (if available) [REDACTED]

Geboortedatum Date of birth 19 03 of ouderdom or age [REDACTED] Ras Race X BR SW W Geslag Sex M F
MM MM DD

Huwelikstaat Marital status SINGLE Beroep Occupation SELF-EMPLOYED Onderwyspeil Standard of education STD 6

Geboorteplek Place of birth ZWELITSHA Nasionaliteit Nationality XHOSA Taal Language XHOSA

Woonadres Residential address S.P. [REDACTED] GREEN POINT Tel No N/A

Werkadres Business address SAME AS ABOVE Tel No

Datum en tyd gearresteer Date and time arrested [REDACTED] SAP 14 No [REDACTED] J398/J127/534 No [REDACTED]

VA geneem op FP taken on [REDACTED] VA versend FP despatched [REDACTED] SAP 69 ontvang SAP 69 received [REDACTED]

Duimafdruk Thumb print

VA No [REDACTED] VB No [REDACTED] OB No [REDACTED] (waar persoon aangekla word/where person is charged). Datum Tyd Date Time

VIR BYKOMENDE BESKULDIGDES—SIEN A.....
FOR ADDITIONAL ACCUSED—SEE A.....

Figure 16: Docket cover completed by Sergeant Yeki.

The following dialogue which I recorded occurred when Sergeant Yeki asked for Mr Mandla's marital status:

85 Sergeant Yeki: So what are you saying? You can't be on both sides ... either
86 you are married or not married or how do you mean to say it?

87 *(Turning to me to respond to his question)*

88 Moeain: Either you are married or not married.

89 Sergeant Yeki: You can't tell me you are not married and then you are not
90 single. What do you mean?

91 Mr Mandla: I don't understand. I don't understand. You see I got a wife and
92 then the time you get me there ... yah I got my wife, I got my child...

93 Sergeant Yeki: Can I say I found you with a girlfriend ... is it possible? My
94 question to you is are you married? Yes or no?

95 Mr Mandla: Yes.

96 Sergeant Yeki: When I asked you ... when I was here that whatever you say ...

97 Mr Mandla: You see my brother my mind is not here because I must, I must
98 get the treatment you see right...

99 Sergeant Yeki: Just give the right information. Are you married? ...No?

100 Mr Mandla: OK.

101 Sergeant Yeki: Are you married?

102 Mr Mandla: Yes.

103 Sergeant Yeki: Then give the marriage certificate.

104 Mr. Mandla: No.

105 Sergeant Yeki: Which surely means you are not married.

106 Mr Mandla: No, no, because I don't have it now.

107 Sergeant Yeki: Brother no, you are becoming a problem man. It doesn't mean
108 that if you are not married then...

109 *(Mr Mandla interjects)*

110 Mr Mandla: OK no, the way, the way we are you see we don't use the
111 certificate for marriage that's why I - I - I make it easy for you because I know
112 you are going to want a certificate nê?

113 Sergeant Yeki: Yes.

114 Mr Mandla: Yes.

115 Sergeant Yeki: So you are single?

116 Mr Mandla: I am single yes ... totally yes.

117 *(Sergeant Yeki starts writing that Mr Mandla is single)*

- 118 Sergeant Yeki: Self-employed. Standard of education? Up to what standard
119 did you study?
120 Mr Mandla: Standard eight.
121 Sergeant Yeki: Place of birth?
122 Mr Mandla: It is hmmm, ... OK wait ... Nqamakwe ... Nqamakwe in Transkei.

Sergeant Yeki asked Mr Mandla to write Nqamakwe on a piece of paper (see Figure 9.2. above) so that he could write the correct spelling in the docket. After writing Xhosa in the space for Mr Mandla's nationality the following dialogue which I recorded occurred:

- 123 Sergeant Yeki: Nationality?
124 Mr Mandla: Huh?
125 Sergeant Yeki: Nationality?
126 Mr Mandla: I am a Rastaman. I'm a Rasta.
127 Sergeant Yeki: Rasta? Rasta is not included in the English language.
128 Mr Mandla: I am not under ... I am not under nationality.
129 Sergeant Yeki: No ... what we want here under nationality is not Rasta
130 because it is not a nation. I ask you a simple question.
131 Mr Mandla: OK.
132 Sergeant Yeki: Do you want me to write Rasta?
133 Mr Mandla: No...no.
134 Sergeant Yeki: What's the language spoken by Rastas?
135 Mr Mandla: OK, OK now ... I only speak Xhosa because I stay with Xhosas so
136 write Xhosa.
137 Sergeant Yeki: Don't tell me about Rastafarianism. I never heard about this
138 thing. I never saw it ... never saw it being listed.
139 Mr Mandla: No, I want you to understand that ...
140 Sergeant Yeki: No man when I when I was ... what am I suppose to write
141 here?
142 Mr Mandla: OK write Xhosa ... It's all right because mos we already said so.
143 Sergeant Yeki: No, not to say ... that I can cancel ... let's cancel it.
144 Mr Mandla: OK, OK ... I am wrong. Write there Xhosa ... OK write Xhosa here
145 please. Please write Xhosa ... Please write Xhosa.

While Sergeant Yeki was completing the docket cover, Sergeant Miti continued writing the *Charge Statement* or A1. He continually wrote his *Charge Statement* or A1 by looking at Sergeant Yeki's *Witness Statement* or A2. As he was about to finish his *Charge Statement* or A1, Sergeant Miti asked Sergeant Yeki what to write next. Sergeant Yeki told him that his last statement should contain a declaration of the validity and truthfulness of his *Charge Statement*. Sergeant Miti wrote his last sentence as he was told to do and signed his *Charge Statement* or A1.

After Sergeant Miti had completed his *Charge Statement* or A1, the two accused were taken to the cells in the C-block of the police station. We walked down a ten metre corridor, past a steel gate and after crossing a small brick courtyard we entered a small room - the cells in the C-block. The walls were dirty and the paint was faded with age. An old stove, a heater, a table, a telephone and a basin in the room made the small room look even smaller than it already was. Leading from this room was an even smaller room that served as an additional cell to the ones in the C-block. Seated at the table were two male Black officers, one a sergeant and the other a constable who were on cell guard duty for the day.

Sergeant Miti took Mr Mandla to have his fingerprints taken in a small dark room leading from the brick courtyard. I followed them. Sergeant Miti started putting ink on Mr Mandla's hands. He studied the fingerprint form (see Figure 17 below) and asked me where the relevant fingerprints should be placed. I showed him where and he completed taking the fingerprints. Sergeant Miti returned escorting Mr Mandla to the small room where the cell guards were seated. Mr Mandla was locked in the small cell leading from the room.



VINGERAFDRUKVORM

FINGERPRINT FORM

PLEK WAARHEEN SAP 69 VERSEND MOET WORD
PLACE TO WHICH SAP 69 SHOULD BE FORWARDED

MENTADDE / ...

MERK TOEPASLIKE BLOK MET "X" • MARK APPLICABLE BOX WITH AN "X" (ANDER—MELD | OTHER—MENTION)

A. BESONDERHEDE VAN BESKULDIGDE
PARTICULARS OF ACCUSED

BEVOLKINGSGROEP
POPULATION GROUP

SWART
BLACK

WIT
WHITE

KLEURLING
COLOURED

INDIER
INDIAN

.....

GESLAG
SEX

M V
M F

SLEGS VIR KRS • FOR CRC ONLY

KR NOMMER
CR NUMBER

VA No. [] [] [] []
FP No. [] [] [] []
IPS 928

[] [] [] [] [] []
[] [] [] [] [] []

MERK TOEPASLIKE BLOK MET "X" • MARK APPLICABLE BOX WITH AN "X"

TIPPE IDENTIFIKASIE
TYPE OF IDENTIFICATION

IDENTITEITSDOKUMENT
IDENTITY DOCUMENT

PASPOORT
PASSPORT

ANDER—MELD TIPE
OTHER—MENTION TYPE

IDENTIFIKASIE No.
IDENTIFICATION No.

[] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] []

GEBORTE DATUM
DATE OF BIRTH

19 [] [] 05 [] []

VAN
SURNAME

NAME
NAMES

ALIASSE
ALIASES

LAND VAN GEBORTE
COUNTRY OF BIRTH

TRANSKEI

1 DUIM THUMB REGTERHAND	2 WYSVINGER FOREFINGER	3 MIDDELVINGER MIDDLE	4 RINGVINGER RING FINGER	5 PINKIE LITTLE FINGER RIGHT HAND
6 LINKERHAND	7	8	9	10 LEFT HAND



B. STASIEBESONDERHEDE
PARTICULARS OF STATION

DATUM VINGERAFDRUKKE GENEEM
DATE ON WHICH FINGERPRINTS ARE TAKEN

20000704

STASIE
STATION

KHAYELITSHA

MAS/MR No
CAS/CR No

[] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] []

AANKLAGTE
CHARGE(S)

POSSESSION AND SEALING WITH BAGG

DAATUM WAAROP MISDRIFF GEPLEEG IS
DATE ON WHICH CRIME WAS COMMITTED

[] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] []

SAP 184 No

Figure 17: Fingerprint form of Mr Mandla competed by Sergeant Miti.

Sergeant Yeki now took Mr Nazo to have his fingerprints taken. I stayed in the cell guard's office. Sergeant Jama, one of the cell guards started filling in the SAP10 book, also known as the Occurrence Book (OB). It contained columns for the case number, the names of those arrested, the charge and a column for the arresting officer to sign. Sergeant Yeki returned with Mr Nazo and his fingerprints form (see Figure 18 below).

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VINGERAFDRUKVORM

FINGERPRINT FORM

PLEK WAARHEEN SAP 69 VERSEND MOET WORD
PLACE TO WHICH SAP 69 SHOULD BE FORWARDED

POSTKODE / POST OFFICE BOX

MERK TOEPASLIKE BLOK MET "X" • MARK APPLICABLE BOX WITH AN "X" (ANDER—MELD OTHER—MENTION)

A. BESONDERHEDE VAN BESKULDIGDE
PARTICULARS OF ACCUSED

BEVOLKINGSGROEP
POPULATION GROUP

SWART
BLACK

WIT
WHITE

KLEURLING
COLOURED

INDIER
INDIAN

Other options

GESLAG
SEX

V
F

SLEGS VIR KRS • FOR CRC ONLY

KR NOMMER
CR NUMBER

VA No. [] [] [] []
FP No. [] [] [] []
IPS 929

Grid for identification

TIPPE IDENTIFIKASIE
TYPE OF IDENTIFICATION

IDENTITEITSDOKUMENT
IDENTITY DOCUMENT

PASPOORT
PASSPORT

ANDER—MELD
OTHER—MENTION TYPE

IDENTIFIKASIE No.
IDENTIFICATION No.

[] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] [] []

GEBORTE DATUM
DATE OF BIRTH

19 03

VAN
SURNAME

[Redacted]

NAME
NAMES

[Redacted]

ALIASSE
ALIASES

[Redacted]

LAND VAN GEBORTE
COUNTRY OF BIRTH

RSA

1	2	3	4	5
DUIM THUMB	WYSVINGER FOREFINGER	MIDDELVINGER MIDDLE FINGER	RINGVINGER RING FINGER	PINKIE LITTLE FINGER
REGTERHAND RIGHT HAND				LINKERHAND LEFT HAND

LINKERHAND/LEFT HAND
VLAKAFDRUKKE VAN DIE VIER VINGERS GELYK GENEEM
PLAIN IMPRESSIONS OF THE FOUR FINGERS TAKEN SIMULTANEOUSLY

REGTERHAND/RIGHT HAND
VLAKAFDRUKKE VAN DIE VIER VINGERS GELYK GENEEM
PLAIN IMPRESSIONS OF THE FOUR FINGERS TAKEN SIMULTANEOUSLY

LINKERDUIM/LEFT THUMB
VLAKAFDRUK
PLAIN IMPRESSION

SLEGS VIR KRS GEBRUIK
ONLY FOR CRC USE

REGTERDUIM/RIGHT THUMB
VLAKAFDRUK
PLAIN IMPRESSION

B. STASIEBESONDERHEDE
PARTICULARS OF STATION

STASIE
STATION

KHAYELITSHA

DATUM VINGERAFDRUKKE GENEEM
DATE ON WHICH FINGERPRINTS ARE TAKEN

20000709

MAS/CR No

[] [] [] []

/

07

/

2000

AANKLAGTE
CHARGE(S)

POSSESSION AND DEALING WITH DAGGA

DATE/TYD WAGERS OORVAF GELEEF
DATE/TYD WAGERS OORVAF GELEEF

20000704

Figure 18: Fingerprint form of Mr Nazo completed by Sergeant Yeki.

Mr Nazo was locked in the same room where Mr Mandla was sitting dejected against an old safe. The two sergeants, each taking a fingerprint form, started filling in the back of the fingerprint form (see Figure 19 and Figure 20 below) where a physical description of the arrested person must be given. Sergeant Miti observed how Sergeant Yeki completed his and then only started completing his form. Sergeant Yeki, completing the fingerprint form for Mr Nazo, looked into the room where the two Rastafarians were sitting and wrote that Mr Nazo's eyes were 'black and white'. Sergeant Miti, observing what Sergeant Yeki was doing, also looked at Mr Mandla who was sitting on the floor of the make-shift cell. Sergeant Miti also wrote that Mr Mandla's eyes were 'black and white'.

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C. ALGEMENE INLIGTING VAN BESKULDIGDE
 GENERAL INFORMATION OF ACCUSED

NASIONALITEIT / NATIONALITY: XHOSA
 GEBOORTEDORP / TOWN OF BIRTH: ZWELITSHA
 HOOFMAN/KAPTEIN / HEADMAN/CHIEF: N/A
 VOORKEURTAAL / LANGUAGE PREFERENCE: XHOSA
 AMBAG/BEROEP / TRADE/OCCUPATION: GREEN POINT
 JONGSBEKENDE ADRES / LAST KNOWN ADDRESS: CP. [REDACTED] ZWELITSHA
 NAASBESTAANDE (NIE BY DIESELFDE ADRES) / RELATIVE (NOT AT SAME ADDRESS): [REDACTED]
 VERWANTSKAP / RELATIONSHIP: COUSIN
 ADRES VAN B.G. NAASBESTAANDE / ADDRESS OF ABOVE RELATIVE: [REDACTED] NO 24. GUGULETHU

BESKRYWING VAN BESKULDIGDE
 DESCRIPTION OF ACCUSED

LENGTE / HEIGHT: 1.8 m
 GEWIG / WEIGHT: [REDACTED]
 MERK TOEPASLIKE BLOK MET "X" • MARK APPLICABLE BOX WITH AN "X"
 UITERS OORGEWIG / EXTREMELY OVERWEIGHT:
 NOORMAAL / NORMAL:
 UITERS SKRAAL / EXTREMELY SLENDER:
 HAARKLEUR / COLOUR OF HAIR: BLACK
 KLEUR VAN OË / COLOUR OF EYES: BLACK & WHITE
 MERK TOEPASLIKE BLOK MET "X" • MARK APPLICABLE BOX WITH AN "X"
 BAARD / BEARD: YES NO
 SNOR / MOUSTACHE: JA YES NEE NO
 BRIL / SPECTACLES: JA YES NEE NO
 TATOËERMERKE (INDIEN NODIG, GAAN VOORT OP FOLIO) / TATTOO MARKS (IF NECESSARY, CONTINUE ON FOLIO)
 PLEK OP LIGGAAM / PLACE ON BODY: N/A
 BESKRYWING / DESCRIPTION: N/A
 VERGROEISELS/LETSELS/GEBREKE (INDIEN NODIG, GAAN VOORT OP FOLIO) / COALESCENCES/SCARS/DEFORMATIES (IF NECESSARY, CONTINUE ON FOLIO)
 PLEK OP LIGGAAM / PLACE ON BODY: N/A
 BESKRYWING / DESCRIPTION: N/A
 SPRAAKAFWYKINGS EN/OF -GEBREKE / SPEECH DEFECTS AND/OR ABNORMALITIES
 MERK TOEPASLIKE BLOK MET "X" • MARK APPLICABLE BOX WITH AN "X"
 HAKKEL / STUTTER: BRY / BURR: LISPEL / LISP: STOM / MUTE: ANDER-MELD / OTHER-MENTION:

D. BESONDERHEDE VAN ONDERSOEKBEAMPTTE
 PARTICULARS OF INVESTIGATING OFFICER

ONDERSOEKBEAMPTTE / INVESTIGATING OFFICER: [REDACTED]
 VOORLETTERS EN VAN / INITIALS AND SURNAME: [REDACTED]
 RANG / RANK: [REDACTED]
 PERSALNOMMER / PERSAL NUMBER: [REDACTED]
 TELEFOONKODE / TELEPHONE CODE: [REDACTED]
 TELEFOONNOMMER / TELEPHONE NUMBER: [REDACTED]

E. ALGEMENE INLIGTING
 GENERAL INFORMATION

VOORIGE SAP KRS VERWYSINGSNOMMERS / PREVIOUS SAP CRC REFERENCE NUMBERS: [REDACTED]
 MERK TOEPASLIKE BLOK MET "X" • MARK APPLICABLE BOX WITH AN "X"
 IS SAP 76A VOLTOOI EN AANGEHEG? / IS SAP 76A COMPLETED AND ATTACHED? JA YES NVT NA

F. SERTIFIKATE EN HANDTEKENING
 CERTIFICATES AND SIGNATURES

RANG / RANK: [REDACTED]
 PERSALNOMMER / PERSAL NUMBER: [REDACTED]
 HANDTEKENING VAN BEAMPTTE WAT VINGERAFDRUKKE NEEM EN VORM VOLTOOI / SIGNATURE OF OFFICIAL TAKING FINGERPRINTS AND COMPLETING THE FORM
 HIERMEE SERTIFISEER EK DAT VORM GEKONTROLEER IS EN DAT DIT BEHOORLIK VOLTOOI IS / I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THIS FORM HAS BEEN CHECKED AND PROPERLY COMPLETED
 RANG / RANK: [REDACTED]
 PERSALNOMMER / PERSAL NUMBER: [REDACTED]
 HANDTEKENING VAN BEVELVOERDER / SIGNATURE OF COMMANDER
 HIERMEE SERTIFISEER EK DAT BOVERMELDE INLIGTING OOR MY WAAR EN JUIS IS / I HEREBY CERTIFY THAT THE ABOVE INFORMATION CONCERNING ME, IS TRUE AND CORRECT
 HANDTEKENING VAN BESKULDIGDE GEVANGENE / SIGNATURE OF ACCUSED/PRISONER

Figure 20: Back of fingerprint form of Mr Nazo completed by Sergeant Yeki.

I found it very strange that the sections marked 'charges' on the fingerprint forms read 'possession and dealing with dagga' for both. The *Charge and Witness Statements* and the cover of the docket clearly read that Mr Mandla was arrested for possession of dagga and Mr Nazo for dealing in dagga. After completing the fingerprint forms it became clear that the two sergeants did not know what to do with these forms. Sergeant Yeki started to fold the fingerprint form and Sergeant Miti noticing this, did the same. As Sergeant Yeki was about to slip the fingerprint form into his pocket and Sergeant Miti was about to do the same, Sergeant Jama told them that these forms are supposed to be placed in the docket cover.

Sergeant Yeki started to complete the *Notice of rights in terms of the Constitution* forms of Mr Nazo's (see Figure 21 below) and Mr Mandla's (see Figure 22 below). Once Sergeant Yeki completed the forms he requested Sergeant Miti to sign the form for Mr Mandla, while he signed the form for Mr Nazo.

NOTICE OF RIGHTS IN TERMS OF THE CONSTITUTION
(SECTION 35 OF ACT NO. 108 OF 1996)

- (1) You are being detained for the following reason:
for OF S2969
- (2) As a person who is detained you have the following rights:
(a) you have the right to consult with a legal practitioner of your choice or, should you so prefer, to apply to the Legal Aid Board to be provided by the State with the services of a legal practitioner;
(b) you have the right to challenge the lawfulness of your detention in person before a court of law and to be released if such detention is unlawful;
(c) you have the right to be detained under conditions consonant with human dignity, which shall include at least the provision of adequate accommodation, nutrition, reading material and medical treatment at state expense; and
(d) you have the right to be given the opportunity to communicate with, and be visited by, your spouse or partner, next-of-kin, religious counsellor and a medical practitioner of your choice.
- (3) As a person arrested for the alleged commission of an offence, you have the following rights:
(a) you have the right to remain silent and anything you say may be recorded and may be used as evidence against you;
(b) you are not compelled to make a confession or admission which could be used in evidence against you;
(c) you have the right to be brought before a court as soon as reasonably possible but not later than 48 hours after your arrest or the end of the first court day after the expiry of the 48 hours, if the 48 hours expire outside ordinary court hours or on a day which is not an ordinary court day;
(d) you have the right, at the first court appearance after your arrest, to be informed of the reason for your continued detention, or to be released; and
(e) you have the right to be released from detention if the interests of justice permit, subject to reasonable conditions.
- (4) You can exercise all the abovementioned rights at any stage during your detention.

CERTIFICATE BY DETAINEE

I, [redacted] (name of detainee) hereby certify that I have been informed in Xhosa (state language) of my rights in terms of the Constitution as set out above by [redacted] (name of person who informed the detainee) and that I understand the contents thereof.
DATE: 01/07/2000 (Informed) TIME: 11:00 (Informed) PLACE: khayitsha (Informed)

SIGNATURE/THUMBPRINT OF DETAINEE

SIGNATURE OF PERSON WHO INFORMED THE DETAINEE

CERTIFICATE BY THIRD PERSON AS WITNESS (if required)

I, _____ (name of member) hereby certify that _____ (name of detainee) has been informed in my presence in _____ (state language) of his/her rights in terms of the Constitution as set out above by _____ (name of person who informed the detainee) and that the contents thereof has been explained to him/her but that he/she refuses to sign the above certificate.

DATE: _____ (Informed)

TIME: _____ (Informed)

PLACE: _____ (Informed)

SIGNATURE OF THIRD PERSON

Figure 21: Notice of rights in terms of the Constitution form of Mr Nazo completed and signed by Sergeant Yeki.

NOTICE OF RIGHTS IN TERMS OF THE CONSTITUTION

(SECTION 35 OF ACT NO. 108 OF 1996)

(1) You are being detained for the following reason:

Pool of Magsa

(2) As a person who is detained you have the following rights:

- (a) you have the right to consult with a legal practitioner of your choice or, should you so prefer, to apply to the Legal Aid Board to be provided by the State with the services of a legal practitioner;
- (b) you have the right to challenge the lawfulness of your detention in person before a court of law and to be released if such detention is unlawful;
- (c) you have the right to be detained under conditions consonant with human dignity, which shall include at least the provision of adequate accommodation, nutrition, reading material and medical treatment at state expense; and
- (d) you have the right to be given the opportunity to communicate with, and be visited by, your spouse or partner, next-of-kin, religious counsellor and a medical practitioner of your choice.

(3) As a person arrested for the alleged commission of an offence, you have the following rights:

- (a) you have the right to remain silent and anything you say may be recorded and may be used as evidence against you;
- (b) you are not compelled to make a confession or admission which could be used in evidence against you;
- (c) you have the right to be brought before a court as soon as reasonably possible but not later than 48 hours after your arrest or the end of the first court day after the expiry of the 48 hours, if the 48 hours expire outside ordinary court hours or on a day which is not an ordinary court day;
- (d) you have the right, at the first court appearance after your arrest, to be informed of the reason for your continued detention, or to be released; and
- (e) you have the right to be released from detention if the interests of justice permit, subject to reasonable conditions.

(4) You can exercise all the abovementioned rights at any stage during your detention.

CERTIFICATE BY DETAINEE

I, [redacted] (name of detainee) hereby certify that I have been informed in [redacted] (state language) of my rights in terms of the Constitution as set out above by [redacted] (name of person who informed the detainee) and that I understand the contents thereof.

DATE: 04/07/2000
(Informed)

TIME: 11:00
(Informed)

PLACE: Khayalet
(Informed)

[Signature]
SIGNATURE/THUMBPRINT OF DETAINEE

[Signature] SGT
SIGNATURE OF PERSON WHO INFORMED THE DETAINEE

CERTIFICATE BY THIRD PERSON AS WITNESS (if required)

I, _____ (name of member) hereby certify that _____ (name of detainee) has been informed in my presence in _____ (state language) of his/her rights in terms of the Constitution as set out above by _____ (name of person who informed the detainee) and that the contents thereof has been explained to him/her but that he/she refuses to sign the above certificate.

DATE: _____
(Informed)

TIME: _____
(Informed)

PLACE: _____
(Informed)

SIGNATURE OF THIRD PERSON

Figure 22: Notice of rights in terms of the Constitution form of Mr Mandla completed by Sergeant Yeki, but signed by Sergeant Miti.

The charge against Mr Nazo does not correlate with that on the fingerprint form, the *Charge* and *Witness* statements and the docket cover completed by Sergeant Yeki (see Figure 23 below).

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Although it states on the *Notice of Rights in terms of the Constitution* form that the detainees have to be informed of their rights, this did not take place. Only Mr Mandla signed his form while Sergeant Yeki forgot to ask Mr Nazo to sign his. The original forms were handed over to the two Rastafarians while copies were kept in the docket cover. It was obvious that the two detainees did not know what the forms were for. Mr Nazo studied the form and asked me what the form was for. I explained that it informed him of his rights according to the new Constitution. Mr Nazo nodded after my explanation, folded the form and slipped it into his pocket.

A male detective in plain clothes entered the C-block. Sergeant Jama asked if he had any *Warning Statements*, because Sergeants Yeki and Miti had to complete these forms. The detective said that it is not the arresting officers who must complete warning statements, but the investigating officer who will be investigating the case further. Sergeant Jama said that he was instructed to do so, but did not pursue the matter further. The detective eventually left the C-block. Sergeant Jama said: "He is wrong, these two are suppose to fill in warning statements but ..." He laughed and studied the docket. "You must stamp your statements with the oath stamp and sign it," he told the two sergeants. Sergeant Jama smiled with the two sergeants and said: "You don't still say help me God, you just have to use the oath stamp ... it is easy to complete a docket once you get used to it." [verbatim reconstruction]

The two sergeants started to stamp the *Aanhel tot Verklaring/Preamble to Statement* forms as well as the *Charge* or *A1* and *Witness* or *A2* statements with the oath stamp. Although the first two forms were filled in by Sergeant Miti, Sergeant Yeki signed at the back of these forms. Furthermore, Sergeant Miti signed at the back of Sergeant Yeki's *Witness Statement* or *A2* while Sergeant Yeki signed at the back of Sergeant Miti's *Charge Statement* or *A1*.

While the two sergeants were signing the forms and statements, Sergeant Jama told me that there is too much duplication of forms in the SAPS. He said that the dynamics of the SAPS do not aid in the efficiency of the SAPS. "If a police officer is productive and efficient at Phatisanani, he is transferred to a special unit," said Sergeant Jama. He told me that all unproductive police personnel are placed at Phatisanani police station. "Look at this detective that says that no warning statements must be filled in, but I know a warning statement must be filled in because it aids in court proceedings and a quicker prosecution," he said with a smile

on his face. "This detective has been in the SAPS for almost fifteen years, but is thrown here because he is unproductive." [verbatim reconstruction]

After signing the OB, the two sergeants recorded the date of the arrest, the charge and the names of the arrested persons in their pocket diaries. These diaries are issued to all police officers from constable to the rank of inspector. The diaries serve as a reference for police officers when they are subpoenaed to appear in court when those they have arrested appear before the magistrate.

The two sergeants eventually left Phatisanani police station after spending more than three hours completing the docket. "Can you see how long it takes? Too much documentation to complete. These two are suppose to be outside catching criminals," said Sergeant Jama.

Second literacy event

Notice no Notice of rights in terms of the Constitution

As I was entering Khayelitsha, on my way to the police station, I was stopped at a roadblock by soldiers and police officers. My car was searched for any illegal firearms and substances. There was a heavy presence of SANDF soldiers and trucks when I arrived at the police station. It was evident that the SANDF and the SAPS had once again combined forces to quell the ongoing transport conflict in the townships. I decided to interview Sergeant Jama at the cell commander's office which led off from the cells where the two Rastafarians were held in the previous literacy event.

The cell commander's office and the cells led off from a small cement courtyard. Three White Afrikaner police officers dressed in plain clothes were towering over five handcuffed Black youths sitting on the cement floor of the courtyard. I was told that the five youths were illegal immigrants from neighbouring Mozambique who had crossed the border into South Africa a few weeks ago. The three officers were very upset with the five because one of them defecated in the police vehicle while being driven to the police station. One officer unlocked the handcuffs from the youth who had defecated in the police vehicle and said: "Sies! Jy kak sommer hier. Hou still! Ek wil nie aan die boeie raak nie ...,dit is vol kak! Ek wil nie AIDS kry nie. Julle naai

mos in die hol!⁵ [verbatim reconstruction] After the handcuffs were removed the officer started to hose it with the nearby fire-hose.

One of the three officers entered the cell commander's office and started to complete the *Notice of rights in terms of the Constitution* form. After completing the form he told the five just to sign their names without reading their constitutional rights as was stipulated on the form. This was no different to the manner in which this form was completed in the previous literacy event. One of the officers said with disgust: "Julle kom hier illegally ..., dan kom stem julle ook nog. Home Affairs doen niks aan die saak nie ..., hulle laat julle nog toe om te stem! Sies! Julle is morsig!⁶ [verbatim reconstruction]

The three officers went on to ridicule and verbally abuse the five who were sitting bewildered and quietly on the cement floor. A coloured male officer dressed in plain clothes eventually entered the courtyard and enquired about the reason for the five's arrest. He joined the three White officers in ridiculing the five after seeing how they were being treated. After enduring the insults, the five were taken to the cells and the three officers left.

Third literacy event

Using literacy 'to cover yourself'

I arrived at the station at ten o' clock in the evening. It was a warm spring evening. The door to B3 was closed. I decided to enter B3 via B1. A coloured man bleeding from the back of his head, accompanied by a Black man and woman, was standing in B1. The couple wanted to know if the police could not take the injured man to the hospital. Sergeant Lumbe informed them that the SAPS cannot take responsibility for the man and it would be best if they took him to the hospital. The couple eventually left with the injured man.

I jumped over the counter to enter B3 where three members of the public were obtaining case numbers and the names of the relevant investigating officers. Constable Zonke was working on the CAS while Constable Makade was seeing to

⁵ "Sis! You just shit here. Don't move! I don't want to touch the handcuffs..., it's covered in shit! I don't want to get AIDS. You fuck in the anus!"

⁶ "You come here illegally..., then you still vote! Home Affairs does nothing..., they still allow you to vote! Sis! You are filthy."

the public. A Black male sergeant with a machine gun entered B3 about ten minutes after I arrived and handed over a docket that was probably opened while on patrol. While on patrol the sergeant arrested someone for the possession of six small parcels of dagga. He and most of the public in B3 reeked of liquor. This was the norm for a weekend. He started to fill in the SAP13 book used to record all the physical evidence obtained during an arrest or at the scene of a crime. The sergeant sat in Sergeant Dalimpi's chair who was the charge office commander for the shift. Sergeant Dalimpi however was not in the charge office. Constable Zonke told me that Sergeant Dalimpi was somewhere in the police station or went to buy something to eat. Captain Gertz, the shift commander was not on duty that evening. She told me that the captain was on a 'rest day'. Inspector Johnson was the shift commander for the evening.

Sergeant Lumbe started to read through the docket that was filled in by the sergeant who arrested someone for the possession of dagga. Sergeant Lumbe told the sergeant who completed the docket to fill in the reference number of the SAP13 on the docket cover. By doing this the relevant evidence can easily be obtained again in the event of a court case. He was also told to sign the docket, fill in his force number, write that the fingerprint form and the warning statement of the arrested person were included in the docket, and the time all this was done. Sergeant Lumbe told me that this needs to be done so that the arresting officer 'covers himself in case some or all of the forms go missing' and he or she is blamed that the docket was not completed fully.

By half past ten a stout looking coloured male inspector accompanied by three police officers and a soldier walked into B3 and asked in a very officious tone where Sergeant Dalimpi was. He said: "You can't expect this man (*pointing to the sergeant with the machine gun*) to stand here all night. He is supposed to be on patrol. Where is Johnson?" Inspector Johnson eventually arrived. The inspector appearing to be very irritated asked for the SAP13 book and started to fill in the details of the arrest and the evidence, namely the dagga obtained during the arrest. He told the sergeant with the machine gun to sign after he questioned the sergeant on the details of the arrest. It is common practice for the arresting officer to fill in the SAP13 book, but in this incident this did not happen. I could see that the sergeant did not even know what and why he was signing the SAP13 book.

The inspector asked the sergeant if he had signed the Occurrence Book (OB) at the cells where he had taken the arrested person. The sergeant's reply was no. "Ai tog!⁷" exclaimed the inspector. He told the sergeant to go to the cells and to sign the OB at the cells. The inspector told Inspector Johnson to report Sergeant Dalimpi's and the other officer's absence in the OB of the charge office. "You must cover yourself in case there is an investigation of their absence afterwards." When the sergeant returned from the cells the inspector completed a form listing all the arrests made for that shift. The sergeant was again not asked to fill in the details of the arrest he made. The inspector even filled in the sergeant's force number, the place of arrest and the nature of the arrest and only asked him to sign the form. It was very clear that the inspector had little patience with the sergeant. I later learnt that the sergeant was an ex-kitskonstabel.

After the patrol party had left Inspector Johnson told me that he does not like to report people, but that he had been looking for the two officers for some time. He said: "They will leave their posts because Captain Gertz is on a rest day and now they do what they want to do. I was forced to fill in the OB." Inspector Johnson said that on that day an officer was robbed of his pistol while being absent from his station duties without permission. "The same can happen to Dalimpi and the other officer, so if there is any investigation I have covered myself by recording their absence in the OB."

Sergeant Dalimpi and the other officer eventually returned drunk that night to his duties as the charge office commander. Both visited a local shebeen in the area. Sergeant Dalimpi was so drunk that he even read the SAP13 book, which the stout looking inspector completed, upside down. Inspector Johnson told him that the six parcels of dagga, that were placed in his table's drawer while he was gone, should be locked in the room between B1 and B3. This room is where evidence is stored after four o' clock in the afternoon. Sergeant Dalimpi was so inebriated that he did not even notice that his name was recorded in the OB.

⁷ "Damn it!"

Constructing the gap between past and present literacy practices at Phatisanani police station

The gap between the social roles of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' and the interpretation and mediation of texts at Phatisanani police station

Wodak (1996:175) argues that disorders in discourses do not only occur within workplaces, between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' or within the hierarchy itself, but also occur outside of the workplace. In the first literacy event it is evident that there exists 'disorder' between the discourse communities and their associated domains that Sergeant Yeki and the Rastafarian, Mr Mandla belong to - Mr Mandla belonging to a common sense discourse shaped by religious-cultural influences of Rastafarianism. Sergeant Yeki, belonging to the domain of work of a police officer, mentioned twice that he is 'a messenger of the government' (lines 29-30 and line 57) who cannot judge any person that he arrested and in doing so made it clear that he is only an instrument of the state and the institution of policing.

Barton (1994:42) suggests that it is in certain roles that people need and use particular literacies. People are positioned by roles and the demands placed upon them. He further suggests that in most social situations people know a range of appropriate ways of acting depending on the role that they are in. Sarangi and Roberts (1999:228) suggest that a social role is seen as sets of social expectations. They argue that assumptions about the role of, for example, police officer are 'brought along' to the encounter as overarching categories which position the interactants in a particular area of social space like that of Phatisanani police station. These social roles at Phatisanani police station are firmly embedded in the professional discourse of the station. I suggest, drawing on the arguments of Gee (1990), that the appropriate ways of acting, associated with particular roles like that of a police officer, are acquired through being exposed to models and practice within social groups. Through legitimate peripheral participation (Lave and Wenger, 1991) in social groups or within a certain discourse, an individual's identity can be constructed as an 'insider' to the discourse. This would also apply to the professional discourse of police officers at Phatisanani police station where police officers who have attended training at the four police training colleges mentioned in Chapter Two were seen as 'insiders' to the professional discourse at the station whereas the ex-kitskonstabels were seen as 'outsiders'.

In the first literacy event for Sergeant Yeki to take on the role of the magistrate would mean that he has moved beyond the domain of his workplace and its associated bureaucratic procedures and literacy practices, and into the domain of the court and its bureaucratic procedures and literacy practices. Therefore he mentioned that he does not have the power to say if Mr Mandla is guilty or not because his 'job is to arrest anyone who deals in drugs without a licence' (lines 5-10). Barton suggests that roles are never fixed or unchanging, but that they are negotiated, accepted and sometimes even challenged. In the case of the first literacy event it is not Sergeant Yeki who challenged his role as a police officer in the domain of work, but Mr Mandla belonging to the public domain. Mr Mandla wanted Sergeant Yeki to take on the role of the magistrate. The comments of Sergeant Yeki mediating his social role and related social functions demonstrate how the Panopticon's invisible power operates through the way in which individuals at Phatisanani police station are positioned in their social roles and the functions they are expected to perform as police officers in their literacy practices. As was argued in Chapter One by drawing on the arguments of Clark and Ivanič (1997), conceptualising writing in terms of 'skills' as suggested by Ong (1982) and Goody (1977, 1986, 2000), focuses on writing as a technology and disregards writing as 'meaning-making', 'negotiation of identity' and 'social participation' as is evident in the first literacy event.

Barton and Hamilton (2000) claim that literacy practices are not observable units of behaviour since they are shaped by values, attitudes, feelings and social relations. Literacy practices also involve people's awareness of literacy, the constructions of literacy and discourses of literacy, how people talk about and make sense of literacy. When Sergeant Yeki asked Mr Mandla for his marital status we start to see the 'disorder of discourses' occurring between two social institutions, namely that of the institution of policing and religion due to the values, attitudes and feelings the two institutions attach to literacy practices in this literacy event. Mr Mandla, who belongs to the Rastafarian religion, said that the way 'we are' meaning Rastafarians 'we don't use the certificate for marriage' (lines 110-112). But Sergeant Yeki occupies the social role of a police officer (an 'insider') within a professional discourse where a person can only be married once a marriage certificate as proof of a legal marriage recognised by the state can be produced. Mr Mandla eventually realised that within the institution of policing his Rastafarian marriage will not be recognised. He mentioned that he would make 'it easy' for Sergeant Yeki because he knows that within the professional discourse that Sergeant Yeki belongs to, recognition of a marriage is accompanied by a marriage certificate issued by the state. For this

reason Mr Mandla said that he is 'totally single' (line 116). Barton and Hamilton (2000:8) argue that literacy practices are patterned by social institutions and power relationships, and that some literacies are more dominant, visible and influential than others. Although Barton and Hamilton suggest that certain literacies are more visible than others, I suggest that what is invisible is the operation of control and self-surveillance through the literacy practices of everyday policing at Phatisanani police station - the Panopticon operates through the literacy practices that police officers (the 'insiders') are engaged in.

The conflict and 'disorder of discourses' between the two institutions continues when Sergeant Yeki pre-empted Mr Mandla's response to his nationality and wrote that he was a Xhosa in the docket cover without asking Mr Mandla first. When Mr Mandla was eventually asked what his nationality was Mr Mandla's reply was that he is a Rastaman or a Rasta (line 126). In the institution of policing Rastaman is not listed as a nationality although Rastafarians see themselves as a separate and distinct 'chosen' nation who follow the teachings of Haile Selassie of Ethiopia. Therefore Sergeant Yeki reacted by saying that he never saw 'Rasta' being listed as a nation. Once again this demonstrates the operation of the invisible power of the Panopticon and the internalisation and naturalisation of self-surveillance. For Sergeant Yeki to recognise the Rastaman or Rasta as a nation would mean that he is in conflict with the professional discourse at Phatisanani police station and its bureaucratic procedures and had become an 'outsider' to the professional discourse.

The processes shaping literacy practices are not only internal to the individual but are the social processes which link people to each other through shared cognitions or as I would prefer to suggest shared understandings represented in ideologies which are embedded within discourses or within professional discourses as suggested in this and previous chapters (Barton and Hamilton, 2000:7). Barton and Hamilton argue that practices are shaped by social rules that determine the use and distribution of texts. Street (1993:10) asserts that ideology is the site of tension between authority and power on the one hand and resistance and creativity on the other. Drawing on his arguments for an 'ideological' model for the study of literacy he suggests that certain ideologies are embedded within literacy practices. The social rules of the institution of policing do not allow Sergeant Yeki to list Rasta as a nation or recognise the marriage of Mr Mandla. The literacy events demonstrate that literacy practices are not the same in all contexts, but that there are different literacies associated with different domains of life (Barton and Hamilton, 2000:11). Domains include home,

school and in the case of this thesis, the domain of work of police officers. Barton and Hamilton (2000:11) claim that various social institutions like policing support and structure activities and literacy practices in particular domains of life. In the case of Phatisanani police station literacy practices are structured and patterned through the spatial organisation of the station.

Fairclough (1992:79) argues that texts are consumed differently in different social contexts. He claims that different forms of consumption are related to the interpretive work applied to texts by individuals. Fairclough draws a distinction between the meaning potential of a text and its interpretation in various contexts. Thus he claims that texts are endowed with meaning potential through past discursive practice. The meaning potential of a text is generally heterogeneous having overlapping and sometimes contradictory meanings. Therefore texts are highly ambivalent and open to multiple interpretations by various individuals belonging to various discourses. Fairclough (1992:75) claims that interpreters attempt to reduce this potential ambivalence by choosing a particular meaning or a small set of meanings. This was demonstrated when Mr Mandla interpreted the discourse formation of 'nationality' as including Rasta as well. For Sergeant Yeki however, being an 'insider' to the professional discourse at Phatisanani police station and its literacy practices, the discourse formation of 'nationality' would not include Rasta. Therefore Sergeant Yeki pre-empted Mr Mandla's response and wrote Xhosa without even considering that the interpretation of 'nationality' can include Rasta. Processes of production and interpretation of texts are socially constrained. Fairclough (1992:80) suggests that interpretation and production of texts are constrained by the available individuals' resources, which he refers to as the internalised social structures, norms and conventions for the production, distribution and consumption of texts which have been established through past social practice and struggle, that individuals draw on within organisations. I suggest that Fairclough's notion of 'norms and conventions' is the same as shared understandings as I had suggested in this and previous chapters. 'Outsiders' to Phatisanani police station's professional discourse can only acquire these norms and conventions through exposure to models ('insiders' who have already acquired the norms and conventions of the professional discourse) and scaffolded interaction within social groups.

Resources of individuals are embedded in discourses or in professional discourse as was suggested in previous chapters. Fairclough also suggests that production and the interpretation of texts are also constrained by the specific nature of the social

practice which determines what elements of individuals' resources are drawn upon, and how they are drawn upon. The manner in which individuals draw upon these resources can be creative, normative or oppositional as well. Sergeant Yeki reduces the potential ambivalence of the discourse formation of 'nationality' and the concept of a recognised marriage by drawing on the resources made available to him by the institution of policing that he has internalised through his initiation into the police and its discourses. Fairclough (1992:84) argues that interpretations are associated in a 'natural way' with particular discourses that individuals belong to. 'Insiders' constrain the interpretations of texts in literacy events and this also demonstrates the Panoptic quality of discourses. Therefore the access to and production of texts are controlled by the nature of the institution of policing and the professional discourse in which these literacy practices occur.

The 'disorder of discourses' within the domain of the work occurs in the third literacy event as well when Sergeant Dalimpi and another officer left the station without the permission of Inspector Johnson. It is clear that they have not yet acquired nor do they understand the appropriate way of acting within the social role of a police officer assigned to them in their domain of work. As Wodak (1996) suggests, understanding within organisations is the exception and misunderstanding and conflict are the rule. However it is important to understand how this conflict in relation to the social role of 'police officer' is situated within the history of policing in South Africa. As was mentioned before in Chapters Two and Three, kitskonstabels were never fully initiated into the SAP during the apartheid years and neither after 1994 when the SAP changed its name to the SAPS. The lack of confidence on the part of their superiors in the ex-kitskonstabels' skills as ordinary police officers ('insiders') within the SAPS was demonstrated when they were integrated into the SAPS and were given the option of becoming either an ordinary police officer or a cleaner at a police station.

Ex-kitskonstabels were always seen as 'outsiders' with regard to the professional discourses at police stations such as Phatisanani police station, as was argued in Chapters Two and Three, because they do not share the same history in as far as initiation into the police force is concerned. At Phatisanani police station ex-kitskonstabels were also seen as 'outsiders' because of their lack of discipline. Drinking on duty, as was the case with Sergeant Dalimpi and the other police officer, conflicted with the professional discourse of Phatisanani police station and the way in which drinking was viewed in the station's orders presented in the last chapter. The

station's orders state that 'drinking within the station premises whether on or off duty, is an offence and no warning will be issued' as well as 'if a member is under the influence of smelling of liquor, he should not be booked on duty' (see Figure 7.1. and Figure 7.2. in Chapter Three). Therefore it can be argued that when a 'member' is drunk he or she cannot participate in the professional discourse of Phatisanani police station and becomes a 'non-member' or an 'outsider'.

The 'outsider' status of ex-kitskonstabels with regard to the professional discourse of Phatisanani police station and its literacy practices surfaced in the first and third literacy events. In the first and third literacy events, Sergeants Yeki and Lumbe acted as literacy mediators for the two ex-kitskonstabels. Malan (1996), in her study of literacy mediation and social identity in Newtown in the rural Eastern Cape, suggests that literacy mediation is not an alternative neutral literacy 'technology' but a social process which contributes to social identity in Newtown seeing that literacy mediators take on and mediate literacy tasks on behalf of others. She further suggests that literacy mediation also involves the expression of power between the agents of local and dominant discourses. I however suggest that literacy mediation at Phatisanani police station as demonstrated by the first and third literacy events demonstrates the unequal power relationship and the gap between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in the professional discourse of the station and its associated literacy practices. I was unable to interview Sergeants Yeki and Miti on how they felt about this relationship. It was clear that Sergeant Yeki did not make an overt display of his 'insider' status, but the fact that the peripheral participation of Sergeant Miti was not legitimated in any way, meant that the mediation internalised and confirmed his 'outsider' status.

When, in the first literacy event, Sergeant Miti started to fill in the *Aanhef tot Verklaring/Preamble to Statement* form he had realised that he had made a mistake through the intervention of Sergeant Yeki. His mistake being that he filled in 'male' instead of 'sergeant' in the section requiring the title of the police officer (see Figure 8 above). After realising that he made a mistake Sergeant Miti started to complete the *Verklaring/Statement* form (see Figure 10 above), although he did not complete the *Aanhef tot Verklaring/Preamble to Statement* form. I realised that this was the case because Sergeant Miti felt uncomfortable with my presence and did not want me to know that he had made a mistake. Again he completed the *Verklaring/Statement* (see Figure 10 above) form through the assistance of Sergeant Yeki who acted as a literacy mediator.

Sergeant Miti completed his *Charge Statement* or A1 (see Figure 14 above), by copying it from the *Witness Statement* or A2 (see Figure 11 above) of Sergeant Yeki although the former normally precedes the latter. What was interesting to note here is that Sergeant Miti first attempted to complete his *Charge Statement* or A1 (see Figure 12 above) without studying the *Witness Statement* or A2 (see Figure 11 above) of Sergeant Yeki. If we study Figure 12 and compare it with Figure 11 or the *Charge Statement* or A1 of Sergeant Yeki we find that the second paragraph of Figure 12 and Figure 14 differed - Sergeant Miti's second paragraph was more specific in that it stated the exact address as well as the owner (Mr Mandla) of the house that was searched. Sergeant Yeki's second paragraph was less specific in that it just stated the area where houses were searched and the time the search commenced. Once Sergeant Miti noticed that Sergeant Yeki's second paragraph was different to his, he started rewriting his *Charge Statement* or A1 by following the exact format of Sergeant Yeki's *Witness Statement* or A2. Sergeant Miti eventually completed his *Charge Statement* or A1 by making a few minor changes - these included substituting his name for Sergeant Yeki's and vice-versa. This demonstrated how 'outsiders' like Sergeant Miti rely on 'insiders' to the professional discourse to acquire its embedded literacy practices, but that this carries complex implications for their own professional identity.

Sergeant Miti even copied the same unconventional spelling like 'food-bean' instead of 'food-bin' in the sentence 'they were putted into the food-bean' and 'conciencie' instead of 'conscience' in the last sentence 'as it is binding in my conciencie' (see Figure 11 and Figure 14 above). He also copied the same grammatical errors like writing 'in' instead of 'on' in the last sentence 'as it is binding in my conciencie' but did not write 'putted' in the sentence 'they were putted into the food-bean' that Sergeant Yeki wrote (see Figure 11 and Figure 14 above). When Sergeant Miti was about to complete his *Witness Statement* or A2 he asked Sergeant Yeki what should be written next, namely the declaration of the validity and truthfulness of his *Charge Statement*. What is interesting here is that Sergeant Miti has a fair amount of control over the technical aspects of reading and writing, but he cannot put this to work in the broader discursive context of the form-filling. It is therefore not his 'illiteracy' (as claimed in the newspaper articles quoted in Chapter One) that is a problem, but a certain type of literacy associated with a particular domain, namely that of policing and the workplace of police officers.

When the two sergeants left B1 for the cells in the C-block, Sergeant Miti's 'outsider' status to the professional discourse and its associated literacy practices came to the fore again - I had to take on the role of literacy mediator for Sergeant Miti when he took the fingerprints of Mr Mandla (see Figure 17 above) in the absence of Sergeant Yeki who was in the cell commander's office with Mr Nazo. When Sergeant Yeki filled in the colour of the eyes of Mr Nazo on the fingerprint form (see Figure 19 above) he wrote that his eyes were 'black and white' instead of 'black' only as convention requires. Sergeant Miti who relied on Sergeant Yeki to act as a literacy mediator for him, naturally wrote the same description of Mr Mandla's eyes (see Figure 20 above). The reliance of 'outsiders' on 'insiders' (models) to acquire the professional discourse and its associated literacy practices is revealed once again when Sergeant Yeki wrote that Mr Nazo was arrested for 'possession and dealing with dagga' and Sergeant Miti, following the example of Sergeant Yeki, wrote that Mr Mandla was also arrested for 'possession and dealing with dagga' (see Figure 17 and Figure 18 above). The charges however did not correlate with the charges in the *Charge Statement* or A1 (see Figure 14 above) and *Witness Statement* or A2 (see Figure 11 above) and the cover of the docket (see Figure 15), that of Mr Mandla and Mr Nazo being arrested for possession of dagga and dealing in dagga respectively. Sergeant Miti as an 'outsider' got it wrong because Sergeant Yeki who is an 'insider' to the professional discourse and acted as a literacy mediator for Sergeant Miti, got it wrong.

Furthermore Sergeant Yeki did not know what to do with Mr Nazo's fingerprint form and wanted to place it in his pocket leading to Sergeant Miti wanting to do the same as his partner. At this stage Sergeant Jama an 'insider', intervened and informed the two sergeants that the forms must be placed in the docket cover. Once again Sergeant Miti got it wrong because Sergeant Yeki got it wrong. When the *Notice of rights in terms of the Constitution* forms (texts embedded in the institutional discourse of 'human rights') of Mr Nazo (see Figure 21 above) and Mr Mandla (see Figure 22 above) had to be completed, Sergeant Yeki completed the forms and only asked Sergeant Miti to sign the form of Mr Mandla. Evidence that Sergeant Yeki completed these forms on behalf of Sergeant Miti can be seen in the darker and more bolder handwriting of Sergeant Yeki and the lighter handwriting of Sergeant Miti. This is an example of how a literacy mediator takes on literacy tasks on behalf of an 'outsider'. However the charge against Mr Nazo did not correlate with the *Charge Statement* or A1 (see Figure 14 above), the *Witness Statement* or A2 (see Figure 11 above) and the docket cover (see Figure 23 above). According to the A1 and A2 statements and

the docket cover it was Mr Mandla who was charged with the possession of dagga and Mr Nazo with dealing in dagga. As was stated in Chapter Two drawing on the arguments of Altbeker (1999) the dominance of the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' and its compatibility with the professional discourse of police officers meant thousands of detectives and police officers never received basic training in statement taking, holding identification parades, giving evidence in court and maintaining their dockets properly. With the new institutional discourse of 'human rights' the expectation now is that police officers must maintain their dockets properly.

The same literacy mediation practice mentioned in the first literacy event also occurred in the third literacy event when the stout looking inspector (an 'insider') filled in the evidence seized during the arrest in the SAP13 book and the details of the arrest on the form listing all the arrests for the night on behalf of the ex-kitskonstabel (an 'outsider') and asked him to sign only. The same inspector displaying his irritation with the ex-kitskonstabel's lack of knowing the bureaucratic procedures to follow also instructed the ex-kitskonstabel to complete the OB at the cell commander's office. Literacy mediation also occurred in the same literacy event when Sergeant Lumbe an 'insider' explained to the ex-kitskonstabel that he must fill in missing information in the docket cover which included his force number, the reference number of the SAP13, sign the docket and mention that he had completed and included the fingerprint forms and the warning statements.

Sergeant Lumbe explained that this was important so that the ex-kitskonstabel 'covers' himself in the event some of the forms going missing and being blamed for this. Inspector Johnson also made use of the literacy practice of 'covering yourself' when Sergeant Dalimpi and the other officer left the police station without receiving permission. Their inappropriate way of acting within the social role of a police officer led to their names being recorded in the OB so that Inspector Johnson could 'cover' himself in the event of an investigation to their absence afterwards. Inspector Johnson told me that the OB is the 'bible of the police because it is a way of covering and protecting yourself'. As was suggested in Chapter One, the Panopticon requires the constant visibility or availability for scrutiny of the prisoner - in the last literacy event it is Sergeant Dalimpi and the other officer who left the station who are not available for scrutiny and this behaviour is a threat to the systems of control at the station operating through the organisation of space and the acquisition of the bureaucratic procedures.

Viewing the OB as the 'bible of the police officer' became evident in further observations where the police officer registering dockets on the CAS requested detectives to 'sign' for dockets in the OB when the CAS went off line. This was done to trace a docket and the last officer in whose possession it was if a docket is reported lost. On one occasion the detective discussed in the first literacy event advised the police officer working on the CAS that she should record that she had contacted the Child Protection Unit (CPU) in the OB. The detective advised her that she should record the date, day, time and the person she spoke to in the OB. He mentioned that this is advisable in the event of an inquiry into the reason for the CPU taking so long to investigate the sexual abuse of a minor reported at the station.

'Covering yourself' through the use of literacy also has its origins in the history of policing and the discourses that are shaping it. I argue, drawing on Barton and Hamilton's (2000:8) argument that this literacy practice is historically situated. They argue that literacy practices are as fluid, dynamic and changing as the lives and the societies they form part of. Therefore we need an historical approach for the understanding of the ideology, culture and traditions on which this current literacy practice of 'covering yourself' is based (Barton and Hamilton, 2000:13). After the 1994 elections the police increasingly came under the scrutiny of the government and the public to adopt the values and attitudes of policing as a service embedded in the institutional discourse of 'human rights'. As Schärf (1999) suggested in Chapter Two the shift in policing discourses meant that there was no guarantee of cover at station or state level if a mistake was made. I argue that this literacy practice of 'covering yourself' using the various forms and books in policing is a response to the absence of 'no cover' at station and state level and is embedded in a professional discourse shaped by uncertainty after 1994. As was suggested in Chapter Two no processes were put in place to let police know what it was about the old order (actions and attitudes) that had to be left behind, and which attitudes and actions had to be celebrated and taken forward to the new political era (Schärf, 1999:7). Instead within the professional discourse of Phatisanani police station police officers use the forms and books like the OB to cover themselves in the absence of station or state cover which they had enjoyed during the apartheid years.

For 'insiders' to complete the OB 'to cover yourself' is also an example of how the Panopticon operates at Phatisanani police station through the various books and forms police officers have to complete as part of the bureaucratic procedures of policing. As was argued in the previous chapter, by drawing on the arguments of

Giddens, there are bureaucratic procedures that shape the literacy practices of police officers from a distance which in turn are linked to the organisation of space at Phatisanani police station. The initiation of 'insiders' into the bureaucratic procedures and therefore the literacy practices of policing meant the acquisition of the automatic functioning of power at a distance.

In the first and second literacy events we witness how the institutional discourse of 'human rights' is recontextualised at Phatisanani police station. In the first and the second literacy events the Rastafarians and the illegal immigrants respectively were not read their constitutional rights as can be seen in the texts of Figure 21 and Figure 22 above. When police officers are completing these forms they are expected to take on the role of literacy mediators and mediate the constitutional rights to the persons who they arrested. Literacy mediators are 'insiders' to discourses and their associated literacy practices. The literacy mediation however did not occur in these two literacy events.

I suggest that failing to take on the role as literacy mediators for the Rastafarians and the black illegal immigrants by Sergeant Yeki and Sergeant Miti and the three Afrikaner police officers respectively is historically situated in the discourses that shaped policing during the apartheid years. As was stated in Chapter Three, training in the SAP was technical and legalistic in nature and attention was given to the attributes of physical strength and coercive bodily practices rather than to human rights, consultation, dealing with conflicts and negotiations. The shift in discourses that occurred at the level of the state from an approach of force- to an approach of service did not occur in the domain of work of the ordinary rank-and-file. This shift at the level of the state can also be seen as embedded in the broader social goals and cultural practices of the new democratic state. I argue that through the completion of the *Notice of rights in terms of the Constitution* form the state was hoping to initiate police officers into the discourses of human rights and democracy. However this initiation into the dominant discourses shaping policing at the level of the state cannot occur by introducing new bureaucratic forms into the literacy practices of police officers. Schärf (1999) argues that the new Constitution and the Bill of Rights and its implications for policing were neither understood nor implemented by police officers. He suggests that police officers on the ground were given little training on the implications the new laws had for their professional discourse and associated literacy practices. As argued in Chapter Two as well as in Chapter Three by drawing on the arguments of Gee (1990), that discourses are not mastered through overt instruction

but by enculturation or apprenticeship into social practices through scaffolded and supported interaction with people ('insiders') who have already acquired the discourse.

The first and second literacy events however, indicate that at present few within the station have acquired these discourses and therefore the supported interaction with people who have already acquired the discourse does not occur in the police station. Thus it would be unrealistic to expect police officers to be successfully initiated into contemporary discourses and associated literacy practices shaping policing. At the moment police officers are displaying an 'outsider' identity to an expected professional discourse that has accepted the values, attitudes and its literacy practices of human rights at the level of the state. Instead it can be argued that police officers are completing the *Notice of rights in terms of the Constitution* form as a means to 'cover' themselves so in the event of an investigation, they can argue that the arrested persons were read and are aware of their constitutional rights.

Furthermore Gee (1990:144) argues that discourses promote certain concepts, viewpoints, and values at the expense of others that are also embedded in discourses. In doing, so discourses will 'marginalize' viewpoints and values central to other discourses. The first and second literacy events demonstrate my argument that the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' of the apartheid years that shaped the professional discourse of the rank-and-file is reserving an 'outsider' status or identity for police officers at Phatisanani police station to the institutional discourse of 'human rights' and its associated literacy practices like the completion of the *Notice of rights in terms of the Constitution*. In the second literacy event the three White Afrikaner policemen treated the illegal immigrants in a deeply abusive manner and did not read them their constitutional rights. Their verbal abuses and insults demonstrate the values and attitudes promoted by the institutional discourse of 'the Volk' in the professional discourse of police officers on the ground. There are still echoes of 'the frontier' discourse here - that Blacks from outlying countries cannot come to South Africa and vote.

The institutional discourse of 'the Volk' saw White people as the chosen people and criminalised Blacks. As was suggested in Chapter Two by Brogden and Shearing (1993:45), the professional discourse of police officers during the apartheid years was sustained and legitimised by a 'circular ideology' rooted in the Christian-Nationalist discourse of 'the Volk' or nation. This is demonstrated in the accusations

that the Black illegal immigrants practised sodomy and were unhygienic. Although Sergeant Yeki and Sergeant Miti did not read the two Rastafarians their constitutional rights, they were not mistreated or verbally abused, and Sergeant Yeki went to some lengths to explain the charge against Mr Mandla (see lines 1-84 above). The actions of the two sergeants who are both black officers are in stark contrast to that of the Afrikaner officers.

The shift in policing discourses and Gee's arguments on discourse acquisition suggest that literacy practices change and new ones are frequently acquired through processes of informal sense-making (Barton and Hamilton, 2000:8). The processes of informal sense-making of literacy practices occur within discourses through supported interaction with people ('insiders') who have already acquired the discourse. However the first literacy events demonstrate that Sergeant Miti relied on Sergeant Yeki to acquire the bureaucratic procedures which include literacy practices that are completely new to him and ex-kitskonstabels. Because Sergeant Yeki did not inform Mr Nazo about his constitutional rights linked to the *Notice of rights in terms of the Constitution* form, Sergeant Miti also did not inform Mr Mandla - instead Mr Nazo asked me what the forms entailed.

Gee (1990:148) claims that discourses and their associated literacy practices can often conflict seriously in values, attitudes, ways of acting, thinking and talking. I argued in Chapter Two that past institutional and professional discourses are conflicting with the institutional discourse of 'human rights' that emerged after the 1994 elections. As was stated in Chapter Two no processes were put in place to let police know what it is about the old order (actions and attitudes) that had to be left behind, and which attitudes and actions had to be celebrated and taken forward to the new political era and incorporated into police officers' professional discourse.

Recontextualisation of literacy practices and 'disorder of discourses'

The argument that literacy practices are associated with different domains of life also suggests that people participate in distinct discourse communities or within discourses as Gee would argue. Domains and the discourse communities associated with them are often not autonomous entities, but Barton and Hamilton (2000:11) argue that there are instances of permeability, overlap and movement between boundaries. However I would suggest, drawing on the arguments of Wodak (1996), that although there are instances of permeability between the boundaries of different domains, there are also instances of 'disorders of discourses' inside and

between different domains - this would include 'disorder of discourses' between the different spaces of Phatisanani police station as outlined in the previous chapter as well as between 'insiders' and 'insiders' and between 'insiders and 'outsiders'.

In the first literacy event we find that Sergeant Jama and the male detective differed on whether or not the two sergeants were to complete warning statements. The detective occupied a space outside that of the CSC whereas Sergeant Jama was seated in the C-block where the cells are located. Sergeant Jama mentioned that the detective 'is thrown here because he is unproductive' and that is why he does not know that *Warning Statements* must be completed. The difference of opinion on whether or not to fill in warning statements suggests that there is an absence of shared cognitions (understanding) as suggested by Barton and Hamilton (2000) shaping literacy practices at the station. Sergeant Jama attributes the absence of this shared cognition (understanding) to the unproductivity of the detective. He suggested that it is due to the detective's unproductivity in a police station outside the black townships that he has been transferred to Phatisanani police station. However I would suggest that the difference of opinion between Sergeant Jama and the detective could be rooted in bureaucratic procedures (including literacy practices) being recontextualised differently in different police stations. Therefore police officers redeployed to Phatisananani police station might have been exposed to literacy practices that were recontextualised differently in different police stations before being redeployed to Phatisanani police station. Prinsloo and Breier (1996:18) drawing on the arguments of Rogoff and Lave (1984) suggest that skills acquired in one social context are substantially different from those acquired in another - the same argument can be applied to when police officers were redeployed from the context of one police station to that of Phatisanani police station.

The recontextualisation of bureaucratic procedures having an effect on the literacy practices of police officers was clearly demonstrated in the previous chapter where Superintendent Du Toit renumbered the bureaucratic procedures to follow when a rape of any person over fourteen years old is reported at the station so as to suit the professional discourse of 'a station like Phatisanani'. As was stated in the previous chapter in an interview with a redeployed White officer who noted that 'once you know how things work here at the station, you can easily start to function at this station' implying that bureaucratic procedures are recontextualised differently in different sites of practice. Therefore I attribute the conflict or 'disorder of discourses'

between and amongst 'insiders' to variations of recontextualised bureaucratic procedures across different sites of practice.

In many of my observations in the CSC it became obvious that police officers who were 'insiders' continuously differed on what forms should be completed for different types of crimes or what forms should accompany arrested persons to the court. Sergeant Jama also mentioned that the dynamics of the SAPS do not allow for the efficiency of the SAPS and Phatisanani police station because productive and efficient officers are always transferred to special units.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have demonstrated how 'disorder of discourses' occurs at Phatisanani police station between 'insiders' and 'insiders', and 'insiders' and 'outsiders'; and how this 'disorder' contributes to the gap between past and present literacy practices in the SAPS and at the station.

The first and third literacy events demonstrated how 'outsiders' were engaging in the professional discourse at Phatisanani police station and its literacy practices through the literacy mediators who were 'insiders' to the professional discourse of the station. However the first and third literacy events also demonstrated that there was 'disorder of discourses' between 'insiders' and 'insiders' - Sergeant Jama and the detective differed on the correct bureaucratic procedures to follow at the C-block. I have attributed this 'disorder' to the various ways bureaucratic procedures were recontextualised across various sites of practice and that police officers were never required to maintain their dockets properly in the past.

I have also demonstrated how 'disorder of discourse' or conflict occurred between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' because 'outsiders' were never really initiated into the SAPS, but were just absorbed into the SAPS after 1994. After 1994 they were expected to perform the role of an ordinary police officer. Although Gee (1999) and Lave and Wenger (1991) make the argument for situated peripheral participation within a discourse with 'insiders' the literacy events demonstrated that with the recontextualisation of literacy practices across sites and the 'disorder of discourses' between 'insiders' and 'insiders' that 'outsiders' like the ex-kitskonstabels, will find it difficult to acquire the literacy practices associated with everyday policing.

Chapter Five

Reflections on entering uncharted waters

Introduction

In the first chapter I quoted Professor Schärff as saying that researching literacy in the SAPS is like 'entering uncharted waters'. In this final chapter I provide a summary of my findings in answering the research question and the debates they raise as far as the NLS is concerned. I also provide some suggestions for future research in the 'uncharted waters' of literacy practices in the SAPS.

Reflections on answering the research question

Constructing the gap between past and present literacy practices at Phatisanani police station

In the process of answering the research question I have provided an historical account of the discursive shifts in institutional discourses and the effects these discourses had on the professional discourses of police officers. In the past professional discourses displayed compatibility with institutional discourses because police officers' time was spent on protecting and ensuring the continual existence of the apartheid state. I have argued that at present the professional discourse of police officers at Phatisanani police station conflicts with the institutional discourse of 'human rights' that gained dominance at the level of the state after 1994. I have suggested that the conflict between the institutional discourse of 'human rights', which subsumes the notion of policing as a service, and the professional discourse of police officers at Phatisanani police station is leading to disorder of discourses (Wodak, 1996) within the station. The disorder of discourses or conflict between the professional discourse of police officers at Phatisanani police station and the institutional discourse of 'human rights' is part of constructing the gap between past and present literacy practices at Phatisanani police station.

I have also argued that initiation into the professional discourse and the identities these discourses assign to police officers forms part of constructing the gap between past and present literacy practices at Phatisanani police station. As was suggested in previous chapters, discourses either assign an 'insider' or 'outsider' status to an individual (Gee, 1990). Therefore at Phatisanani police station the gap between past

and present literacy practices is embedded in the gap between the identities and roles of 'insiders' and 'outsiders' at Phatisanani police station as was demonstrated in Chapters Three and Four. I have suggested that it is 'insiders' who have insights into the bureaucratic procedures of policing which include the literacy practices of everyday policing and that 'outsiders' have been excluded from these bureaucratic procedures prior to 1994. 'Outsiders' like the ex-kitskonstabels were integrated into the SAPS after 1994 and are now expected to function as an 'insider' police officer at Phatisanani police station. The first and third literacy events demonstrated how 'insiders' were displaying more control over the literacy practices of everyday policing than 'outsiders' and that 'outsiders' were expected to acquire the everyday literacy practices through peripheral participation (Lave and Wenger, 1991). However the first and third literacy events demonstrated that this peripheral participation or apprenticeship (Gee, 1990) of ex-kitskonstabels was not legitimated in any way. Therefore the literacy mediation that took place in the first and third literacy events confirmed the 'outsider' status of these ex-kitskonstabels.

The gap between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' provides invaluable insights into why 'outsiders' like the ex-kitskonstabels have not 'taken hold' (Besnier, 1993) of the literacies associated with everyday policing that they have been excluded from during the apartheid years due to the institutional discourse of 'the Volk'. Furthermore, as was argued throughout this thesis, literacy is embedded in discourses and discourses are successfully mastered only through a process of acquisition or enculturation with 'insiders' who have mastered the discourse.

I have suggested that 'disorder of discourses' exists between 'insiders' and 'insiders' as well. I argued in previous chapters, by drawing on the arguments of Barton and Hamilton (2000), that the processes shaping literacy practices are not only internal to the individual but are the social processes which link people to each other through 'shared cognition' or through the 'shared meaning and sense making' existing in organisations, as Wodak (1996) would suggest. Furthermore as suggested by Barton and Hamilton, social practices and therefore literacy practices, are shaped by social rules that determine the use and distribution of texts. Therefore literacy practices are more usefully understood as existing in the relations between people, within groups and communities through participation in distinct discourses with 'insiders', rather than as a set of properties residing in the individual.

The first and third literacy events documented in the previous chapter suggested that

the 'shared cognition' (Barton and Hamilton, 2000) or the 'shared meaning and sense making' (Wodak, 1996) does not exist within the police station amongst 'insiders'. Instead I have suggested that there exists 'disorder of discourses' inside Phatisanani police station amongst 'insiders'. The conflict or disorder of discourses between 'insiders' further constructs the gap between past and present literacy practices. As Wodak (1996:15) argues, understanding within organisations is the exception, misunderstanding and conflict is the rule. This conflict I have attributed to the destabilising effect the powerful institutional discourses of the apartheid years had on the profession of policing and the professional discourse of police officers. I have also attributed the disorder of discourses to bureaucratic practices which include the literacy practices of policing being recontextualised differently in different police stations. As was mentioned in Chapter Two, the institutional discourse of 'human rights' required the redistribution of human resources to previously disadvantaged areas like Khayelitsha. A White male detective mentioned that 'once you know how things work here at the station you can start to function', implying that bureaucratic procedures being recontextualised differently across various sites of practice. Recontextualisation of bureaucratic practices across various sites of practice further constructs the gap between past and present literacy practices at the station.

I have suggested that the *Notice of rights in terms of the Constitution* forms are embedded in the institutional discourse of 'human rights'. In the first and second literacy events Sergeants Yeki and Miti and the White male Afrikaners did not read the arrested persons their constitutional rights respectively. Instead the police officers only asked the arrested persons to sign the *Notice of rights in terms of the Constitution* forms – this practice is an indication of how the institutional discourse of 'human rights' has been recontextualised in the professional discourse of Phatisanani police station so as to 'cover' police officers. I have argued that at present few within Phatisanani police station have acquired the values associated with human rights and therefore the supported interaction with 'insiders' (those who have already acquired these values) does not occur in the station. It would be unrealistic to expect police officers whether 'insider' or 'outsider' to the professional discourse of Phatisanani police station to be successfully initiated into contemporary discourses and its associated literacy practices shaping policing. I have suggested that police officers at Phatisanani police station are displaying an 'outsider' identity to an expected professional discourse that has accepted the values, attitudes and its literacy practices of human rights at the level of the state.

Gee (1990:157) offers a solution to this dilemma by arguing that teaching and learning should stress the ability to critique discourses that individuals are members of. Therefore I suggest that the training based on the process of learning that is currently being offered in the SAPS for officers who were members of the SAP during the apartheid years, should stress critical reflection of police officers' own literacy practices in relation to the literacy practices of the institutional discourse of 'human rights'. In essence the literacy practices that became evident in the literacy events should be juxtaposed with the more 'acceptable' literacy practices. Gee therefore suggests that teaching and learning should be connected with the development of meta-level cognitive skills to critique other discourses, or professional discourses I would add.

Reflections on the literacy practices of police officers at Phatisanani police station and the New Literacy Studies

I researched and analysed the gap between past and present literacy practices at Phatisanani police station through employing ethnographic methods in collecting my data, by using Barton's (2000) model discussed in Chapter One, for conducting literacy research. It is through the analysis of the discursive shifts of institutional discourses and the three literacy events, that I 'uncovered' the disorder and conflict of discourses which the gap between past and present literacy practices is causing at Phatisanani police station.

In Chapters One and Two I argued that the professional discourse of police officers and its associated literacy practices are shaped by past institutional discourses. This meant that the construction of professional discourses and its associated literacy practices extends over a period of time and is made manifest only under historically situated, concrete circumstances (Gunnarson et al., 1997). Locating the literacy practices of police officers in professional discourses shaped by institutional discourses over time meant the problematisation of not only the literacy practices of police officers but context as well – is context the 'here and now' or is it constructed historically through past discourses? The question that I raise here suggests that the past and the future, as argued by Tusting (2000), are emergent in the present. Tusting (2000:39) suggests that constructions of how literacy practices have been in the past, and how they will be in the future, will change as the present emerges. Although regularity can be observed in the repetition of literacy events as suggested by Barton and Hamilton (2000), it is possible that both the events and people's experiences and expectations of these literacy practices change over time. The

study suggests that all literacy practices are historically situated (Barton and Hamilton, 2000) and that it is necessary for some construction of the past to be drawn on in analysing and problematising not only literacy practices but also the context in which they are embedded.

The research confirmed that it is necessary to study and problematise literacy practices as they occur in social life, taking note of the context and its different implications, meanings and identities for various groups. At Phatisanani police station the acquisition of the bureaucratic procedures and their associated literacy practices had various implications for the identities of 'insiders' and 'outsiders', as discussed in Chapters Three and Four. The research confirmed that everyone's literacy practices are situated within broader social relations (Barton, 1994) and that there are different literacies associated with different domains of life (Barton and Hamilton, 2000) like the workplace of police officers. Therefore it is necessary to describe the social setting of literacy events and the power relations existing in these settings. The 'ideological' model of literacy (Street, 1984) also suggests that literacy not only varies from one social context to another, but that its meanings are always embedded in relations of power – at Phatisanani police station power and control operated through the spatial organisation at the station and through the routinised bureaucratic procedures which included the literacy practices of police officers.

Street's 'ideological' model of literacy argues for researching what comes with the acquisition of literacy, namely the attitudes, values, norms and beliefs accompanying it. At Phatisanani police station values such as discipline and dedication were seen as necessary for a police officer to adhere to the bureaucratic procedures in which the literacy practices of everyday policing are embedded. Therefore the study confirmed that literacy cannot be viewed as a neutral technology separate and separable from the social context that favours them.

Suggested focus of future research

The dominance of the institutional discourse of 'human rights' after 1994 also meant that the new SAPS had to review their training programmes for new recruits. Police officers at Phatisanani police station have told me that the SAPS is at present making use of field training officers (FTO's) to apprentice new police recruits into the bureaucratic procedures of everyday policing. After receiving six months of training new recruits are sent to police stations and are apprenticed to an FTO who must

provide scaffolded interaction for new recruits. At the moment there are three FTO's ('insiders') at Phatisanani police station who are to provide scaffolded interaction for new recruits.

In constructing the gap between past and present literacy practices at Phatisanani police station I have made the case for discourses being mastered through a process of acquisition. The process of acquisition occurs through exposure to models or 'insiders' who have already acquired the discourse and its associated social practices which include the literacy practices of policing. I have argued that there exists disorder of discourses not only between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' but also between 'insiders' and 'insiders' – this has complex implications for the professional discourse that new recruits will acquire at Phatisanani police station. Future research should focus on the implications the complex nature of the professional discourse and its associated literacy practices of 'insiders' at Phatisanani police station will have on the professional discourse of new recruits and associated literacy practices.

I was located in the CSC of Phatisanani police station and could not trace docket files from the CSC into other spaces of the police station like the spaces the detectives occupy. Therefore research into how these docket files are reworked or recontextualised from one space to the other at Phatisanani police station would provide for invaluable insights into how the disorder and conflict of the gap between past and present literacy practices is 'normalised' at the station. Wodak (1996:170) argues that disorder of discourses is in no way random or chaotic; it possesses its own order and serves certain functions of exclusion, power, justification and legitimation. The White male detective whom I quoted as saying that 'once you know how things work here at the station, you can easily start to function' suggests that police officers have 'normalised the chaos and disorder' at the station. Future research should focus on the social processes involved in the normalisation of the disorder at the station in relation to the bureaucratic practices and its associated literacy practices across the different spaces of the station.

Conclusion

Reflections on my images of the police

In the first chapter I have mentioned I felt apprehensive in researching the literacy practices in the SAPS due to my early memories of confrontation with the police. Although many of the practices of the apartheid years still exist amongst police

officers, conducting and completing the research gave me invaluable insights into the odds and dangers police officers face in their workplace and have nurtured a respect for police officers who attempt to perform their duties.

Presently the SAPS and Phatisanani police station is under-resourced in terms of personnel and resources – acquiring the literacies associated with policing will assist in the efficiency of personnel at Phatisanani police station, but will not lead to a decline in crime in Khayelitsha. Since I started with the research more than ten police officers at Phatisanani police station have lost their lives in performing their policing duties and combating crime regardless of personnel and resource shortages at the station. The stark reality is that combating crime is a complex political, economic and social issue and cannot be achieved only through police officers, whether ‘insiders’ or ‘outsiders’, acquiring the bureaucratic procedures of policing and its associated literacy practices.

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