# Road crashes in the City of Tshwane, South Africa: Necessity for collaboration among policing units

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**Abstract:** Unlawful speeding is a major cause of road crashes in South Africa. This article looks at inter-organisational coordination challenges among the Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD), the Gauteng Traffic Police, the National Traffic Police and South African Police Services (SAPS) as police organisations involved in attempts to arrest this problem from a City of Tshwane perspective. The article adopted qualitative research approach supported by 28 experts (participants interviews) with senior officers from the four entities. Data were analysed using thematic analysis. The study found that inter-organisational coordination was severely weakened by competition attitudes in policing and lack of goal congruency in unlawful speed management leading to duplication of ineffective efforts and ultimately poor or unlawful speeding law enforcement. From the study, it emerged that inter-agency cooperation and coordination flourished when individual agencies minimised their internal problems.  Such problems were identified as low officer morale, agencies' poor performances in courts, corruption and skills issues. The study recommends a coordination strategy that will enhance how the three main traffic law enforcement units work together while each agency needed to improve its internal environment to contribute more effectively to the strategy. This paper explores the elements of competition and collaboration across traffic law enforcement units to understand how this affects traffic law enforcement and its goal of minimising illegal speeding in the City of Tshwane. The paper aims to contribute towards the improvement of multi-agency traffic law enforcement in the City of Tshwane with a higher view that this would have a positive impact on reducing illegal speeding and road crashes and their severe socio-economic consequences.

The study explores inter-organizational collaboration with an approach that for this to produce effective outcomes, an intra organizational challenges affecting the same outcomes need to be managed. As part of its findings, the study shows that illegal speeding and consequential road crashes were caused by an interaction of multiple factors. These were poor human behavioural elements, as the main factor, road-environment factors and vehicle-related factors in the presence of inadequate and uncoordinated traffic law enforcement, weak penal systems for offenders, corruption, poor driver training and low road safety education. The study also found that a coordinated speed management system consisting of adequate and appropriate traffic law enforcement resources, a responsive judicial system, motivated personnel operating within a well-planned and coordinated manner could help to reduce illegal speeding.

The study concluded that the management of illegal speeding in South Africa required new coordinated approaches. The recommendations in this paper will help to guide such a coordinated approach towards the reduction of illegal speeding and its consequences. The major recommendations made were improving coordination among different law enforcement units, fighting corruption in traffic law enforcement and licensing services administration, increasing road safety campaigns, increasing traffic law enforcement resources and developing effective penal systems for speeding offenders and the implementation of the Administrative Adjudication of Road Traffic Offences Act (AARTO).

**Keywords:** City of Tshwane, organisational coordination, road crashes, South Africa, unlawful speeding

## Introduction

Road crashes are a common occurrence in virtually all parts of the world (Bonnet, Lechat, & Ridde, 2018). Globally, at least 1.2 million lives are lost annually due to road crashes also referred to as motor vehicle accidents (Bonnet, Lechat & Ridde, 2018). In the local South African context, Siebrits, Du Plessis and Jansen (2020) acknowledge that South African traffic laws are strong and suitable for the reduction of road traffic crashes that occur because of illegal speeding. However, road crashes continue unabated. This made the authors of this article to posit that collaboration among policing units will enable the reduction in road traffic crashes due to illegal speeding. In the City of Tshwane (CoT) and other metropolitan areas, traffic law enforcement is a function of four independent traffic policing units - the Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD), the Gauteng Traffic Police, the National Traffic Police and the South African Police Services (SAPS), which also carries out general law enforcement that applies to road traffic matters. Regardless of the existence of these units, the occurrence of road crashes remains a major problem (in fact growing problem in the CoT and South Africa in general). A general expectation is that all factors being constant, an increase in the number of police units would increase law enforcement resulting in reduced illegal speeding and road crash incidents. However, in multi-agency policing, unit cooperation and coordination are considered the key success factors in the attainment of law enforcement objectives (Giacomantonio, 2015).

## Literature review

### The concept and practice of law enforcement collaboration

In law enforcement, inter-organisational coordination relates to joint and unified actions towards commonly determined goals. Collaboration refers to the voluntary cooperation among such agencies towards common or unit goals (Castner & Oliveira, 2020). Cooperation is more of an attitudinal and behavioural outcome that sees agencies working together (Castner & Oliveira, 2020). As evident from the above definitions, there's very little distinction regarding how these terms are used and more often than not they are applied in reference to the same processes. In Djanggih, Thalib, Baharuddin, Qamar, and Ahmar, (2018) views, inter-agency cooperation is the harmonisation and synchronisation of goals and processes to resolve a common problem. Gulati, Wohlgezogen and Zhelyazkov (2012) see collaboration as an intentional outcome of effective cooperation and coordination attempts. This paper takes Gulati *et al's* approach and looks at collaboration as a function of cooperation and coordination.

Law enforcement coordination is critical in jurisdictions where more than one policing agency operates within a common jurisdiction and in addition, have overlapping roles and responsibilities (Fedorowicz, Sawyer & Tomasino 2018). The existence of independent yet interdependent units make coordination a necessity in reflection of the need to resolve overall jurisdictional challenges (Fedorowicz, *et al.*,2018). Law enforcement synergy, which is the desired outcome of cooperation, coordination and collaboration results in the total effort of different agencies being greater than the combined individual efforts of independently operating agencies (Laszlo, 2017). The advantages are realisable across the law enforcement activities chain from crime and infringement prevention to investigation and prosecution (Sugiartha, Dewi & Widyantara, 2021,).

Several challenges mar effective inter-organisational cooperation. According to Laszlo (2017) rivalry among agencies is a common threat to law enforcement synergy in multi-policed environments. Different organisational and professional cultures are a common source of friction as law enforcers can develop negative perceptions of each due to perceived and actual differences (Almklov, Antonsen, Bye & Øren 2018). In 2019 the Civilian Secretariat for Police Service proposed the *"Policy Framework on Establishing an Integrated Model of Policing"* proposed greater law enforcement coordination, collaboration and cooperation under a single policing structure (Civilian Secretariat for Police Service, 2019). It cited a lack of common policing standards and norms, and independent and uncoordinated law enforcement planning as major challenges in South African traffic law and the general law enforcement environment. Thus, local law enforcement as argued was not realising impressive synergetic benefits.

According to Nasution, Pranita, Bulandari, Setyawati, and Suwarno (2021). "coordinated strength" refers to the enhanced inter-agency total capacity to meet law enforcement agencies. However, each agency needed to consolidate its internal strengths for it to effectively enhance group coordinated strength. Internally weak agencies were more likely to submit equally weak and ineffective efforts to the desired synergetic relationships (Djanggih et al.,2018). Giacomantonio (2015) asserts the need to build internal strengths and lessen weaknesses as part of enhancing policing integration effectiveness.

### Police coordination legal background: South Africa

Post-apartheid several legislative and structural changes saw greater involvement of local and provincial government

policing units in law enforcement. At the local and provincial government level, a major post-1994 development was the restructuring and strengthening of road traffic safety sectors (established in the 1930s at a local/district government level and provincially in the 1940s) through legislative directives such as –

- the *National Road Traffic Act* (93 of 1996) as amended (University of Pretoria and Southern African Legal Information Institute, 2010);
- the *South African Police Service Act* (68 of 1995) as amended by especially the *South African Police Service Amendment Act* (83 of 1998) (Juta, 2007); and more generally
- *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (1996) as amended (Republic of South Africa, 1996). For example: In line with (1) *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (1996) as amended, as well as (2) the *National Road Traffic Act* (93 of 1996) as amended, the tendency to "paramilitarise" road traffic safety officers that emerged in the 1980s was phased out (Rauch, 2001).

The first municipal police department to be established in the larger or metropolitan municipal areas in South Africa was the Durban Metropolitan Police Service (DMPS) in 2000. Rauch (2001) also noted that the DMPS replaced the "*Durban City Police*" (DCP) force. The DCP had been established in 1854. The Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Department (EMPS) and the Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD) followed in 2002 and, thereafter, the Cape Town Police Service (CPS) and the Johannesburg Metropolitan Police Department (JMPD).

Emphasis was also placed on ensuring that traffic safety officers rendered a people-oriented road traffic safety service or, in the words of Röthe (2008:32), "a productive, economical and society-demanded [traffic safety] service". For example, Section 3I of the *National Road Traffic Act* (93 of 1996) as amended assigned "powers and duties" to road traffic safety officers consistent with the traffic safety law enforcement function of one of the three main components of road traffic safety management noted in the 1991 RTMS model. In short, Act 93 of 1996 required road traffic safety officers to focus on enforcing traffic laws and thus regulating and controlling road traffic according to relevant laws. However, as peace officers road traffic safety officers also had a more general, albeit limited law enforcement responsibility. They had to notify the South African Police Service (SAPS) when they suspected a non-traffic-related offence had been committed.

Furthermore, whereas criminal justice agencies and, in particular, the police played a role – although a quite diffuse role – in road traffic safety management between 1910 and 1994, post-1994 legislation *detailed* this role, but restricted it to the local government level (Röthe, 2008). Section 206(7) of *The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (1996) as amended, for example, provided for the institution of municipal/metropolitan police officers whose responsibilities included, amongst other things, the enforcement of road traffic safety laws.

In addition, (1) the *National Road Traffic Act* (93 of 1996) as amended, together with (2) the *South African Police Service Act* (68 of 1995) as amended by (3) the *South African Police Service Amendment Act* (83 of 1998), required municipal/metropolitan police officers to *inter alia* enforce road traffic safety laws. For example, the *National Road Traffic Act* (93 of 1996) as amended stated: a "'traffic officer' means a traffic officer appointed in terms of section 3A … and any member of a municipal police service … as defined in section 1 of the *South African Police Service Act*, 1995". Section 64E(a) of the *South African Police Service Act* (68 of 1995), as amended by the *South African Police Service Amendment Act* (83 of 1998), specifies "traffic policing, subject to any legislation relating to road traffic", as *one* of the functions of municipal/metropolitan police officers Sedgwick & Hawdon, 2019,

Furthermore, *Act 68 of 1995* (as amended by Act 83 of 1998) stipulated that municipal police officers had the legal power to arrest, search and do seizures within their area of operation or jurisdiction. However, to avoid duplicating the work of the SAPS, municipal police officers had to hand relevant criminal cases over to the SAPS for investigation and prosecution. More generally, and in terms of Sections 205 and 206 of the 1996 constitution, municipal police officers had a constitutional duty to render a road traffic law enforcement service to the public that was efficient, community-based and not only reactive but also proactive nature. Hence, and, by implication, municipal police officers *inter alia* had a constitutional duty to contribute towards road traffic safety and to do so not only reactively but also proactively (Rauch, 2001).

Two other key post-1994 statutory initiatives also materialised namely the promulgation of the *Administrative Adjudication of Road Traffic Offences (AARTO) Act* (46 of 1998), and the *Road Traffic Management Corporation (RTMC) Act* (20 of 1999). These two initiatives were, as noted by Mynhardt (2013:104), "supportive of key issues noted in the [earlier mentioned] 1996 White Paper on National Transport Policy". More specifically, the *AARTO Act* (46 of 1998) provided for the adjudication function of the law enforcement component of road traffic safety management (Road Traffic Management Corporation, 2016).

Regardless of the above interventions, road crashes due to illegal or unlawful speeding and other factors remain a problem in the City of Tshwane and South Africa in general. Machetele and Yessoufou (2021) have noted that over the past few years the number of road traffic crashes has increased by 26%. The Department of Transport (2016) also notes that there was an increase in the number of road traffic crashes from 2014. The Department of Transport attributes this increase in road traffic crashes to an increase in the vehicle population in South Africa which is increasing at 4% annually. In addition, the Department of Transport (2016) also notes that the increase in road traffic crashes is a result of an increase in the driver population. The Department of Transport reveals that there is an increase of drivers of 4.5% annually from 2005 to 2014.
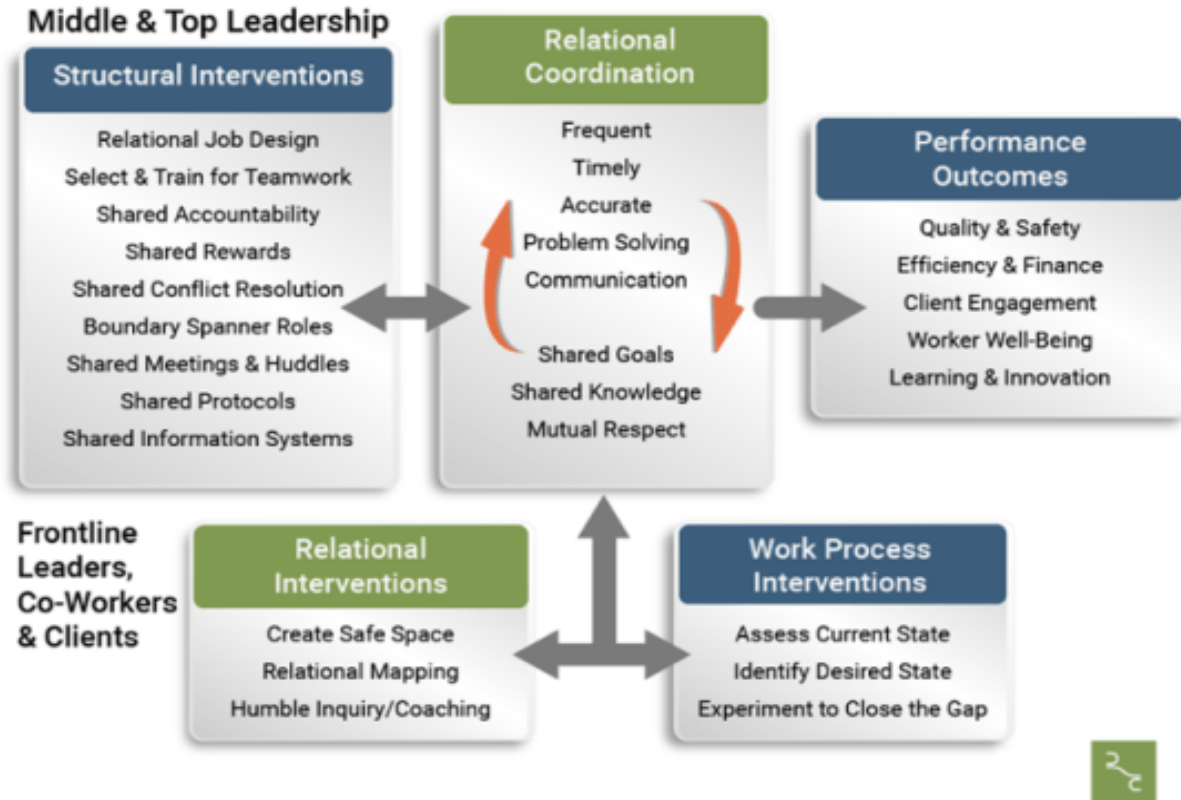
**The theory of coordination**

The theory of Coordination was originated by Malone and Crowston in 1994 (Malone & Crowston, 1994). Noting that the study focuses on the coordination of various law enforcement and public administration entities in the management of illegal speeding and road crashes, this section discusses the coordination theory. Crowston *et al*, (1994) highlight that the coordination theory has its background in the advanced information and communication technology environment in which many experts and entities need to work together towards a single-unified, complicated product. Later versions of the coordination theory are mainly attributed to the works of Gittel (2021). Gittel and Logan (2018:1) discuss a collaboration theory version branded as the relational collaboration theory (RCT). The RCT premises that

> *"relationships of shared goals shared knowledge and mutual respect between workgroups or organizations promote frequent, timely, accurate, problem-solving communication and vice versa, allowing them to effectively coordinate their work."*

The RCT notes commonly shared aspirations or goals, commonly shared knowledge among the goal-seeking entities and mutual respect as the inputs that different workgroups or organisations put into a collaborative relationship (Gittel & Logan 2018:1). The outputs are greater collaboration and effective solutions or outcomes towards desired goals (Gittel & Logan 2018:1). Margalina *et al* (2014: 365) also stress the significance of communication and relationship building demands of the RCT, communication and relationship quality are thus the cornerstones of coordination in organisations (Margalina *et al* 2014: 367).

Figure 1: The coordination theory/theory of coordination



(Source: Gittel, 2021)

The above model developed to capture the essence of the relational coordination theory, consists of five components: relational coordination, structural, relational and work-process interventions and finally performance outcomes (Gittel 2021:1). The model takes relational coordination as a function of "frequent, timely, accurate, problem-solving communication" communication attributes and relationships attributes (common goals, knowledge and mutual respect) (Gittel, 2021:1). Three forms or types of interventions are required to bring about an optimal state of relational coordination. Structural interventions are aimed at resolving any structural barriers that can impede units or entities from effective relational collaboration (Mynhardt, 2013). Relational interventions address interpersonal or intergroup barriers to relational coordination while work process interventions look at work processes and procedures that may adversely affect relational coordination (Gittel & Logan 2018:1). The last two types of interventions are mainly addressed at line employees, who in the context of this study include traffic law enforcement officers. The result of a well-coordinated system is efficiency and effectiveness factors such as "quality and safety, efficiency and finance, client engagement, worker well-being and learning and innovation" (Gittel, 2021:1).

**Research Methods**

This article adopts a qualitative-exploratory design.

**Population and sampling**

Convenience sampling was used in selecting research participants. It was also used alongside snowball sampling. Convenience sampling involves drawing research participants based on a predetermined convenience aspect (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2014: 240). Snowball sampling involves the identification of key participants who will then be encouraged to identify other candidates who can assist with the research questions (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2014: 240). The convenience factors that were used were as follows: knowledge of traffic law enforcement operations in Tshwane, knowledge of traffic law administration and strategies in Tshwane, experience in traffic law enforcement and willingness and interest to participate.

**Data collection**

To collect qualitative data, the researchers administered a structured interview schedule to the selected participants. The interview schedule was also administered after participants provided their informed consent. The interviews lasted between 20 minutes and 30 minutes.

**Thematic analysis**

According to Nowell *et al* (2017:2) thematic analysis is a technique that involves the extraction of themes from a data set as a way g getting meaning from it. It is "the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data" (McGuire & Delahant, 2017: 3352). It produces themes as classifications of important views and findings within data. Nowell, Norris, White, and Moules, (2017:2) assert that thematic analysis facilitates a reliable analysis of data provided it is done with rigour.

Thematic analysis also generated the relationships between a theme and its subthemes and between a theme and a theme through axial coding. Axial coding is a process of identifying and establishing linkages between qualitative data elements. In the study, axial coding was used for connecting subthemes and any classes under them to their main theme. Axial coding results were presented as flow diagrams that showed the connections between themes and subthemes as well as subthemes and other subthemes. Both semantic and latent themes were extracted from the data (McGuire & Delahant, 2017: 3353). The latent themes were critical in connecting various themes and in the conceptualisation of models of importance to the study.

**Findings**

**Traffic law enforcement co-ordination in Tshwane**

The interview process took an interest in the degrees of coordination between three major traffic law enforcement entities working in Tshwane. These are the Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD) traffic division, the Gauteng Traffic Police and the National Traffic Police. Of interest was whether the existence of these three entities improved speeding law enforcement and how it had done this. The *Traffic law enforcement coordination in Tshwane* subtheme is presented under four headings: Coordination of operations, Competition versus collaboration, Duplication of efforts and Lack of goal congruency.

**Lack of coordination in operations**

There were popular views that the three policing entities lacked coordination and each worked within its scope albeit they all operated in the same locality.

> *No there is no cooperation between the three spheres of traffic enforcement. Each and every sphere do its own law enforcement. If these spheres can coordinate with each other there can be a tremendous reduction in road crashes (Interview 4, August 30, 2021)*

Firstly the units lacked operational coordination. Their operations were not planned or held in tandem even when they occurred in the same locations. They thus attempted to achieve a common goal albeit without working interactively as highlighted by Interviewee 24:

> *No these spheres are not well coordinated each one does his/her own thing whereas they have a common goal of reduction of road accidents ensuring safe roads for SA" (Interview 24, August 30, 2021)*

The entities did not try to synergise their strategies for improved efficiency and effectiveness. Worse still, each had a poor planning regime and through a lack of synergy they could not coordinate to produce improved strategies:

> *No, poor planning each department are doing their own job" (Interview 20, August 30, 2021)*

> *There is no uniformity in terms of strategy and plan to tackle or stabilise the current situation (Interview 12, August 30, 2021)*

From the interviewees views the above lack of coordination robbed the city of the potential benefits of a more efficient, effective and synergised speeding management system that could reduce road crashes. It also facilitated competitive rather than cooperative behaviours among the units.

**Competition attitudes in policing**

A competitive rather than cooperative attitude across the three entities was highlighted as a major reason behind their joint failure to curb the speeding problems and ever-increasing road crashes in Tshwane. Competition motivated the units to act independently with each aiming to get greater wins than the other. Interviewees 3 and 7 summarise this view:

> *No, they are operating solo. The one wanting to outshine the other instead of working as one for one common aim. A safer road user for the province and the country"* (Interview 7, August 30, 2021)

> *Every sphere is concerned with revenue collection and meeting own targets. Traffic offences must be enforced in all three spheres of law enforcement agencies"* (Interview 3, August 30, 2021)

With this competitive attitude, there was no interest in working together. As Interviewee 23 puts it: *"everyone works differently in silos in competition against each other" (Interview 23, August 30, 2021).* This competition is enhanced by the fact that the three units each can work in the same demarcations:

> *No, because all three departments don't have clearly demarcated areas"* (Interview 9, August 30, 2021)

This lack of demarcated operational zones also leads to the problem of resources duplication discussed in the next sub-theme.

**Duplication of efforts**

In near contrast to the competition view above, some interviewees believed that the uncoordinated environment created duplication of effort-driven redundancy in some units:

> *No because of duplication of work, all officers are doing the same work in the same area"* (Interview 4, August 30, 2021)

In Interviewee 24's views, units that felt underpaid tended to hold back their services as they recognised that even in their absence other units would cover for them. This is highlighted in the statement below.

> *Because they are not well coordinated and anyone is doing his own things, most are redundant because they are not paid the same salary and the same benefits (Interview 24, August 30, 2021)*

In such scenarios, the possibility of areas being left unpoliced was considerably high especially when the interviewees report that there were fewer officers than needed. This leads to the following comment by Interviewee 17:

> *Proper development and deployment of resources are needed including the working together of structures (Interview 17, August 30, 2021)*

Duplication of resources and the resulting redundancy, therefore, came as a severe inefficiency risk in speed policing in Tshwane.

**Lack of goal congruency in illegal/unlawful speed management**

There were two views on how the three enforcement units managed their strategic and operational goals. One view was that they pursued different goals, such goals being distanced from the reduction of road accidents. Interviewee 3 reiterated that the goals that the three spheres pursued were revenue generation rather than speeding and traffic carnage reduction:

> *No. ENATIS is in place and AARTO for coordinating but the systems are not enforced they are still being piloted. Every sphere is concerned with revenue collection and meeting its own targets. Traffic offences must be enforced in all three spheres of law enforcement agencies (Interview 3, August 30, 2021)*

This revenue-generation versus traffic safety enhancement is also emphasised below:

> *No, three spheres of traffic enforcement not well coordinated because they don't focus on one objective of saving lives local traffic is focussed on making money" (Interview 18, August 30, 2021)*

The above views suggest that even if the three units were to coordinate, their focus on the wrong objective would still leave an operational effectiveness gap in their traffic law enforcement activities. Thus, a two-pronged challenge is presented. One where there is a need to instil a culture of coordination and within this culture ensure that there is goal

congruency towards the real goals of traffic law enforcement. Interviewee 7, Interviewee 11, Interviewee 14, Interviewee 19 and Interviewee 21 also shared similar views.

**Intra-agency issues affecting effective coordination/collaboration**

From the study, it emerged that inter-agency cooperation and coordination flourished when individual agencies and their staff were able to minimise internal problems.  This theme strongly resonates with the coordination theory's views that internal issues affecting, among other things, job satisfaction should be looked at as part of coordinated team and process building.

An important component in the management of illegal speeding was the traffic enforcement officer. The behavioural, attitudinal and competencies of such officers played a role in the nature and extent to which traffic laws are applied and to which illegal speeding is managed. From the interviews, the morale, motivation, training and development of traffic law enforcement officers played an important in the management of illegal/unlawful speeding.

**Morale and motivation of traffic law officers**

The morale and motivation of traffic officers as employees was discussed with interviewees focusing on the influence of *"low morale of officers" (Interview 23, August 30, 2021)* and motivation on speed management. Various factors were responsible for motivating traffic officers with fair and competitive remuneration and compensation being the most important.  Low motivation and morale were associated with corrupt tendencies among officers as stated below:

> *They need to be properly motivated to enforce the law and to be visible at all times. For them to refuse to accept bribes they need to be renumerated very well" (Interview 28, August 30, 2021)*

> *Bribes- low morale officers- renumerated changes" (Interview 7, August 30, 2021)*

Interviewee 24 also saw salaries and benefits differentiations among the different traffic law enforcement units as a cause for demotivation among the lowly paid groups. With the poor coordination among traffic enforcement entities:

> *most are redundant because they are not paid the same salary and the same benefits (Interview 24, August 30, 2021)*

To summarise, Interviewee 2 stated that Tshwane needed *to "Employ more officers and intensify law enforcement also pay them well"* indicating that numbers of law enforcers alone were not enough but the levels of motivation among them as well. Others who shared similar views of law enforcement officers' remuneration and motivation were Interviewee 7 and Interviewee 13.

**Performance of traffic law enforcement agents in courts**

The judicial matters are also strongly tied to the perceived performances of traffic law enforcement agents when they appeared in courts. There were views that traffic law enforcers did not always succeed in proving the guilt of speed offenders. This was attributed to various factors among them poor legal training among officers. This problem, like corruption existed with and across agencies.

Traffic officers needed proper training on the investigation and presentation of cases in courts in order to get positive verdicts. Because of *"Not receiving positive verdict against offenders in court" (Interview 19, August 30, 2021)* some traffic officers felt demoralised to pursue offenders through judicial processes. Interviewee 24, therefore, recommends the system to "Pay traffic officers and train them to do their job (not lose cases at court of law". In Interviewee 24's view, it was the prosecutors who also needed traffic law training for them to effectively prosecute these kinds of offences:
> *train prosecutors particularly for traffic matters" (Interview 24, August 30, 2021)*

Beyond court appearances, it was also important for the judicial system and the traffic law enforcement agencies to work together to establish a common understanding of speeding offences considering the multitude of factors that cause these:

> *A number of crashes are caused by different factors… Traffic enforcement must work closely with the judicial justice system  (Interview 13, August 30, 2021)*

Other interviewees who strongly believed in the importance of the judiciary in speeding offences management included Interviewee 19, Interviewee 16, Interviewee 29 and Interviewee 26. Interviewee 19 raised a unique point that traffic officers sometimes found themselves at the mercy of the courts for simply bringing offenders to book stating that:

> *Because we don't have strict measures in dealing with the offenders you can arrest an offender but as an officer, you will be charged for doing your job, because offenders have more rights than officers (Interview 19, August 30, 2021)*

In a system where the offender has more rights than the enforcer (as opined by Interviewee 19) some traffic officers also saw the despair of advancing cases towards the judicial system. Interviewee 19 however suggests that lack of common protocol in speeding and traffic law enforcement created such uncertainties where one only found out in court that they applied wrong procedures.

**Corruption and bribery in law enforcement**

The interviewees boldly discussed the role that corruption among traffic officers and the traffic regulation system played in Tshwane's increasing speeding and road crashes problems. The problem of corruption was discussed as rampant across the different policing units and was therefore a common intra-agency challenge.

Corruption occurred along a wide-spanning chain that started with the issuance of drivers' licences and vehicle roadworthiness certificates as stated by Interviewee 25 below:

> *Corruption activities such buying of driving licenses, registration of not road worthy vehicles (Interview 25, August 30, 2021)*

Thus unworthy vehicles and untrained drivers are unleashed on Tshwane's roads. Thus in Interviewee 13's view is a challenge that can be offset by streamlining the driving licence acquisition process to close loopholes for corruption:

> *The process of obtaining a driving license needs to be reviewed and streamlined to decrease corruption in the system (Interview 13, August 30, 2021)*

Even with such changes, Interviewee 13 notes that this will only decrease rather than eradicate corruption suggesting the entrenched nature of graft in the driving licences and roadworthiness certificate issuance systems.

Corruption also occurred at the policing level of speed law enforcement. At this level, the main identified problem was *"bribery" (Interview 6, August 30, 2021).* This occurred as arrested offenders pay for their freedom. Interviewee 21 described it as a severely rampant problem involving "most" of the traffic law enforcement officers who were *"not arresting offenders but taking bribes." (Interview 21, August 30, 2021).*

The third level at which corruption occurred was in the justice system when offenders had been brought to book. Thus Interviewee 2 believed that fighting corruption needed to include both the enforcement and the justice officers – *"get rid of corruption within police officers and justice" (Interview 2, August 30, 2021).*

Generally, corruption was seen as a crippling vice that adversely affected all other plans and actions including any coordination efforts to fight speeding and reduce road crashes. It hampered preventative speeding management as:

> *Speedsters speed knowing that they will be let off the hook only if they can bribe their way out (Interview 4, August 30, 2021)*

Interviewee 26 emphasises its far-reaching effects on the traffic management systems. Thus, even if police coordination and cooperation plans are implemented, as long as corruption existed, any efforts from such plan could easily be overriden:

> *and again corruption or bribery is taking place to make all this mechanism to be ineffective (Interview 26, August 30, 2021)*

Corruption was a common theme discussed by all the interviewees who participated in the study. However, the sample attributed corruption to various reasons including low staff morale.

**Training and development of traffic law officers**

Training and development were discussed as critical factors in capacitating traffic law enforcement officers to effectively manage illegal speeding as a cause for road crashes. Linked to the previous sub-theme, well-trained officers were more likely to feel motivated to do their jobs and were also less likely to be corruptible. As per Interviewee 13's views:

> *Well-trained officers who are motivated and incorruptible (Interview 13, August 30, 2021)*

Training and development will also create a responsibility towards duty and against corruption as stated by the same interviewee:

> *Not enough and targeted training of officers... More training of officers will create a culture of responsibility (Interview 13, August 30, 2021)*

As derived from the above statement, currently the levels of training that officers went through was below what they desired with Interviewee 6 describing it as *"Inadequate training"* and Interviewee 23 as a situation characterised by *"Lack of training and development of officers"*. Interviewee 13 highlighted that with the everchanging road and traffic law environment, responsible authorities needed to *"ensure refresher courses are conducted"*. Thus training deficiencies discussed by the interviewees range from preliminary training in traffic law enforcement as well as training and development relating to new developments in one's work environment. Other interviewees who discussed the important role of officer training in speed management were Interviewee 4 and Interviewee 11.

**Discussion**

The study identified poor coordination among Tshwane's traffic policing units as a major challenge that significantly reduced traffic law enforcement effectiveness. Poor coordination among City of Tshwane traffic law enforcement agencies.

This view is shared in other South African scholarly journals as well. A study by Ramavhunga (2018: 66) revealed that the fragmented nature of South African traffic policing units was partly to blame for the proliferation of road and traffic offences. Ramavhunga (2018) believes that coordinated training efforts were critical in developing an equally coordinated traffic law enforcement system (Mynhardt, 2013). While Ramavhunga's (2018) study focused on traffic law enforcement in the Vhembe District of the Limpopo Province, its findings on both the poor coordination problem and training inadequacies in the traffic law enforcement system, resonate with the findings in this study.

Like this study, Ramavhunga's (2018:65) finding also touched on the issue of low motivation among police resources due to (among other things) perceived poor remuneration. Ramavhunga's (2018:72) study also found that officers were discouraged from astutely enforcing traffic law by the laxity of the judicial system on arrested traffic law offenders. Additionally, this further discouraged traffic law enforcement officers to pursue charges that required the intervention of the judicial system. Relatable findings were made by Mokoena (2019: i) who noted that traffic officers in South Africa often failed to effectively lead evidence against traffic offenders in courts. While the findings were based on a study in the Midvaal Local Municipality they hold a strong semblance with this study's Tshwane situation. Such internal weaknesses have been described as effectively hampering agency contribution to collaborative law enforcement (Laszlo, 2017; Amklov *et al*., 2018). Views from another South African study by du Plessis, Jansen and Siebrit (2020:6) strongly resonate with some of the findings in this study that uncoordinated law enforcement and its challenges in curbing illegal speeding. Another related finding that du Plessis et al. (2020:4) corruption also affected the law enforcement and judicial systems and this resulted in offenders escaping from the law.

According to the interviews, poor coordination between the Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD) traffic division, the Gauteng Traffic Police and the National Traffic Police exhibited a lack of shared goals. This resulted in fragmented operations marred with duplication. Also, competitive rather than collaborative attitudes amongst these entities enhanced the lack of coordination challenge. The relational coordination theory identifies shared goals as a central element of coordination (Margalina, Heredero, Botella, & Martinez, 2014 2014: 367; Gittel & Logan 2018:1). Without shared goals, entities that are supposed to work together fail to find a basis for common or mutually beneficial approaches to situations (Gittel & Logan 2018:1). The issue of mutual respect, as discussed in the theory relates to the competitive atmosphere amongst the units and their overlapping operations that results in duplication of efforts. The theory proposes structural interventions that can enhance coordination among related units. The outcome of improved coordination is positive performance outcomes that enable the realisation of shared goals (Gittel & Logan 2018:1).

**Conclusion and recommendations**

The study found that road traffic crashes have persisted in South Africa since the establishment of the National, Provincial and Local Traffic Departments due to the management and coordination challenges among these entities. The data revealed that the Tshwane Metropolitan Police Department (TMPD) traffic division, the Gauteng Traffic Police and the National Traffic Police faced coordination challenges. The three policing units' operations and strategies were independent of each other even if their jurisdictions overlapped. Their duplication of efforts in common jurisdiction resulted in the inefficient distribution of traffic policing resources. Furthermore, there were views that the three units often competed with each other instead of collaborating toward the eradication of road crashes.

In addition to coordination challenges, several law enforcement challenges adversely affected the policing units' capacity, efficiency and effectiveness leading to the persistence of road crashes. Law enforcement human resources factors like low officer morale, motivation and competence as well as poor moral standards that led to corruption were also identified as causes of road crashes persistence. Also limited policing resources, inefficient penal systems and a slow-reacting judicial system affected the motivation and responsiveness of the law enforcement system to speeding infringements that were mainly responsible for road crashes

Law enforcement units in Tshwane needed to develop a coordination strategy that will enhance how the three main traffic law enforcement units work together. To enhance the coordination enhancement process, the following programmes, views and activities borrowed from the relational collaboration theory should be considered: sharing operational protocols; information and knowledge sharing; shared accountability/responsibility; operational boundary clarifications; skills development to support collaboration; mutual respect and effective communication and communication systems. At the centre of this strategy should be common and shared goals that are supported by collaboration enabling operational and strategic systems. Other goals that would support effective cooperation and collaboration include fighting corruption, addressing skills gaps and motivation/morale issues and increasing traffic law enforcement resources. Also increasing police visibility within a coordinated framework as well as addressing traffic law infringement penalty laxities could help in coordinated traffic policing.

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