

DIVERSITY AND TRANSFORMATION IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

**A STUDY OF POLICE PERSPECTIVES ON RACE, GENDER AND
THE COMMUNITY IN THE JOHANNESBURG POLICING AREA**

Gareth Newham, Themba Masuku and Jabu Dlamini

**Criminal Justice Programme
Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
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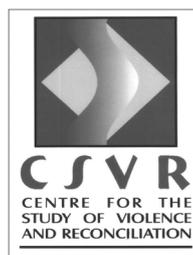
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Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
P.O. Box 30778
Braamfontein 2017
South Africa

Telephone (+27) (0)11 403-5650

Facsimile (+27) (0)11 339-6785

This report can also be found at: www.csvr.org.za

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The transformation of the South African Police Service (SAPS) by the country's first democratically elected government started over a decade ago, in 1994. At that time the police were confronted with a serious legitimacy crisis among a majority of South Africans as a consequence of many decades of brutal and racist apartheid policing practices. The organisation itself reflected its political masters' racist ideology, and police officers not classified white by the apartheid regime were primarily used and exploited as cheap labour. With the birth of democracy, one of the world's largest attempts at police transformation was launched. From a militant and racist organisation serving the interests of a numerically small white elite, moves were made to transform the SAPS into a democratic institution that would reflect the demographic diversity of the country and serve the interest of all South Africans.

Over a decade later, very little research has been conducted on the impact this transformation process has had on the men and women that make up the SAPS. One of the primary aims of this report, therefore, is to contribute to our understanding of the perceptions, attitudes and experiences of police officers to issues relating to race and gender in both the organisation and the communities they serve.

The report initially aims to contextualise the objective of racial and gender equity and representation in the SAPS transformation process. It describes how the first five years of building a new national police service were primarily concerned with amalgamating the 11 different police forces into one, and with the restructuring of the administrative system of the organisation. As a consequence of these prerogatives, relatively little headway was made with addressing the damage to racial relations wrought by apartheid. During 1999, the year of South Africa's second democratic elections, an independent committee of inquiry found that structural racism still existed in the SAPS. Following the appointment of a new national commissioner in that year, the SAPS pursued employment equity and affirmative action policies with renewed vigour. By 2005, the SAPS looked significantly different in terms of its racial profile. Nevertheless, there is still some way to go before the organisation achieves all its equity targets with regards to race and gender.

The research conducted by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) revealed that race remains a salient issue within the organisation. Although a minority, a substantial proportion of police feel that most of their colleagues find it difficult to work with police officers who are of a different race group to themselves. Some officers are still prone to stereotypical judgements based on race, and are wary of trusting people of races different to themselves. Furthermore, a large minority of police officers are of the opinion that they have experienced some form of unfair treatment in the last two years as a result of their race. However, the basis for this differs between groups, with almost all white officers feeling discriminated against when it comes to promotions, while black officers tend to see discrimination being exercised primarily through the allocation of work duties and resources. Interestingly, a majority of police officers from all race groups are unhappy with the way promotions are handled in general. This suggests that there is a need for the organisation to revisit how promotions are managed and communicated.

Only one in three police officers have attended any diversity workshops, with those who have attended such workshops generally reporting positive experiences. Apart from these dimensions of

the way race plays itself out in the organisation, there is strong evidence that the situation overall is improving, and that the wounds of apartheid are beginning to heal. The majority of police officers feel that police officers experience no difficulties working with colleagues of different races, and three-quarters of police officers are not particularly concerned about the race of their commander. A similar-sized majority of police officers are confident that race relations will continue to improve in future.

While police ranks are overwhelmingly dominated by men, the research found encouraging signs that gender dynamics are changing. As is the case in police organisations worldwide, policewomen face particular challenges in the SAPS. Most of these challenges are as a result of gender prejudices held by male police officers who do not believe that females are suitable for the more dangerous aspects of policing. While women are still primarily found in administrative and supportive roles in the SAPS, there is evidence that most policemen are able to recognise the value that women add to functional policing. Also, policewomen interviewed are confident about the value that they bring to the organisation and the craft of policing.

Community policing represents a key philosophy underpinning the policing style of the post-apartheid SAPS. Most police officers are of the opinion that community policing is generally supported throughout the organisation. Furthermore, a substantial majority of police officers are aware that any form of discrimination against members of the public on the basis of race, ethnicity or class is both unreasonable and undesirable. Nevertheless, as police officers are drawn from the broader society it is inevitable that a certain proportion will have discriminatory attitudes and behaviour. It is apparent that a small amount of racial targeting occurs as a method of making arrests. Similarly, some police officers spoke about colleagues providing a measure of preferential service to people as a result of their wealth. However, the research interviews suggested that this is a consequence of wealthy people's relatively powerful status in South African society and of their willingness to make such demands on the police, rather than a general desire to provide the wealthy with preferential service.

A clear fault-line that emerged from the research is a pervasive prejudice against foreign nationals who are in the country legally or illegally. Foreigners are largely perceived by most police officers as criminals, and as a key cause of the crime problem in Johannesburg. This situation creates significant limitations for the police in their ability to work with immigrant communities in addressing crime. Furthermore, it also impinges on the rights of, and undermines relations with, South Africans who may look foreign to the police.

In short, the research findings demonstrate that the past decade of police transformation has resulted in substantial changes in the organisational culture of the SAPS. It is important to note, however, that this is not only the result of the police transformation initiative but also a consequence of the dramatic broader social and political changes that have taken place in the country. Nevertheless, this report presents data against which future changes in the organisation can be assessed as the consolidation of democracy continues in South Africa.

INTRODUCTION

Clearly, the force has to be transformed from being an instrument of white domination, and regarded as such, into a protector of the peace and security of all South Africans, accepted as such. No longer can we have a racial caste in command of the force. The policing talents and skills of all communities must be tapped, so that the force, from top to bottom, becomes as culturally dappled and humanely diverse as the society from which it is drawn. Citizens must feel that this is 'our' police force defending the rights of 'all of us', not 'their' police force protecting the interest of 'them' (Sachs,¹ cited in Brogden and Shearing, 1993, p.viii).

The old South African Police (SAP) force was a deeply racist organisation that was at the forefront of enforcing apartheid's immoral and discriminatory laws. It has been argued that apartheid and its policing were inextricably linked, in that 'South African policing has not simply promoted an order that has devastated the lives of black South Africans, but has been an essential part of that order' (Brogden and Shearing, 1993, pp.15–16). With the birth of South African democracy in 1994, the police, as was the case with all state institutions, started undergoing a process of dramatic and fundamental reform. As Buntman and Snyman (2003, p.206) explain, 'The move from authoritarian rule to democratic non-racial rule profoundly reshaped questions of crime, justice, law and order, and policing. The entire legal framework of policing underwent major changes.'

One of the key characteristics of policing culture under apartheid was that it was defined by notions of white male supremacy and domination. In order for the newly established South African Police Service (SAPS) to effectively police a democratic South Africa, it was essential that the organisation reflect the broader demography of South Africa. Strict adherence to this principle, however, would be extremely difficult to implement. The South African constitution recognises 11 official languages, with each one reflecting at least one (and in some cases more) definable ethnic group. During apartheid, however, race was the most important defining characteristic, with all South Africans being defined as either white, Indian, coloured or black. The apartheid state accorded each racial group a different formal and informal status. Those classified as white were deliberately advantaged, while those defined as Indians, coloureds and black were disadvantaged in terms of political freedom and access to resources. As a consequence of this highly racialised history, the transformation of the SAPS is generally measured in terms of the extent to which the organisation reflects the racial composition of the broader society (Van Kessel, 2001; Buntman and Snyman, 2003).

It has been little over a decade since the establishment of South Africa's first democratically elected constitutional state. It is therefore opportune to examine how issues of race and gender currently play themselves out in the SAPS. Although it is the intention of this report to present findings dealing with all these complexities, it should be noted that any study of race is bound to run into both empirical and ethical challenges. It has long been realised that race is not an inherent biologically determined trait but rather a social construct or 'a form of categorization that places people into groups defined by erroneous biological and/or cultural characteristics' (Holdaway, 2003, p.50).

¹ Judge Albie Sachs wrote this while he was at the Community Law Centre at the University of the Western Cape. Currently he serves as a judge on the Constitutional Court of South Africa.

A key challenge confronting any study of racial groups is that many of the variables that impact on attitudes, values and behaviour often remain hidden, such as socio-economic status, ethnic identity, education levels, and so forth. In many instances people who have similar socio-economic background and education levels, but who could be classified as being from different racial groups, may hold more similar attitudes and values than people who could be classified as of the same race but who are from very different socio-economic background and education levels. Similarly, it can be argued that research that uses race as a key variable may serve to reinforce the mistakenly held notion that people who are seen as belonging to specific race groups have inherent attitudinal and behavioural traits and characteristics.

Nevertheless, race remains a powerful factor in South African political and socio-economic realities and is an area of ongoing concern. The purpose of using race as a variable in research can become a way of understanding organisational culture. Race often frames the way that individuals describe and analyse various social processes, experiences and relationships. As has been argued, 'One of the values of analysing race relations within the police is the way it brings into clear view problems of policing per se. Race is a litmus test for all policing. Because the culture — like all cultures — is taken for granted, a reflective capacity is required to realize its features, the ways in which it guides work, informs judgements, and so on' (Holdaway, 2003, p.71). It is therefore as a means to reflect on police organisational culture that the variable of race is used in this report.

Of course, race is but one of the many ways in which organisational diversity is understood or expressed. The issue of gender, or the power relationships between men and women, is another form of organisational diversity that the SAPS has had to grapple with. Van Kessel (2001) argues that gender is often neglected when the transformation of the SAPS is considered, due to the predominant focus on race. As with race, gender provides a useful variable with which to explore police organisational culture and the extent to which it has changed, following transformation initiatives. Of course, there are many other ways in which police organisational diversity can be explored. While race, followed by gender, continues to have primacy in South Africa, ethnicity, language, religion, class, disability and sexual orientation are other variables that could be used to explore the characteristics and changing nature of police organisational culture. However, for the purposes of this report, diversity and transformation in the SAPS will be limited to the exploration of issues primarily related to race and gender.

For many international analysts the process of police transformation in South Africa is seen as a model of success. Foster (2003, p.218) highlights how South Africa possessed two important ingredients necessary for police transformation to succeed, namely, that 'the *climate* for change needs to exist; and the *need* for change must either be widely acknowledged or prompted by a significant catalyst'. The introduction of democracy provided the climate change needed, and there was never a question that the police organisation needed to fundamentally transform if it was to be seen as legitimate by all South Africans.²

The process of transforming the SAPS was far-reaching in that almost every aspect of the organisation underwent significant change, and, consequently, racial diversity and equality were not prioritised as much as other objectives. The first SAPS national commissioner, George Fivaz, presented the transformation of the police as a three-phased process consisting of 'rationalisation, amalgamation and change' (Van Kessel, 2001, p.5).

² Rauch (2000) presents a very useful overview of the political environment during the early stages of the transformation of the SAPS, and tracks the changes that occurred in the structure and policies of the organisation.

'Rationalisation' was presented as the administrative exercise to restructure the SAPS so that it could operate within the new national and provincial system of government. 'Amalgamation' described the process of integrating other apartheid-established policing structures and creating a single national police service. 'Change' was described as transforming the SAPS into a 'professional, representative, efficient and effective, impartial, transparent and accountable service' (Fivaz quoted in Van Kessel, 2001, p.5). Van Kessel argues that despite references to representivity in various policy documents, little headway was made during the first five years. The move towards ensuring greater racial representivity and equity became more of a priority after the appointment of a ruling-party stalwart, Jackie Selebi, as the SAPS national commissioner in 1999.

The concerns of race and policing are not unique to South Africa, but have also been increasingly gaining attention in many multi-ethnic democratic societies around the world. McDonald (2003, p.234) argues that this concern has led to the emergence of a new paradigm of policing which is characterised by 'integration, not segregation; equal protection, not domination; mutual respect, not deference. In the old paradigm, enforcing the law was the highest value. In the new paradigm, enforcing the law is still important but increasingly is being placed second to maintaining racial and ethnic harmony.' Certainly, police action has triggered social upheaval in many countries where the police and the communities they police are from different racial groups.³ And, in many cases, it was this racial difference that led to the upheaval.

In South Africa, the situation is somewhat different to many other countries. The racial (and ethnic) white minority has held the dominant position both within society and the police. Rather than ensuring that the police are able to better accept and respond to the needs of racial minorities, the challenge has been to ensure that they do this for a racial *majority*. However, as apartheid denied education and skills to the racial majority, the process of police transformation is partly reliant on retaining the skills and expertise of the racial minority. It was recognised early on in the negotiating process towards democracy that purges of the racial minority from government could lead to serious disruption of the state institutions.

A peaceful transition towards democracy would not have been possible if the police and other state structures collapsed. This recognition, along with concerns over retribution on the part of the apartheid government, resulted in what was called the 'sunset' clause in the negotiated settlement. This clause ensured that all public servants from the apartheid era would be guaranteed their jobs for five years into the new democracy. To a significant extent, this constrained the new government from dramatic purges or the complete re-staffing of state agencies.

There is little doubt that just over 10 years into democracy, the SAPS is a fundamentally different organisation from its predecessor, the SAP. Certainly, there have been instances reported in the press of certain groups of police officers demonstrating extreme racial prejudice. An example of this can be found in video footage shown as part of a national television actuality programme, *Special Assignment*, broadcast in 2000, which shows six white police officers setting their dogs on three black people suspected of being in the country illegally. While there is little doubt that pockets of extreme prejudicial attitudes will continue to exist, there is very little research that has explored the more general nature of the organisational transformation or its culture regarding race and gender in the post-apartheid period. Furthermore, there is little research that explores the perceptions and attitudes

³ The riots that followed the exposure of the white Los Angeles police officers beating Rodney King, an African-American, provide one such example.

of police officers towards the communities they police, and this report, therefore, seeks to highlight some of these issues.

The report begins with an outline of the research methodologies that were used. This is followed by a brief overview of the transformation of the SAPS, particularly in respect of racial and gender representivity and equity.

The bulk of this report presents the findings of the research as they relate to three key areas. The first area relates to police officers' attitudes to race in the SAPS, and explores perceptions that police officers have of working with colleagues of different races to themselves; experiences of diversity training in the SAPS; experiences of unfair racial discrimination and responses to it; and perceptions of race relations in the future. The second part presents the findings relating to gender in the SAPS. Included in this section are attitudes towards women as police officers; experiences of gender discrimination; and attitudes towards women as police managers. Thirdly, the findings of police attitudes, and differentiated policing (or profiling) along the lines of race, gender, class and country of origin (that is, foreigners) are presented. The final section of this report presents a number of conclusions and recommendations that emerge as a result of an analysis of the research findings.

METHODOLOGY

Given that at the time of the research the SAPS consisted of close to 150 000 employees spread throughout the country, it was beyond the capacity of CSVr to undertake the project nationally. Consequently, the research was conducted in the SAPS Johannesburg policing area in Gauteng province.

The SAPS Johannesburg area is one of seven in the province. Johannesburg is South Africa's largest industrial city, and the SAPS Johannesburg area is therefore one of the largest policing areas in the country in terms of population size and SAPS resources. The area is home to slightly more than 3.2 million people in an area of 671.26km². It is also a highly diverse population, as Johannesburg attracts large numbers of people from all around the country. Moreover, there are many thousands of documented and undocumented (illegal) foreign immigrants or refugees living in the city.

At the time of the research, the SAPS Johannesburg area consisted of a total of 6 493 personnel at both the area and station levels, including sworn police officers and civilian staff who perform administrative duties. The focus of the research, however, was on the 3 660 sworn police officers who are based at the 21 police stations in the area. These are the police officers that most people who live in the area interact with, either as clients or as suspects. The racial make-up of the station-based police officers working in Johannesburg at the time of the research was as follows:⁴

- Black – 81%.
- White – 14%.
- Coloured – 3%.
- Indian – 2%.

The research was conducted with the approval and cooperation of the SAPS Johannesburg area commissioner. One of the aims of the project was to provide the Johannesburg area commissioner and his extended management team with empirical data that could be used to reflect on the role of race and gender in the SAPS after a decade of transformation. The research was therefore also designed to provide management with relevant data that could be used for strategic planning purposes. For example, the survey included questions designed to elicit information on the extent to which performance appraisals were being conducted at station level, perceptions of the disciplinary system, and perceptions of police corruption throughout the area. The Johannesburg area commissioner informed his management teams at all stations about the objectives of the research, the processes and when it would be conducted. Methodologies included a representative survey and a number of in-depth interviews. The fieldwork for this study was carried out over a six-week period during November and December 2004. A research report was drafted and presented to the Johannesburg area commissioner and his management team at the SAPS Johannesburg strategic management workshop in January 2005. Only results relevant to exploring police attitudes towards transformation and diversity are contained in this report.

⁴ These four racial classifications were invented as legal classifications during the apartheid era and are still in use today, primarily as a means of assessing the success of policies and legislation promoting racial equity.

Quantitative methodology

The quantitative methodology consisted of a survey questionnaire of 77 closed-ended questions in which respondents were requested to choose the response that best represented their answer on a five-point Likert Scale. The aim of the quantitative survey was to establish the extent to which certain attitudes and opinions were prevalent among station-based sworn officers in the Johannesburg area.

Once the questionnaire had been designed, the Community Agency for Social Enquiry was contracted to administer the questionnaire and collate the raw data. To promote the validity and reliability of the instrument, the questionnaire was initially piloted among 10 police respondents representing each racial group. The feedback from the piloting process was used to improve the questionnaire. Twenty-five experienced fieldworkers were then trained in the administration of the questionnaire. During the training process, each question was translated into the five most commonly spoken languages in Johannesburg to ensure that the meaning was not changed if a respondent requested that he or she be interviewed in his or her first language (other than English).

A sample size of 580 respondents was chosen (from the target population of 3 660 sworn police officers from the 21 police stations) to allow for an overall confidence interval of 99% with a 3% error margin on the total results. The sample was stratified to ensure representivity along the lines of race and gender. This was achieved by calculating the number and proportion of black, coloured, Indian and white respondents of each gender to be interviewed at each police station.

Convenience sampling was used, which meant that the fieldworkers would interview whichever police officers were available and who matched the demographic profile of that station. The reason for convenience sampling was due to the limited time frame in which the administration of the survey had to be completed. Fieldworkers were divided into groups of two and spent a few days at a designated police station. Once the required number and proportion of each race and gender had been interviewed at a particular station, the fieldworkers would move on to the next police station on the list.

Table 1 on the opposite page represents the numbers and proportion of the race and gender of the survey respondents.

Table 1: Survey sample size by race and gender

RACE		COUNT	% OF SAMPLE	
Black	Gender	Male	392	67.6%
		Female	75	12.9%
	Total		467	80.5%
Coloured	Gender	Male	13	2.2%
		Female	4	0.7%
	Total		17	2.9%
Indian	Gender	Male	11	1.9%
		Female	3	0.5%
	Total		14	2.4%
White	Gender	Male	63	10.9%
		Female	19	3.3%
	Total		82	14.1%
TOTAL	Gender	Male	479	82.6%
		Female	101	17.4%
	TOTAL		580	100%

As can be seen from the above table, only a small number of Indian and coloured female respondents completed the survey questionnaire in proportion to their percentage of the overall population. The survey results for these groups, therefore, cannot be generalised to their broader populations. Had the time and resources allowed, these groups would have been over-sampled and weighted down. Nevertheless, the results of these groups are presented in the report as a broad indicator of attitudes.

Qualitative methodology

The qualitative methodology that was used consisted of 40 semi-structured, in-depth interviews. The interviews were designed to last approximately one hour and were conducted along the lines of appreciative enquiry. As Foster (2003, p.222) argues, 'If we want the police organisation to move forwards then perhaps it is time for a new approach that seeks to explore more fully police officers' own perceptions of what they value in the organisation, and how they believe they need to move forward.'

As was the case with the survey interviews, the in-depth interviews were voluntary. A total of 40 in-depth interviews were conducted. The profile of the respondents can be found in the table on the next page.

Table 2: Race and gender of in-depth interviewees

RESPONDENT DEMOGRAPHICS	NUMBER INTERVIEWED
Black females	7
Black males	8
Coloured females	3
Coloured males	3
Indian females	2
Indian males	4
White females	5
White males	8
TOTAL	40

Where possible, interviews were conducted in the language choice of the respondent, and an attempt was made to ensure that the gender and race of the researcher matched those of the research participant. Permission to record the interview was granted in each case, which allowed for the interviews to be transcribed. The analysis of the transcripts consisted of identifying common themes that were raised by most interviewees. Specific quotes that clearly captured the recurring themes were selected for this report. Furthermore, a range of different perspectives on a particular question was also included. The relatively small sample size means that the issues raised in the interviews cannot be generalised to the greater populations of police officers along the lines of race or gender. Nevertheless, the interviews do allow for greater insight into the attitudes and experiences of many station-based police officials in the Johannesburg area.

Ethics

CSVR has an ethical code which requires researchers to ensure that all participants are informed of the purpose of the research, and are aware that participation is voluntary. It is also the responsibility of researchers to ensure that no harm will come to the respondent as a consequence of participating in the research.

Since talking about race, and some of the other topics raised in the interviews, could be considered sensitive in the SAPS, all participants in both the survey and in-depth interviews were guaranteed anonymity so that what was said in the interview could not later be traced to the respondent. Moreover, interviewees were informed that they did not have to answer any question they did not feel comfortable with, and that they could end the interview at any time they so desired. Fortunately, there were no instances where this occurred. Interviewers were also mindful not to make any remarks that could be construed as judgemental, and were instructed to ask questions in a sensitive manner. At the end of the interview the respondents were asked to reflect and were invited to ask any questions about, or to comment on, the process.

RACE AND GENDER IN SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE TRANSFORMATION

In South Africa, the extremes of police culture are accentuated by the social heritage of white police ... who are taught that their special mission is to safeguard white (and especially Afrikaner) civilization against 'Die Swart Gevaar' (the Black Danger) (Brogden and Shearing, 1993, p.44).

During apartheid the SAP was at the forefront of enforcing racist laws to promote white hegemony. As Buntman and Snyman (2003, p.203) point out, 'The SAP was political in the worst possible sense of the term. The police protected the white minority government of the day rather than the citizenry at large. Controlling black South Africans was part of their mandate.' From what is known about police culture, the system of apartheid would have had a profound impact on the SAP. Chan (1997) explains police culture as '[...] the interaction between the social and political context of police work (the field) and the institutionalised perceptions, values, strategies and schemas (the habitus)'. Indeed, the internal dynamics and culture of the organisation were as much about 'controlling' black police officers as it was about upholding a broader political objective meant to control and repress the black population in general.

Racism in the SAP was crude in both form and expression. Black police officers were seen to be naturally inferior to white officers, which reflected the racist ideology of the apartheid state. Brogden and Shearing (1993, p.77) highlight how poorly black police officers were generally treated during apartheid. They were not expected to be literate, were not allowed to arrest whites, and could only work within strict parameters, usually under white supervision. Typically, black police officers received 30% less pay than their white counterparts of the same rank, had no career structure, and it was not until 1978 that black officers could wear the same uniform as their white colleagues. It was only in 1980 that the first black station commissioner was appointed. The situation was similar for coloured and Indian police officers who were also discriminated against but had a slightly higher status than black employees. The first Indian station commissioner was appointed during the 1960s. Recruits were also sent to separate training colleges, which were established along racial lines.

During the 1980s the SAP started recruiting ever-larger numbers of black police officers. During this time the anti-apartheid movement grew increasingly and demonstrably stronger, and the state waged a violent and repressive battle to maintain control. The need for police officers increased and the available pool of white males willing to become policemen was far from adequate. The decision to recruit large numbers of black people as police officers was officially explained by the apartheid state as the consequence of white officers being lost to higher-paid private security work and the relatively low police-civilian ratio compared to 'other Western countries' (Brogden and Shearing, 1993, p.69).

Black police officers were then largely recruited into policing roles that precluded them from operating as fully-fledged members of the SAP. Municipal police structures were established to give coercive capacity to the illegitimate black-run municipal councils of the time. Their unpopularity was evidenced by the extent of the violence between the municipal police and the communities they were supposed to police. Between January and July 1990, for example, there were 440 attacks on individual municipal police officers and 145 attacks on their homes, resulting in the deaths of 28 police officers and nearly 200 civilians (Brogden and Shearing, 1993, p.82).

During 1984, the SAP started recruiting black people as 'special constables', or *kitskonstabels*, under a scheme to bolster SAP numbers in the townships. The thousands of black people recruited under this scheme required no educational qualifications, were provided with minimal firearms training and functional blue overalls, and were tasked with foot patrol and riot control. They were created with the intention of providing very cheap labour to the SAP and were, therefore, legally defined as 'temporary labour'. This enabled the apartheid state to save on training costs and to deny these individuals other benefits received by white SAP members, such as medical aid, pensions and paid holidays. They were paid by the hour, which resulted in average monthly earnings of R330. Discipline from white commanders was direct and often violent, in the form of physical assault (Brogden and Shearing, 1993, p.84). These officers were eventually formally integrated into the SAP in the course of 1989.

The SAP was also an overwhelmingly male institution. While there had always been women in the SAP they were largely confined to administrative work. It was not until 1972 that there was a deliberate recruitment of, initially white, women; women from other racial categories were recruited from the 1980s onwards (Brogden and Shearing). Nevertheless, the number of women recruited into the SAP were marginal in comparison to the number of men.

When it became clear, in February 1990, that South Africa was about to embark on a new political era with the release of Nelson Mandela and the unbanning of the liberation movements, the SAP was quick to start its own internal reform process. This was an early signal that the organisation intended managing its own change process rather than having change thrust upon it by a new democratic government (Rauch, 2000, p.120). At the beginning of 1991 the SAP released a strategic plan that highlighted a number of key areas around which the organisation would focus its change process. These areas included:

- The depoliticisation of the police force.
- Improved community accountability.
- Increased visible policing.
- Better management practices.
- Reform of the police training system.
- Restructuring the police force.

In spite of the attempt to change the SAP in accordance with the changing political environment, it was clear that a huge challenge lay ahead. An early assessment of the SAP strategic plan found, 'Already it is obvious that official changes in policy and practice have not filtered down to the lowest ranks. Even at the simple structural level, this does not bode well for a future government which might wish to establish a different policing practice. The occupational subculture of the police is, in most countries, resistant to change; and in South Africa, the particular "Christian National" features of this subculture have a greater potential to limit the effectiveness of police reform' (Rauch, 1991, p.19).

From amalgamation to representation

South Africa's new constitution provides that the state may not unfairly discriminate, directly or indirectly, against anyone on one or more grounds, including: race, gender, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, chapter 2 (9)(3)).

While it was quickly accepted that the police would have to comply with the Bill of Rights, the processes to achieve the necessary demographic representation and cultural change in the new South African Police Service (SAPS) were not initially prioritised. One of the first challenges the newly established SAPS had to face was the amalgamation of all other policing structures (that is, the apartheid homeland police, *kitskonstabels*, etc.) into a single national police organisation. The completion of this process saw approximately 30 000 police officers (most of whom were black) become part of the SAPS. The new police organisation of approximately 140 000 members therefore consisted of black officers making up 64% of the combined personnel (Rauch, 2000, p.122). However, the internal demographics of the organisation were highly skewed. Four-fifths of black police officers occupied the lowest rank of constable, compared with less than half of white officers (Brogden and Shearing, 1993, p.77).⁵ Racial inequity became increasingly acute towards the upper echelons of the organisation, with 95% of commissioned officers being white. In 1995, out of the 202 brigadier posts (the fourth-highest rank at the time), 80% were white and only one woman held this rank. Women officers constituted 18% of the total police force and made up only 11% of the ranks of commissioned officers (Rauch, 2000, p.123).

While the need for demographic representivity was always mentioned in government and SAPS policy and planning documents, it was usually only one item on a long list of priority concerns. When SAPS National Commissioner George Fivaz presented an interim assessment of the SAPS transformation process in 1996, the issue of representivity was not explicitly mentioned. This led to perceptions in some quarters that he 'apparently conceives of representivity as something that has to be done, for whatever reason, not as a policy that is instrumental for the creation of a more effective police force' (Van Kessel, 2001, p.6). Certainly, the Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (POPCRU), the largest police union, saw Fivaz as an obstacle to the achievement of racial representivity in the SAPS (Hopkins, 2004).

It was not until 1997 that the SAPS drafted what it called the 'Credo for Affirmative Action'. This document stated that 'in order to manifest commitment to this policy and constitutional responsibility, the South African Police Service shall strive to reflect the demographics of the country in all occupational classes and at all levels of the organisation at national and provincial levels, in terms of race and gender' (SAPS, 1997). At this point the goals set for the organisation included ensuring that middle and senior management levels comprised at least 50% black people and 30% women by the year 2000.⁶ While there was scepticism that these targets could be achieved without fundamentally affecting the capabilities of the organisation, it appears that they had been largely attained by the intended date (Rauch, 2000).

At the same time various pressure groups such as the Black Officers' Forum and POPCRU started to agitate for affirmative action to be sped up. Hopkins (2005) documents how relations between the POPCRU and SAPS management were severely strained from the inception of the union in 1989, as the predominantly black union challenged what was seen as a largely white management on issues relating to racism and the slow pace of transformation in the organisation.

⁵ The new rank structure of the SAPS starts with constables at the lowest end, followed by sergeants and then inspectors. These ranks make up the non-commissioned officers. Commissioned officers, who make up the managerial ranks found at station level, start with captains, followed by superintendents, senior superintendents and directors.

⁶ In this document 'black people' were defined to include Indian and coloured officers.

Complaints of racism in the SAPS continued to be levelled, and in some instances resulted in violence between white and black officers. A number of formal commissions of inquiry or investigations were held as a result of racial tensions at specific police localities. Some of these included:

- In 1996 and 1998 a task team investigated allegations of racism at the Warmbad police station in Gauteng.
- A 1997 inquiry into allegations of racism in the public order unit based at Kew, Johannesburg.
- The 1997 equity component investigation into racism at the Humewood police station in Eastern Cape.
- The 1998 independent inquiry into racism at Matubatuba in KwaZulu-Natal.
- The 1999 Human Rights Commission inquiry into racism in the SAPS Vryburg district in North West.

In August 1998 the Minister of Safety and Security, Sydney Mufamadi, established the Zulu Independent Committee of Inquiry to investigate and report on racism in the SAPS as a whole. The investigation lasted six months and included a detailed analysis of the distribution of personnel by race, rank and post, a large number of in-depth interviews, a survey questionnaire and formal submissions. The findings of this committee are highly informative and highlight various initiatives that had been undertaken by the SAPS by then to address equity and unfair discrimination. The report states that, 'At a policy level, [the] SAPS appears to be progressive, with employment/labour policies increasingly being brought into line with the requirements of the overall vision for the Public Service and new labour legislation. A holistic view of internal transformation, covering goals of greater representivity, equity and affirmative action seems to be taken' (Zulu, *et al*, 1999, p.11). The report notes, however, that, 'Notwithstanding potentially good policies, problems seem to arise with how these are communicated, implemented and monitored' (*ibid*).

However, following an analysis of the qualitative and quantitative data presented to the commission, the report concludes that 'there is indeed racism in the SAPS. This is institutionalised in the structure, practices and procedures of the SAPS and is reinforced in the informal relationships, communication and attitudes of a number of individuals at a number of levels' (Zulu, *et al*, 1999, p.37).

The committee found that race in the SAPS was structured and expressed in the following ways:

- The racial representation in the SAPS did not reflect the demographics of the country, nor the organisation. Whites were over-represented in the senior ranks of the organisation, while blacks were over-represented in the lower ranks.
- As the top echelons of the SAPS were almost exclusively white, decision-making and discipline remained an area of white influence. This led to issues relating to promotions, allocation of resources, transfers, discipline and interpersonal relationships taking on a racial hue irrespective of other objective factors.
- Racism manifested itself differently in different localities (that is, provinces, areas, etc.) and had different dynamics.
- Some of the training colleges were still not racially integrated.
- Disparities in the allocation of different tasks were structured along racial lines, with blacks performing tasks considered inferior and hazardous, while administrative and office jobs were assigned primarily to whites.
- There was an absence of structural and behavioural impediments to racism. For instance, the implementation of affirmative action and effective communication across races were not seen as

significant criteria for selection to or promotion in the SAPS. Similarly, racism was not mentioned specifically as a punishable offence in the SAPS disciplinary code of conduct.

- There were disparities in the allocation of resources along racial lines. A particular area of contention was the allocation of vehicles to white officers and not to officers of other racial groups.
- The policies of the organisation had not filtered down to daily interactions and, therefore, had not adequately changed the culture of the organisation.
- Gender was also noted as an area of unfair discrimination. The committee's findings in relation to race, such as inadequate representivity at managerial level, unequal power relations, a lack of role models, and so forth, were also applicable to women in the SAPS.

The demographics of the SAPS at the time of the investigation demonstrated that although white police officers made up a total of 31% of the organisation, they constituted 75% of all commissioned officers (of the rank of captain and higher), while black police officers only constituted 19% of these ranks. Coloured and Indian police officers were relatively well represented throughout the SAPS, except that coloureds were under-represented in the commissioned-officer ranks from captain to director.

It appears as if the SAPS took the findings of the report relatively seriously. In October 2001 the organisation developed and released a national employment equity plan. Deputy National Commissioner Mala Singh, who headed the human resources component of the SAPS, gave a presentation to the National Assembly Portfolio Committee on Safety and Security on the plan, in which she concluded that, 'Having gone through a period of initial transformation we are now intensifying the process using the vehicle of our Employment Equity Plan' (Singh, 2001). The stated objective of the plan was 'to ensure that suitably qualified persons from designated groups are equally represented in all occupational categories and levels in the workforce' (SAPS, 2002, p.1). Apart from providing models and processes for implementation, monitoring and reporting on employment equity, the plan also revised the ideal equity targets to be achieved by the end of 2004. These targets were as follows:⁷

- Upper-management level: 70% for designated groups and 30% for the non-designated group.
- Middle-management level: 75% for designated groups and 25% for the non-designated group.
- Lower level: 80% for designated groups and 20% for the non-designated group.
- Women were to make up at least 40% of the total personnel strength of the SAPS (SAPS, 2002, p.10).

In June 2002 a majority of the parties to the Public Sector Council Bargaining Chamber signed an agreement for a restructuring exercise to address shortcomings related to representivity and skills throughout the public service. The SAPS took this opportunity to correct the continuing demographic imbalance in the organisation. By June 2003 the SAPS had assessed each of its 131 434 employees as to whether they should retain their posts or be reallocated to different posts. At the end of the exercise, 90% were allowed to retain their posts, 12 000 had been redeployed to other posts that did not require physical relocation, and a further 2 000 employees had been redeployed to posts that required physical relocation (SAPS, 2003). This process was used to address racial imbalances at certain stations or units in the SAPS.

⁷ The Employment Equity Act, 1998 defines designated groups as black, coloured and Indian men and women, white women and all people with disabilities regardless of race or gender. The 'non-designated group' consists of white males.

While race had dominated the focus of organisational representivity until then, the issue of gender equity increasingly began to receive attention. In 2002 National Commissioner Jackie Selebi spoke strongly about women's empowerment in the SAPS.

I would like to see more women in the SAPS empowering themselves to break into traditionally male-dominated fields, such as the Special Task Force, the Dog Unit, the Water Wing and the Air Wing, not to mention certain Detective-oriented fields and indeed Top Management. All members of the SAPS must realise that the days of discrimination, stereotyping and prejudice against women — or indeed against any person — are at an end. The invaluable contribution that women have made, can make, and are making in the development of our country and the strengthening of our democracy [is] being recognised. The time has come for me to throw down the gauntlet and challenge the women of the SAPS: seize the opportunities that are available, carve a role for yourselves in the South African Police Service and pave the way for the women who will follow! (Selebi, 2002)

It was shortly after this speech that the highest-ranking and first-ever woman deputy national commissioner was appointed. Since then, various initiatives have taken place to promote and support female police officers. These include recruiting more females into previously exclusively male units, such as the Special Task Force; establishing women's networks in the SAPS; and a greater focus on the promotion of women to managerial ranks.

SAPS race and gender representivity in 2005

If the ultimate ideal is that the SAPS should reflect the racial and gender demographics of the population, the place to start would be with the overall population statistics. Table 3 below presents the most recent estimates for the race and gender demographics of the country (as of mid-2005).

Table 3: 2005 mid-year estimates for South Africa by population group and gender⁸

POPULATION GROUP	MALE		FEMALE		TOTAL	
	NUMBER	% OF POPULATION	NUMBER	% OF POPULATION	NUMBER	% OF POPULATION
Black	18 320 400	79.4%	18 885 300	79.3%	37 205 700	79.4%
Coloured	2 036 700	8.8%	2 112 100	8.9%	4 148 800	8.8%
Indian	565 100	2.4%	588 800	2.5%	1 153 900	2.5%
White	2 148 100	9.3%	2 231 700	9.4%	4 379 800	9.3%
TOTAL	23 070 300	100%	23 817 900	100%	46 888 200	100%

By 31 March 2005 (three months after the CSV research was conducted), the total employment strength of the SAPS stood at 148 970 (SAPS, 2005).⁹ Of this total, 107 791 (72.4%) were sworn police officers, while the remaining 41 179 (27.6%) personnel were civilians employed primarily to undertake administrative and support duties.¹⁰ Table 4 below shows the proportional racial demographics of the total SAPS personnel complement, including both sworn officers and civilian employees.

⁸ The population estimates are based on the 2001 national census figures published by Statistics South Africa.

⁹ The 2005 SAPS annual report provides a breakdown of the total personnel complement by race, gender and rank or designation as on 31 March 2005.

¹⁰ A sworn police officer is an individual who has successfully completed SAPS basic policing training and is granted certain policing powers by the SAPS Act, 1995. Civilian personnel in the SAPS are employed under broader public-service legislation, do not hold policing ranks, and are not granted policing powers.

Table 4: Total racial profile of the SAPS

RACE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Black	95 766	64.3%
Coloured	16 621	11.2%
Indian	4 993	3.3%
White	31 590	21.2%
TOTAL	148 970	100%

Table 5 below presents the overall profile of the SAPS in relation to the number of sworn police officers. These are SAPS employees who have received formal police training, have been granted certain policing powers, and are directly responsible for performing functional policing tasks (for example, crime prevention, investigation, crowd control, etc.) in South Africa.

Table 5: Sworn-officer profile of the SAPS

RACE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Black	68 876	63.9%
Coloured	11 087	10.2%
Indian	3 831	3.6%
White	23 997	22.3%
TOTAL	107 791	100%

As can be seen from both tables, there is a marginal difference in terms of the racial proportion between the total SAPS personnel strength and sworn officers. Black people are under-represented by 15.1% in the sworn-officer group, while all other race groups are over-represented; coloureds by 2.4%, Indians by 1.1% and whites by 13%.

Of the total of 107 791 sworn police officers, 16 083 (14.5%) are commissioned officers while 91 709 (85.5%) are non-commissioned officers. Commissioned officers consist of the eight levels of rank above that of captain, and are regarded as the formal management echelon of the organisation. Non-commissioned officers make up the bulk of the SAPS and hold the ranks of constable, sergeant and inspector. Table 6 below presents the racial composition of the SAPS at the commissioned and non-commissioned-officer level.

Table 6: SAPS racial profile by rank

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS		
RACE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Black	7 002	43.5%
Coloured	1 321	8.2%
Indian	993	6.2%
White	6 767	42.1%
TOTAL	16 083	100%

NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS		
RACE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Black	61 874	67.3%
Coloured	9 766	10.6%
Indian	2 838	4.2%
White	17 230	18.8%
TOTAL	91 708	100%

Since its establishment, the SAPS has made substantial strides towards improving racial representivity at management level. In 1995, approximately 80% of commissioned officers were white. During the Zulu Committee investigation three years later, in 1998, the picture had hardly changed as over 70% of commissioned officers were still white. However, this picture began to change significantly from 1999. Nevertheless, the organisation still has some way to go to achieve the 2004 employment equity plan targets that were set for management levels.

At the level of non-commissioned officers, however, the SAPS has managed to largely achieve the equity targets that it set for itself. The lowest ranks of the organisation largely reflect the racial demographics of the country. For example, at the level of constable, 70.6% are black, 1% coloured, 2.3% are Indian, and whites constitute 9.1%.

The overall gender profile of the SAPS is one in which males make up 71.2% and females 28.8% of the entire personnel complement. However, of the 41 179 civilian personnel employed by the SAPS, 24 451 (59.4%) are women while 16 728 (40.6%) are men, reflecting that the SAPS tends to see women playing primarily administrative or supportive roles rather than carrying out functional policing tasks. Table 7 below reflects the total profile of the SAPS (including civilian staff) by gender and race.

Table 7: Total SAPS profile by gender and race

MALES		
RACE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Black	72 127	68%
Coloured	11 219	10.6%
Indian	3 570	3.4%
White	19 220	18%
TOTAL	106 136	100%

FEMALES		
RACE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Black	23 639	55.2%
Coloured	5 402	12.6%
Indian	1 423	3.3%
White	12 370	28.9%
TOTAL	42 834	100%

As reflected in table 8 below, of the 16 083 commissioned officers of the SAPS, males constitute 11 979 (74.5%), while females constitute 4 104 (25.5%), a significant improvement on the 11% representation in 1995. However, since the focus has been on race as opposed to gender, the SAPS is still far from achieving its intended gender-equity targets.

Table 8: SAPS commissioned-officer profile by gender and race

MALE COMMISSIONED OFFICERS		
RACE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Black	5 332	44.5%
Coloured	997	8.3%
Indian	791	6.6%
White	4 859	40.6%
TOTAL	11 979	100%

FEMALE COMMISSIONED OFFICERS		
RACE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Black	1 670	40.7%
Coloured	324	7.9%
Indian	202	4.9%
White	1 908	46.5%
TOTAL	4 104	100%

When it comes to non-commissioned officers, the picture of gender representivity appears even skewer. Of the total number (91 708) of sworn non-commissioned police officers, males make up 77 429 (84.4%) while females make up a relatively small 14 279 (15.6%). There are in total 46 938 (28%) sworn female police officers — still a long way from the SAPS target of 40% females in the service.

Table 9: SAPS non-commissioned-officer profile by gender and race

MALE NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS		
RACE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Black	53 585	69.2%
Coloured	7 947	10.3%
Indian	2 415	3.1%
White	13 482	17.4%
TOTAL	77 429	100%

FEMALE NON-COMMISSIONED OFFICERS		
RACE	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
Black	8 289	58.1%
Coloured	1 819	12.7%
Indian	423	3%
White	3 748	26.2%
TOTAL	14 279	100%

Although the national statistics do not reveal details of staff distribution around the country, the SAPS equity plan provides that each policing area should broadly reflect the demographics of its particular geographical location.

Race and gender policy in the SAPS Johannesburg area

The broad SAPS policy frameworks and guidelines are developed at a national level and are expected to be implemented throughout the remaining tiers of the organisation. At the SAPS area level, the task is to manage the implementation of policy throughout the stations that fall in the particular area. The role of the SAPS area head office is to establish structures to ensure that policies are implemented. They also have the responsibility for collecting data from the stations to assist the organisation in monitoring the extent to which policy objectives have been achieved. The area head office collates the data and forwards it to the provincial head office, which then collates all the data from each SAPS area and submits reports to the national level.

The area office is also responsible for promotions and placements, and has to ensure that employment-equity targets are reached. To ensure that racial and gender representation is being achieved in line with the SAPS employment equity plan, each SAPS area office has to complete annual 'section 21' reports. This report specifies the race and gender of each post at a police station and area-level component. However, it is a complex task to achieve the equity targets, as Johannesburg area Assistant Commissioner Reddy explains:

We have come a long way in the past few years. In 2002, thirteen of the 21 police station commissioners were white. By the end of 2004 we had managed to reduce that number so that seven of the 21 station commissioners were white. However, we cannot promote people purely based on their race or gender. We cannot compromise on experience or productivity if we are to provide effective policing in this area. We have to make sure that members are able to fulfil the requirements of a particular post. Adding to the challenge is that we are still battling the structural inequality of the past. [...] While we have to hold back on promotions of white males we cannot create absolute blockages. Also, while we have recently promoted black females, people have to be in a post for at least two years before they can be reconsidered for promotion. There are also a limited number of management posts so we cannot just promote a person. People have to apply for specific posts as they become available. But I am confident that by the end of 2005 all levels will [have been] addressed. (Interview, 8 March 2005)

National policies have been developed to assist in achieving equity targets. For instance, there is the fast-track promotion strategy to accelerate the promotion of historically disadvantaged police officers to management positions in which they are under-represented. This is complemented by an emerging-leadership programme that provides mentorship to such officers when they take up managerial posts. SAPS area offices have to appoint specific officers to manage these programmes.

There is space for the SAPS area-level offices to be creative in the manner in which they apply these policies. For example, the SAPS Johannesburg area has assigned nine teams of two people each as part of their emerging-leadership programme. Along with ongoing mentoring, each team is tasked with researching ways of improving key management areas such as discipline, public complaints, etc. The research and recommendations are to be submitted to the senior management team for consideration and possible adoption.

There are a number of formal structures at the SAPS Johannesburg area office that were put in place to ensure that policies relating to race and gender in labour relations can be implemented. One of these, the management services component, is responsible for ensuring that any formal grievances or disciplinary procedures are fairly and consistently applied. The component's members also take part in the area-level labour forum where unions can raise issues of concern and agreements with SAPS management are concluded. An internal newsletter and an Intranet have been established to ensure that everyone has access to information about what is available in the area to assist police officers.

Beyond the various formal policies and structures, a range of other initiatives has been undertaken in the SAPS Johannesburg area to promote working relationships among police officers across racial divides. A memorial site has been established for all SAPS Johannesburg area police officers who have died, and annual services are held where police officers of all races get together to pay their respects to their colleagues. Further initiatives to build relationships include an annual family day and a sports day where police officers from all stations and components in the SAPS Johannesburg area can interact in an informal social environment. According to Assistant Commissioner Reddy:

These events allow police members from across all races to get to know each other in a relaxed environment away from the workplace. If people get to know each other better it is less likely that there will be conflict based on race. There were many racial tensions during the 1990s where people would not want to work with officers of different races. Sometimes these tensions would surface violently. However, in the past three years there have been no serious confrontations and complaints of racial discrimination are now quite rare. Most people currently in the SAPS have accepted the changes that have taken place. (Interview, 8 March 2005)

THE ATTITUDES AND EXPERIENCES OF JOHANNESBURG POLICE OFFICERS

This section of the report presents the findings from the research that was undertaken in the SAPS Johannesburg policing area. This section is divided into four key parts in which the survey results and statements made during the in-depth interviews are presented in relation to police perspectives on the transformation of the SAPS, race in the SAPS, gender in the SAPS, and diversity in the communities that receive police services.

Perceptions of race

Exploring perceptions of people in a police organisation can provide information on the way that some officers wield their police powers, but '[u]nfortunately, perceptions function as reality for the individuals and groups that hold them; perceptions are seen as the truth, regardless of whether they are the truth' (Shusta, *et al*, 2002, p.174). If police officers have negative perceptions of their colleagues or members of the public because of their race, it can negatively affect the way the officer relates to and behaves towards these individuals. Negative actions or treatment can undermine the cohesion of the organisation and damage relationships between certain individuals and groups.

Race and working relations

Table 10 below presents the results of the survey findings relating to working relationships in the SAPS between people of different race groups.

Table 10: Most members of the SAPS find it difficult to work with members of different races

		AGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ DON'T KNOW	TOTAL
Race	Black	46%	53.1%	0.9%	100%
	Coloured	41.2%	58.8%	0%	100%
	Indian	42.9%	57.1%	0%	100%
	White	19.5%	78%	2.4%	100%
TOTAL		42.1%	56.9%	1%	100%

A majority of 56.9% disagreed with the statement that most police members find it difficult to work with colleagues that are of a different race. White respondents differed significantly, with more than three-quarters (78%) disagreeing with the statement.

On the other hand, a slight majority of the in-depth interviewees stated that police members generally preferred to work with colleagues of the same race as themselves. In most cases this was explained as the result of people feeling more comfortable working with people who shared the same language and culture. Clear examples of racial stereotyping were found in some of the responses to this issue.

Members of different race groups do not work well together right now. In my component I have two white members and members from other race groups. If you try to mix them they can't work together for more than one day. They will tell you they can't handle each other because of different cultural backgrounds. (Black female superintendent)

People hang around each other because they share each other's culture. For example, I don't eat every day pap and chicken feet or intestines. For lunch white people prefer to go to a restaurant and order a proper meal or grab a burger. But black people use a café at the corner, which sells cheap food. We are different and we have different tastes; unfortunately we cannot change that. (White male inspector)

Socially we are different. We have different things to talk about. On the social level we have nothing in common. Just think, you are sitting with someone for twelve hours in a van, you have nothing in common, you have nothing to talk about. If I believe that your way of doing things and living is different from [mine], it's not going to be a very comfortable twelve hours. (Indian male constable)

A number of interviewees perceived segregation in the workplace as the result of a lack of trust between people of different races or because of attitude. In particular, the main problems mentioned were between black and white police members.

I am new in this environment. I have never worked with white people. I was in Soweto at Dobsonville; when I came here I found whites and I did not understand what was happening. Like when we go to a roadblock, they will not stand at the same spot with us. They stand on their own, far from us. They have a problem and unfortunately I don't know how it will be addressed because it is a problem I found when I got here. (Black female superintendent)

Working together depends on individuals. Some blacks don't like working with whites, some whites don't like working with blacks. It happens because white people undermine us, they don't trust us, and they don't think we are capable of doing our jobs properly. (Black male inspector)

A number of interviewees were of the opinion that race was becoming less relevant in the organisation.

You must remember that apartheid was with us for a very long time and it is going to require more time for race relations to normalise. There is that feeling among members that 'I am white', or 'I am black' and, as such, 'I would prefer to work with people from my race'. However, that aspect is slowly decreasing and people are working together across race [and] gender. [In the nineteen years of my employment with the SAPS] I have seen changes. Black people are more confident now, they are able to fight for their rights and compete equally with white people. (Black male superintendent)

I believe that when we are in this blue uniform we are one, hence we will protect each other. I know a white cop will put his life in danger to cover me, and I will do that as well. We might not be friends but when we are in uniform the colour of the person is not important; what is important is that we are one. (Black male constable)

I think members of different race groups work well together. I used to work with crime prevention and we were working as a team with people from all race groups. In cases where people don't get along it's because they are stereotyping people. They assume things about each other that are not necessarily true. (Indian female constable)

Training in diversity and discrimination

The research sought to explore the extent to which police officers had received training that dealt with race and discrimination. If training had been received, the research aimed to establish the perceptions of that training. Table 11 below presents the findings.

Table 11: Have you received any type of training that deals with race and discrimination?

		YES	NO	TOTAL
Race	Black	36.3%	63.7%	100%
	Coloured	52.9%	47.1%	100%
	Indian	35.7%	64.3%	100%
	White	42.7%	57.3%	100%
TOTAL		37.7%	62.3%	100%

Just more than one-third of the survey respondents had received training that focused on race and discrimination. Coloured respondents were more likely to have been on such a training course than respondents from other groups.

During the in-depth interviews, a few respondents gave reasons why relatively few police officers had attended these courses:

It [diversity training] was superb, although to other groups it was painful because in the diversity course they talk about things that are happening because we are different. Some others were feeling offended, others were vice versa, but in the end we came out knowing ourselves. The sad thing is, most whites did not want to go, as if the diversity [training] was for them only. But it was for all of us. The next group they refused to go. (Black female superintendent)

Unfortunately the operational priorities come first so functional policing comes first, and sometimes commanders are not in favour of sending members to the courses that are not relevant to their day-to-day tasks. Sometimes we struggle to get members to go to those workshops, but when they come back they are very positive. But we struggle to really get cooperation because it's not the priority of the police. (White female sergeant)

Generally, when respondents had attended this type of training, they were very positive about the results.

Recently I attended a diversity workshop which helped me a lot to deal with hatred for white people. I was able to confront anger for white people and deal with it. Initially I did not even want to come to the city and was comfortable working in the township because there are few whites there. This diversity course gave me an opportunity to deal with my hatred because in the workshop there were Indians, whites, blacks and coloureds all in the same room trying to find each other and understand each other's cultures. I realised that we were just the same in different colours. We have the same aspirations, ambitions and similar experiences. (Black female superintendent)

It opened my eyes to a couple of things, especially about other races and cultures. We were all brought up in different backgrounds from the old apartheid days up to now, so it's a different thing. I never knew about Indian cultures and black cultures, all of that, you understand. These courses start to bring those things up and you start to understand and realise how people think, why are they thinking like that, why they talk like this. It's a good thing but we need more stuff like

that. [...] All of us need to get to some level of understanding, especially policemen dealing with all sorts of people, races and cultures. We need to be on that level, to be able to understand where people come from. (White male inspector)

Race and discrimination

The survey also gathered data on the extent to which police officers felt that they had received unfair treatment in the SAPS because of their race. Table 12 below presents the findings.

Table 12: In the past two years, have you experienced any unfair treatment in the SAPS because of your race?

		YES	NO	TOTAL
Race	Black	42.2%	57.8%	100%
	Coloured	29.4%	70.6%	100%
	Indian	50%	50%	100%
	White	59.8%	40.2%	100%
TOTAL		44.5%	55.5%	100%

A majority of 55.5% indicated that they had not experienced unfair treatment because of their race in the preceding two years. Black and coloured respondents were least likely to indicate that they had experienced unfair treatment, while Indian respondents were split down the middle. White respondents were more likely to indicate that they had experienced unfair treatment because of their race.

During the in-depth interviews a number of interviewees from all race groups stated that they had not personally experienced any form of unfair racial discrimination. According to them, race was not a major issue in their daily lives.

At this station the treatment of black people and white people is the same. There is no segregation or discrimination. People try to work well together with other races. (Black female constable)

I have never felt discriminated [against] because of my race or gender, and I know that my commander would never allow that to happen. I don't think discrimination based on race still takes place in the SAPS. I think we are much wiser now we have been educated that if we see people from a certain racial group they are not necessarily the reflection of the whole group. If a person feels that they have been discriminated [against] because of race or anything, they know they can speak up. (Indian female constable)

For those respondents who indicated that they had been unfairly discriminated against in the organisation, the survey sought to uncover the primary reasons. Respondents were asked to choose from among eight possible options which would best describe the circumstance in which they might have experienced unfair treatment as a result of their race. A vast majority (92%) of respondents who indicated that they had experienced unfair treatment thought that at least one of the eight possible options adequately described the relevant circumstances. Out of the eight options, four circumstances emerged where 50% or more of all respondents located their experience in unfair treatment. These four areas included: promotions, allocation of work duties, allocation of resources, and communication/information.

Table 13: Racial discrimination in promotions

		YES	NO	TOTAL
Race	Black	59%	41%	100%
	Coloured	80%	20%	100%
	Indian	57.1%	42.9%	100%
	White	93.9%	6.1%	100%
TOTAL		66%	34%	100%

There was clear dissatisfaction with the issue of promotions in the SAPS. Two-thirds of respondents (66%) who felt unfairly discriminated against stated that it had to do with promotions. While a relatively small majority of black and Indian respondents mentioned promotions, very large majorities of 80% for coloured respondents and 93.9% of white respondents mentioned promotions as the perceived main reason for unfair racial discrimination.

During the in-depth interviews the four issues were explored in more detail. Most respondents presented a generally negative perception about the way promotions were carried out. Although none of the black respondents made statements linking the issue of their race to their experiences of promotions, there was a general perception that the promotions process overall was often unfair. Respondents pointed out examples of officers who deserved promotion but were not promoted, or officers who did not deserve promotions but were promoted, and concerns were raised about the lack of clear criteria, or application of those criteria, for promotion.

At times you see people with qualifications and experience not being promoted and [you] wonder why these people are being ignored for promotion. The criteria are clear in terms of policy, but I do not know how the selection committee applies this policy. My suspicions are that if you know somebody up there you have a chance of being promoted. People in the promotion committee know that if we do not promote this one we will be in trouble with the people at the top. There is a lot of favouritism in the promotion of people, and members who deserve to be promoted are ignored as a result. That is not only my perception but one which is widely held by most members.
(Black male superintendent)

Why I am saying that it [promotions] is not properly managed is that there are people who get promoted and you see that the person was not supposed to be promoted because the person does not have the skills or qualifications. I ask myself, 'What criteria were used?' Maybe there are some criteria that I am not aware of, that is why I say I don't think the policy was properly managed.
(Black female superintendent)

Some Indian and coloured respondents felt that although they were formally designated as beneficiaries of affirmative action they were still not promoted because of their race.

All of a sudden we have become too white because Indians are completely discriminated against. In terms of equity, Indians and coloureds are also supposed to benefit, but it seems only blacks are now considered for promotion. I have been at this station for four years and I am still doing what I was doing four years ago. (Indian male constable)

White respondents generally saw affirmative action as reverse racial discrimination:

The way the policy is currently implemented [...] is demoralising white people who are otherwise highly skilled, and who are committed to this country and are experienced. What is happening now

is exactly what happened during the apartheid days [when] only white people were promoted. But we are no longer living in the apartheid state; we are living in a democracy where people are regarded as equal. Obviously it was wrong what happened in the past but I did not discriminate, so why should I suffer now for the mistakes of others? (White male inspector)

Table 14: Racial discrimination in work duties

		YES	NO	TOTAL
Race	Black	65.1%	34.9%	100%
	Coloured	20%	80%	100%
	Indian	57.1%	42.9%	100%
	White	28.6%	71.4%	100%
TOTAL		57%	43%	100%

The next most commonly raised issue in relation to racial discrimination had to do with work duties. The majority of black and Indian respondents stated that they felt discriminated against in relation to the allocation of work duties. Relatively small minorities of white and coloured respondents identified with this issue as a basis for experiences of unfair discrimination.

During the in-depth interviews, black and Indian respondents were of the view that there was an absence of white police officers in certain components, and they regarded this as an indication of racial discrimination in the way work duties were assigned.

I work well with all the people but the reality is that white people do not want to work in certain departments. For example, there are no white people working in the client service centre, whereas in the fingerprint department there are mostly white people. (Black female constable)

What I have realised is that most whites at this station are confined to offices and we are mostly outside. That most whites are in offices and blacks are in crime prevention is obviously a cause for concern. (Black male constable)

Table 15: Racial discrimination in resource allocation

		YES	NO	TOTAL
Race	Black	63.1%	36.9%	100%
	Coloured	40%	60%	100%
	Indian	85.7%	14.3%	100%
	White	22.4%	77.6%	100%
TOTAL		55.5%	44.5%	100%

A slightly smaller majority of all survey respondents highlighted resource allocation as an illustration of unfair discrimination. A vast majority of Indian respondents (85.7%) attributed their experiences of discrimination to this issue, while almost two-thirds of black respondents (63%) did so.

During the in-depth interviews the issue of resource allocation and race was raised, primarily in relation to access to motor vehicles. As was the case with work duties, the issue was explained in relation to the access that white police officers had to police vehicles.

When I started working at this station, the person I replaced was a white inspector who had an office and a state vehicle. When I took over I was not given a vehicle or an office, but was expected to deliver. (Black female superintendent)

Most unit commanders are white males and they continue to enjoy benefits like taking cars home while everybody else continue to use the bad public-transport system. (Indian male inspector)

Table 16: Racial discrimination in access to information

		YES	NO	TOTAL
Race	Black	57.4%	42.6%	100%
	Coloured	20%	80%	100%
	Indian	57.1%	42.9%	100%
	White	22.4%	77.6%	100%
TOTAL		50%	50%	100%

The survey found that half of all the respondents (50%) chose the issue of access to information to best describe an experience of racial discrimination. A majority of black and Indian respondents had experienced discrimination in this manner, while only small minorities of white and coloured respondents thought that this issue was related to the discrimination that they had experienced.

During the in-depth interviews the issue of discrimination in relation to communication of information was generally described as occurring when colleagues of different races started speaking a language that they could not understand. Typically the language referred to was Afrikaans.

Most of the discrimination that takes place happens in privacy. Actions speak louder than words, and unfortunately that is often difficult to prove. You can see things happening but you can't say it is discrimination. In other places you can be in a meeting and all of a sudden the meeting changes to Afrikaans and you just sit there staring, not knowing what to say. (Black male superintendent)

There is transformation but somehow I doubt it because, like now, I receive letters written in Afrikaans and I don't know Afrikaans. I don't know whether these people are ignorant or what, because there are circulars that say, 'English is the medium of communication,' but there is still Afrikaans. The sad thing is some of us do not understand Afrikaans and if I speak my language they get offended and say we are gossiping about them. (Black female superintendent)

Tackling discrimination

During the in-depth interviews, respondents were asked what police officers could do if they encountered racial discrimination. Most respondents referred to a number of formal labour structures or procedures that could be followed. A few respondents also referred to a pilot project to tackle discrimination that was being funded by the Swedish government.

There are structures that will deal with problems of discrimination in the police. I think it is located at national or provincial levels. There were flyers that we were given with a number to enable members to report incidents of discrimination. (Black female superintendent)

Internally we deal with it via the labour forum at station level. We also deal with it in a project we call 'Project Six'. 'Project Six' is a project funded by the Swedish government. They have given us

about R3.4 million to address labour relations issues, and in that platform we are able to address issues of discrimination. (Black male superintendent)

Some respondents referred to line managers as playing a primary role in addressing discrimination.

The last time we had cases of racial discrimination was four years ago. We had two cases. Because it was not collective action the cases were resolved at the lowest level via the immediate unit commander of the people involved. (Indian male superintendent)

There were a few respondents that stated that nothing had been done when they had experienced incidents of racial discrimination.

Nothing really happens. It sort of disappears into the dust. It hangs around in the dust but does not go away. It never gets sorted out or talked about, nor are we called together and asked, 'OK, what is your side of the story? Next time this is what you should do,' that sort of a thing. We never have a roundtable where the issue is discussed. (White male inspector)

Race relations in the future

One of the final survey questions (table 18 below) sought to establish what police officers thought about race relations in the future.

Table 18: How confident are you about a future where people from all races get along together?

		VERY/FAIRLY CONFIDENT	NOT VERY CONFIDENT	NEUTRAL/DON'T KNOW	TOTAL
Race	Black	76.2%	22.3%	1.5%	100%
	Coloured	88.2%	11.8%	0%	100%
	Indian	92.9%	7.1%	0%	100%
	White	80.5%	17.1%	2.4%	100%
TOTAL		77.5%	20.9%	1.6%	100%

Overall, a large majority, or more than three-quarters (77.5%), of all respondents indicated that they were either very or fairly confident of a future where people from all races would get along. This suggests that, for most police officers, the transformation of the organisation with regard to improved racial representation and integration has been primarily positive, and there was a general sense that it would continue to improve.

A discussion of race in the SAPS

While a majority (56.9%) of police officers felt that most of their colleagues did not experience difficulties working with colleagues of different races, a substantial proportion (42.1%) thought otherwise. Interestingly, a large majority of white respondents (78%) were of the opinion that most police officers were able to work together without difficulty, irrespective of race. It is arguable that white police officers still feel comfortable working in the dominant organisational culture of the SAPS, and consequently working with colleagues of other races presents little difficulty for most of them.

Many of the interviewees highlighted that when police officers were given a choice (such as at a police-organised social gathering), they generally preferred to talk and engage with officers of their own racial group. The general feeling was that this was largely as a result of people feeling more comfortable with those who spoke the same language or came from the same culture as themselves. However, it was also apparent that some police officers have negative attitudes to people from different race groups than their own. Most of the explicit negative attitudes picked up in the interviews were made by black and coloured interviewees about their white colleagues. This could suggest that, for some police officers, negative experiences and perceptions of white people as a result of the apartheid past continue to frame their perceptions of their white colleagues. It may also suggest that it is more acceptable for police officers to openly express negative sentiments about white people than the other way around. Nevertheless, there was also an indication that some white officers continue to hold what amount to stereotypical and prejudicial attitudes towards black police officers.

Fortunately, most of the survey respondents did not consider race a significant obstacle in their working relationships with colleagues of different races. However, these findings reveal that there is still a need for organisationally driven initiatives to actively confront stereotypical race-based attitudes if closer working relationships are to be built.

One such initiative could be diversity sensitivity training. Shusta, *et al* (2004, p.24), argues that, 'As with other training areas in law enforcement, such as self defence and tactics, the area of prejudice needs to be reviewed on a regular basis.' However, the survey reveals that a little over a third (37.7%) of all police officers have received any kind of training that deals with race and discrimination.

Those officers who were interviewed and who had attended the SAPS training on diversity were very positive about it. Police officers from all race groups felt that they had benefited from such training in that they had learned more about each other's customs, enabling them to understand people they had initially perceived as different to themselves. Given the diversity of both the SAPS and South African communities in general, greater attention needs to be paid to ensuring that this type of training is received by all SAPS members.

Integrating elements of diversity training into all SAPS training will assist in overcoming one of the reservations to this type of training — that it is not seen as fundamental to policing duties. Currently, it is perceived to be peripheral to core duties, and managers are less likely to allow their subordinates time to attend workshops, and officers are unlikely to make the time in their busy schedules.

Overall, most (55.5%) of all the survey respondents indicated that they had not experienced unfair treatment on the basis of race in the previous two years, but, conversely, a substantial proportion of all respondents (44.5%) felt that they had experienced unfair treatment because of their race. This is of concern as it suggests that racial discrimination in the SAPS is still an issue for many station-based police officers in Johannesburg.

The issue of promotions emerged as a very contentious topic for police officers from all race groups, with two-thirds (66%) linking experiences of racial discrimination to promotions. While a majority (59%) of black respondents thought that they had been racially discriminated against during processes to award promotions, almost all white respondents (93.9%) thought so. Given that many white officers had negative perceptions of the affirmative-action policy, this finding is not too surprising. However, this was the only issue where a majority of white respondents stated that they had experienced unfair discrimination. Given the general and widespread feelings of discontent about

the manner in which promotions are awarded in the SAPS, it may be useful to revisit the manner in which this process is undertaken and communicated to officers at police stations.

Overall, a majority (57%) of all respondents stated that the allocation of work duties was the source of their experience of unfair racial discrimination. Almost two-thirds (65.1%) of black respondents chose this option as an area where they had experienced unfair treatment. In contrast, only 28.6% of white respondents experienced this to be the case. A common statement from black interviewees was that their white colleagues were found largely in office jobs, while few were found to be undertaking crime-prevention duties or working in the client service centre. This finding suggests that there is still a strong perception among most black police officers that their white colleagues are given preferential treatment when it comes to the allocation of work duties.

A majority (55%) of all respondents indicated that unfair treatment was associated with the allocation of resources. Most black respondents (63.1%) chose this as an area where unfair treatment was experienced, as opposed to 22.4% of white respondents. The key issue with regards to the allocation of resources was that of vehicles. Black interviewees were of the opinion that they were discriminated against in comparison to their white colleagues when it came to the allocation of state vehicles. For some interviewees this issue overlapped with rank, as white officers were often found in senior positions or in duties where they would be allocated state vehicles.

The issue of communication or access to information was split down the middle overall when it came to experiences of unfair treatment. A majority (57%) of black and Indian respondents chose this issue, while a minority (22.4%) of white respondents felt unfairly treated when it came to communication or information. A common experience for black interviewees in this regard was the use of Afrikaans in the workplace. Many black police officers stated that they were not proficient in Afrikaans and felt excluded when this language was spoken. While the issue of language or communication was not directly mentioned by police officers from the other racial groups during the in-depth interviews, black respondents spoke of experiences where their white colleagues felt undermined when languages other than English or Afrikaans were spoken.

Most interview respondents mentioned that unfair discrimination could be dealt with through formal structures or channels. The structures and procedures most often mentioned consisted of labour forums or formal grievance procedures. Other respondents referred to the important role played by line managers in addressing such complaints immediately, which was seen as an additional method to using the formal structures. Some respondents of low rank were unaware of what to do in order to address the unfair discrimination that they might experience in the organisation. There was also one respondent who felt that the management at his station tended to ignore incidents of unfair discrimination rather than address them. This suggests that information about how to deal with such incidents should be made available to all stations in case new recruits are not aware of what to do, or managers are unwilling to address incidents.

Fortunately, a substantial majority of survey respondents (77.5%) were either 'very' or 'fairly' confident that people from all races would indeed get along in the future. This suggests that police officers' experiences of working with different race groups are improving over time.

Perceptions of gender

The growing interest in gender issues in policing, and substantial literature on the topic, highlight the difficulties that women have experienced in police agencies in both western and developing

countries (see Alemika and Agugua, 2001; Heidensohn, 2003). The common explanation for this is that policewomen are often viewed negatively by policemen who feel that policing is and should be a male profession. Consequently, policewomen commonly experience negative stereotyping relating to their abilities, as well as discrimination. Women are also more often involved in stereotypical roles such as in administrative duties or working in units focused on crimes against women and children.

Despite this, there is growing recognition that women can add considerable value to the profession of policing. It has been argued that women bring a different approach to policing; for example they are less inclined to use force to solve problems and rely more on communication skills (Morrison, 2005, p.20).

This section of the report looks at the research findings related to male attitudes towards policewomen, and the attitudes of policewomen in the SAPS after a decade of police transformation.

Table 19: Do women generally make good police officers?

		AGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ DON'T KNOW	TOTAL
Race	Black	63.4%	33%	3.6%	100%
	Coloured	70.6%	29.4%	0%	100%
	Indian	50%	50%	0%	100%
	White	69.5%	23.2%	7.3%	100%
TOTAL		64.1%	31.9%	4%	100%

A substantial majority of almost two-thirds (64.1%) of survey respondents agreed that women generally made good police officers. A higher proportion of coloured and white respondents were of this opinion, followed by black respondents. Indian respondents were split down the middle.

Table 20 below divides the responses by both race and gender so that the opinions of both men and women for each race become apparent.

Table 20: Do women generally make good police officers?

GENDER		BLACK	COLOURED	INDIAN	WHITE	TOTAL
Male	Agree	58.9%	69.2%	45.5%	61.9%	59.3%
	Disagree	37.2%	30.8%	54.5%	28.6%	36.3%
	Neutral/don't know	3.8%	0%	0%	9.5%	4.4%
TOTAL		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
Female	Agree	86.7%	75.0%	66.7%	94.7%	87.1%
	Disagree	10.7%	25.0%	33.3%	5.3%	10.9%
	Neutral/don't know	2.7%	0%	0%	0%	2%
TOTAL		100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The above table reveals that, except for Indian respondents, the majority of male respondents from each race group believed that women generally made good police officers. Nevertheless, a far greater majority of women (87.1%) agreed with the statement as compared to men (59.3%). A little over one-third of male respondents (36.3%) disagreed with the statement.

During the in-depth interviews, about half of the male respondents from each racial group made statements revealing that they believed that females did not make good police officers. Typically they thought that women should be restricted to office work.

There are more than enough women in the police now, please. If there are 24% women in the police, then they must get rid of some because policing is not a woman's job. I do not think they belong here, and this is my personal opinion. Women should be employed to work in the [client service centre] and help with paper work at the station, not be involved in operational work. They cannot work as detectives or in crime prevention because they become a burden when you are out there. (White male captain)

The problem is that they do not have the kind of courage that men have. I will not feel safe working with a woman because they do not have the kind of courage men have. You see, men can take risks and most women would not take risks. There are few of them who can do that. I will feel unsafe working with women, not because I am sexist but because women cannot take risks. They fear guns. (Black male constable)

On the other hand, the remaining half of male respondents indicated that they thought women could make good police officers and were an asset to the organisation. However, these respondents sometimes limited women officers' usefulness to stereotypical positions.

Women make very good police officers, especially when it comes to rape cases. I had dealt with rape cases before and it was so difficult for me as a man. But women can acquire more information than men and they are very sensitive. They know what to ask and how. They are also very patient and understanding. (Black male inspector)

I have no problem with women being promoted or employed in the police. In fact, when women are properly trained they tend to do their work very well as compared to men. Men are impatient and prefer to use force even when it is not necessary to do so. I have no problem if women pull their weight in the police. (White male inspector)

Almost all female respondents were very positive about the contribution that women could make to the SAPS.

We are trained to be responsible and caring and this is what we bring to the police. These values are so important today in the police because we are working with communities. The philosophy of policing requires people with problem-solving skills, leaders who can lead from the front and women have those skills. I do not want to engage in the sexist debate of whether we make better police than men because it will take us nowhere. The issue for me is that the organisation definitely needs more women. (Black female superintendent)

Men think women are not comfortable with doing the 'men's jobs'. I remember this guy at a bank machine who tried to take advantage of a poor woman. When the flying squad passed he hides and then reappears. I told this guy I was a police officer and I am demanding that he leaves this place or I will arrest him. He laughed at me and told me I was a fake. I took him by surprise and arrested him and called the van to pick him up. When we checked this guy he was wanted for robbery. (Indian female constable)

A few respondents felt that gender was irrelevant to the question of what made a good police officer. Rather, they highlighted that it had more to do with the character of the individual than his or her gender.

Not everyone makes a good police officer, and this includes both women and men. There are guys that you cannot trust and equally there are women that you can trust working with. It's about treating people as individuals. (Black male constable)

A discussion of gender

It is a positive sign that a majority (64.1%) of all interviewees were of the opinion that women made good police officers. Nevertheless, a substantial proportion of males (36.6%) still held negative views of women as police officers. In the in-depth interviews these attitudes were clearly expressed. As has been found in other research, some policemen tend to stereotype women as not having courage or the necessary abilities required for police work (Morrison, 2005), or they are perceived as useful only in certain roles which are secondary to or supportive of men (Heidensohn, 2003). One female police officer interviewed also did not believe that women made good police officers. Walklate (1996, p.194) explains this type of response as a method that some female police officers adopt to cope with the male-dominated 'cop culture' in that they choose to 'fulfil more traditional expectations associated with their role'.

Nevertheless, there were a number of male police officers who had come to accept that women played an important role in policing because they brought additional skills and approaches to their work. Moreover, many policemen were of the opinion that women were as good as men at policing, with at least one respondent holding the opinion that woman generally performed better than men. These findings suggest that, while there are still challenges facing women in the SAPS, there have also been significant changes with respect to women in policing over the past decade of police transformation.

Policewomen were confident of their abilities and roles in the SAPS. A substantial majority (87.7%) of female respondents agreed with the statement that 'women generally make good police officers'. This perception was also found in the in-depth interviews, where a number of policewomen felt confident about the contributions that they could make to the SAPS and its transformation.

Nevertheless, policewomen felt that they were unfairly restricted to carrying out certain tasks (generally involving office work), or that they had to prove themselves through engaging in risky actions (for example, high-speed car chases) before they were accepted by men as equals. Negative attitudes towards female police officers were apparent in a number of statements made by male interviewees. This suggests that police diversity training should also focus on gender.

Perceptions of the community

One of the primary policy changes framing the transformation of the SAPS was the introduction of community policing. The community-policing philosophy emerged internationally in the last two decades and is intended to shift policing '[...] away from the traditional "close mindedness of law enforcement bureaucracies" toward a more participatory model of public safety' (Greene and Pelfrey, 1997, p.418). As has been the case internationally, community policing in South Africa is a story of mixed success.

The primary expression of this policing policy has been the establishment of community policing forums. These are structures that are supposed to provide communities with opportunities for developing partnerships with the police and to highlight community concerns. However, research in priority policing areas has demonstrated that the success of these structures has been varied and inconsistent (Pelser, Schnetler and Louw, 2002). Typically, these structures work well in wealthy areas

while they often struggle to play a meaningful role in poor communities. However, while the forums represent a structural expression of community policing, greater attention needs to be given to the extent to which the community policing approach has impacted on police attitudes and behaviour.

It has been widely recognised that police attitudes and culture can impact on the way police engage with various sections of the community. However, the manner in which this takes place is not always obvious. Quoting Walklate (2000, p.235), Bowling and Foster (2002, p.1011) highlight that ‘while differential enforcement according to class, ethnicity and gender persists [...] such practices are “not articulated in simple or straightforward ways in all localities”’. Research among new recruits in the SAPS has already found that they are generally suspicious towards members of the public, and this could militate against effective community policing (Steyn, 2005).

Race and targeted policing

Racially biased policing has emerged as an international phenomenon, and much has been written about it in countries such as England and America (Bowling and Phillips, 2003; Fridell, Lunney and Kubu, 2001). International research has shown that many officers are unclear about the concept of ‘reasonable suspicion’ and the extent of and limitations on their powers. This leads to selective enforcement where police officers use stereotyping as a basis for heightened suspicion against people of certain races or ethnic groups, such as when ‘some officers [...] lapse into an unthinking assumption that all young black people are potential criminals’ (Bowling and Phillips, 2003, p.537). Racial targeting was certainly a feature of the apartheid police force.

This research sought to explore the extent to which police culture has changed in terms of negative stereotyping and profiling. Table 21 below presents the results of the survey question on this issue.

Table 21: It is reasonable for the police to target certain racial groups to prevent crime?

		AGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ DON'T KNOW	TOTAL
Race	Black	25.1%	74.9%	0%	100%
	Coloured	23.5%	76.5%	0%	100%
	Indian	21.4%	78.6%	0%	100%
	White	36.6%	61%	2.4%	100%
TOTAL		26.6%	73.1%	0.3%	100%

Almost three-quarters (73.1%) of all survey respondents disagreed with the statement, while a little over one-quarter of respondents agreed that racial targeting was a reasonable practice to engage in. While the majority of white respondents disagreed with the statement, they were more likely than respondents from other groups to agree with the statement.

A majority of the in-depth interviewees stated that racial profiling was not a major practice. Most respondents argued that the natural demographics of the country determined the extent to which criminal suspects of different races would be arrested. It was repeatedly argued that because the vast majority of the South African population was black, most of the people who were stopped and searched in crime operations would therefore be black.

There is less racial profiling now because if you have a reasonable suspicion you can stop and search anyone. Obviously there are many black people and as such many people who get stopped will be black. (Indian male inspector)

However, the quote below suggests that suspects are also stopped based on an assumption that certain race groups are more likely to commit crimes in certain areas.

In terms of police service I am not sure whether police still stop cars based on race. White people are equally targeted as black people on special operations. What I know is that when an area has been identified we go there and search everyone. I am not sure about what happens in suburbs but what we know is that black people are the biggest contributors to crime in suburbs. As such they are likely to be stopped more than white people. But this is not to suggest that they are targeted because white people are also stopped. (Black male superintendent)

A minority of the in-depth interviewees made statements suggesting that, in certain circumstances or in certain areas, racial profiling was used as a policing technique even if they themselves disagreed with the practice. Respondents indicated that blacks were arrested especially when looking for illegal immigrants, while others indicated the perception that more blacks were involved in crime.

It is a fact that in the white community there are also criminals but we do not target those as much as we target black people. When it comes to general policing we profile black people more, and as such we stop and search more of them. It is a fact that if you are black driving at night you are more likely to be stopped than if you are white. If you are a man driving at night you are also more likely to be stopped than if you are a woman. It's a fact in South Africa. (White male inspector)

Indeed we target mostly black people in white areas because most of them are involved in criminal activities. Compared with whites involved in crime there are more blacks; as such we target mostly black people. I do not think that is a problem because you cannot target people who are not involved in crime, otherwise we will be wasting resources. Most black people are involved in housebreaking and very few whites are involved. (Black male constable)

Race and differentiated service delivery

While racial stereotyping can result in law-enforcement agencies targeting certain people because of their race, it can also lead to differentiation in the quality of service. The research sought to explore whether or not police officers are likely to provide a better service to people who are of the same ethnicity as them. The term 'ethnicity' in this context was deliberately used to incorporate other similarities that people may have beyond race, such as language.

Table 22: Most police members will provide a better service to people from their own ethnic group rather than to people from other groups

		AGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ DON'T KNOW	TOTAL
Race	Black	23.1%	75.2%	1.7%	100%
	Coloured	5.9%	94.1%	0%	100%
	Indian	50%	50%	0%	100%
	White	46.3%	47.6%	6.1%	100%
TOTAL		26.6%	71.2%	2.2%	100%

The overall results for the question on preferential police service delivery based on ethnicity are very similar to the results for the question about preferential treatment based on race. However, the proportion of black respondents who disagreed with the statement increased to 75.2%, while the proportion of white respondents who disagreed with the statement dropped dramatically to 47.6%.

During the in-depth interviews, respondents were largely of the opinion that police officers did not treat people differently as a result of their ethnicity. However, those who agreed that this was the case described it as normal for people who were from the same ethnic group to interact better with each other since they understood each other better, rather than as a result of favouritism.

Police treat members of the public who are from their own ethnic group differently because it's easy to understand them. Language-wise and culturally they gel and they understand each other well.
(White male inspector)

Everybody receives the same kind of service from the police but it's normal and acceptable to treat a person of your own culture or race group differently. Like if I come in at the client service centre and I see a coloured, I relate with that person quicker than a person from a group that I don't understand. It's not supposed to be like that but it happens anyhow. (Coloured female constable)

Other surveys provide instructive insights on the perceptions of different communities of the service provided by the police. Overall, 61% of the residents of inner-city Johannesburg think the police are doing a 'good' or 'fair' job in their areas (Leggett, 2003, p.39). It has also been found that people with negative perceptions of the police tend to blame corruption and laziness for their perception, with very few complaining of racism. The latest 2003 National Victims of Crime Survey breaks down perceptions of police performance by race and finds that 63% of black people, 46% of coloureds, 34% of whites and less than 10% of Indians feel that their perceptions of the police improved after having had contact with the police (Burton, *et al*, 2003, p.76). It is arguable, however, that people's expectations, rather than their experience, of the police in South Africa may be racially defined.

Class and differentiated policing

It has long been argued from various perspectives that the law and its institutions provide an important arena for fundamental class struggle (Hall and Scraton, 1986), but it has also been demonstrated that policing in any given society tends to reflect the prevailing social order. Reiner (1985, p.109) argues that, 'Police culture and its variations are reflections of the power structures of the societies policed.' While it is difficult to separate class and race in South Africa, as they largely overlap, the study sought to explore the perceptions and attitudes of the police towards people based on whether they are rich or poor. Table 23 below presents the survey findings in this regard.

Table 23: It is reasonable for the police to target certain groups based on whether they are rich or poor to prevent crime

		AGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ DON'T KNOW	TOTAL
Race	Black	20.3%	79%	0.6%	100%
	Coloured	11.8%	88.2%	0%	100%
	Indian	28.6%	71.4%	0%	100%
	White	26.8%	72%	1.2%	100%
TOTAL		21.2%	78.1%	0.7%	100%

A large majority of more than three-quarters (78.1%) of survey respondents disagreed that targeting the poor was reasonable in preventing crime. The responses from black, Indian and white respondents were closer to each other than that of coloured respondents, who were more likely to disagree with such a statement.

In the in-depth interviews very few of the respondents mentioned targeting people because they were poor, but several respondents focused instead on prejudice against policing the crimes of the wealthy.

During sting operations we do not target homes or shopping malls but we target construction sites because it will be a problem to target homes. Sandton is a rich suburb and we know that criminals are hiding here but we cannot do anything about it. (Indian male inspector)

If you are driving an old car and you are black you will be targeted. But if you are carrying drugs in a nice car, chances of you ever being found out are very slim because no one suspects that rich people will be involved in criminal activities. (Indian female constable)

Table 24: Rich people generally get a better service from the police than poor people

		AGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ DON'T KNOW	TOTAL
Race	Black	33.4%	65.7%	0.9%	100%
	Coloured	47.1%	52.9%	0%	100%
	Indian	64.3%	35.7%	0%	100%
	White	23.2%	74.4%	2.4%	100%
TOTAL		33.1%	65.9%	1%	100%

Two-thirds of respondents (65.9%) disagreed with the statement that rich people generally received better service from the police than poor people. This is somewhat lower than the total proportions who disagreed with the statement in relation to race (70.3%) and ethnicity (71.2%). A majority (64.3%) of Indian respondents and a substantial proportion of coloured respondents (47.1%) and black respondents (33.4%) agreed with the statement.

Most of the in-depth interview respondents were of the opinion that rich people received better treatment from the police than poor people. This was attributed to the higher levels of education and access to resources that rich people tended to have. A few respondents pointed out that rich people were generally treated better in society for these reasons, and that this was no different when it came to the police.

It's a fact that people in society are treated differently. If you are rich you are treated differently than if you are poor. We all know that. The police naturally treat people differently because if you are rich you are likely to be treated courteously and with respect. If you are poor you are likely to be given poor treatment and you are most likely to be happy with it. Rich people demand good service and are likely to complain if you do not meet their expectations. Remember that police do not invent rules but we follow society's rules. (White male senior superintendent)

Rich people usually get better services because money is power. Other rich people phone the area office even before they come to the station. By the time they get to the station, you have been instructed already on how to deal with that person. What happens when a businessperson is killed compared to when a street hawker is killed? (Black female superintendent)

A relatively small number of the in-depth interviewees were of the opinion that people were always treated the same, irrespective of their wealth.

There is no one who gets special treatment here, whether you are rich or poor you get the same kind of service, same with women and men, everybody is treated the same way. (Black male inspector)

The issue of corruption, particularly the use of police powers for personal gain, emerged from some of the respondents when the issue of differential treatment on the basis of wealth was discussed.

Rich people will sponsor us if we want sponsors. That is why they are treated better. To be honest, with a rich person, at the end you expect to get something if you are looking for a sponsor. If you treat Mr [X] badly, I won't be able to go ask for a sponsorship from him. It is not supposed to be like that but it does happen. ... But my opinion is because Mr [X] will help, not only with work-related issues [because] I might also have problems at home, then I can go to him. Obviously, when he comes here I will treat him better than the others. (Black female superintendent)

Foreigners and differentiated policing

The challenge of policing ethnic minorities has dominated much of the international literature on policing and multiculturalism. McDonald (2003, p.324) highlights this, 'Today's immigration has made the challenges of policing a multiethnic society all the more complex. The police have to find ways to bridge cultural divides; to communicate in foreign languages; to win the trust of people whose past experience led them to mistrust or despise the police; to protect foreigners both from xenophobic attacks and their own ethnic gangs. Many of the new immigrants are illegally in their host countries, confounding the problem even further. They are more vulnerable to victimisation and less willing to cooperate.' In the USA this has become such a sensitive topic that, 'Virtually none of the 17 000 independent state and local law enforcement agencies in the country are willing to assist the Federal Immigration and Naturalisation Service (INS) in enforcing immigration laws' (McDonald, 2003, p. 237).

In South Africa, the policing of foreign nationals has started to receive increasing public attention, largely as a result of various lobby groups working with these communities. South Africa hosts about 142 000 foreign refugees of which nearly 75% reside in Johannesburg. Many are victims of police harassment and corruption (Radebe, 2005). There are also many foreign nationals living in Johannesburg, both legally and illegally. The research sought to explore the attitudes of police officers to foreign nationals living in Johannesburg. Foreign nationals described as 'undocumented' were understood to be in the country illegally.

Table 25: Foreigners in general (whether they are undocumented or not) cause a lot of crime in Johannesburg

		AGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ DON'T KNOW	TOTAL
Race	Black	81.2%	16.9%	1.9%	100%
	Coloured	58.8%	41.2%	0%	100%
	Indian	71.4%	21.4%	7.1%	100%
	White	68.3%	23.2%	8.5%	100%
TOTAL		78.4%	18.6%	2.9%	100%

The survey revealed that a large majority (78.4%) of police officers are of the opinion that foreigners, whether they are in the country legally or not, cause a lot of crime in Johannesburg. Coloured respondents were less likely to think so, with a relatively small majority of 58.8% agreeing with the statement, while a very large majority (81.2%) of black respondents agreed with the statement.

Very few of the in-depth interview respondents differentiated between foreigners who were in the country legally and those who were not, with only a few respondents believing that while 'legal foreigners' were good, 'illegal foreigners' were usually involved in crime.

Table 26: Most of the illegal/undocumented immigrants in Johannesburg are involved in crime

		AGREE	DISAGREE	NEUTRAL/ DON'T KNOW	TOTAL
Race	Black	91.0%	7.9%	1.1%	100%
	Coloured	64.7%	35.3%	0%	100%
	Indian	85.7%	14.3%	0%	100%
	White	69.5%	25.6%	4.9%	100%
TOTAL		87.1%	11.4%	1.6%	100%

An even larger majority (87.1%) of survey respondents agreed with the statement that most of the illegal or undocumented immigrants in Johannesburg are involved in crime. Coloured and white respondents were less likely than Indian and black respondents to agree with the statement.

Most of the in-depth interviewees revealed negative attitudes in that they felt that foreigners, particularly those in the country illegally, were involved in crime.

Foreigners are corrupt and illegal foreigners are a big problem. They are involved in serious crimes like armed robberies and they are cheap labourers taking jobs from South Africans which lead local people to committing crimes. Zimbabweans are murderers and they kill a human being like an animal because they are involved in serious crimes like armed robberies and heists. Nigerians are involved in drugs, sex trade as pimps and money laundering; Mozambicans are involved in human trade, prostitution and they bring illegal guns to sell in this country. Congolese are mostly involved in diamonds and precious metals and you find them here and there. In most cases when we arrest suspects for armed robbery for sure there will always be a Zimbabwean involved. (Black male constable)

While most in-depth interviewees presented negative attitudes towards foreigners, a number of respondents were displeased by these attitudes or demonstrated a degree of empathy with foreigners, and perceived that they were unfairly targeted.

When it comes to immigrants, there is so much xenophobia out there and it is the same in the police. The problem is with black migrants from Africa. There are illegal white, Indian and coloured foreigners, but they are not hunted down like we do to African migrants. You see sting operations in Johannesburg targeting only places where African migrants will be found. (White male inspector)

My view on foreigners is that they are also human beings and when I arrest them I treat them as human beings. Some of them can be illegal but they are also recognised by our constitution. They do not have the rights that an ordinary criminal have, but they are human beings. (Indian male inspector)

Police generally do not treat foreigners well and they call them by these derogatory names. They exploit them whenever they can because these people do not know their rights and they are illegally in this country. They can't generally open a case of abuse because that will not be investigated anyway. (Coloured female inspector)

Discussion on the policing of foreigners

Some research suggests that the attitudes of many police officers that most foreigners are involved in crime are not born out by reality. Dissel and Kollapen (2002) have pointed out that only 1.8% (approximately 3 000 per year) of the South African prison population are foreigners (as a result of arrest and prosecution for a crime), which is minimal compared to the 12% of foreigners held in British prisons. This is in spite of approximately 160 000 foreign nationals being arrested and processed by the police before being deported in 2004. Other research has revealed that out of all criminal arrests in South Africa, the arrest rates for foreigners rarely exceed 1% for any crime category (Harris, 2001).

One of the key consequences of xenophobic attitudes by the police is that it leads to a feeling of alienation within communities of foreign nationals, many of whom are in the country legally. This may result in members of these communities being reluctant to make use of police services, report crime or cooperate with the police in criminal investigations. This situation, therefore, results in a significant 'blind spot' on the side of the police service, which then struggles to trace or identify criminal elements in these communities. Many undocumented migrants, especially those from neighbouring countries, return repeatedly after being arrested by the police and deported (Valji, 2003). Given that over 20% of police arrests each year are of illegal immigrants, it is argued that the SAPS is diverting valuable resources from addressing serious and violent crimes towards an immigration-control function that has yet to demonstrate any benefit for the country (Valji, 2003).

Moreover, there are other very direct consequences for many South African citizens. Palmary (2002) reveals that 10% of those arrested for being in the country illegally, and up to 5% of those who end up in Lindela, the detention centre for undocumented immigrants based in Johannesburg, are South Africans. No small amount of harm is done to the image of the police in the eyes of what amounts to many thousands of South Africans who have been arrested for 'looking foreign'.

THE WAY FORWARD

This report presents research findings on the perceptions and attitudes held by police officers in relation to organisational transformation and diversity, as well as relating to diversity in the community. In doing so, it aims to provide greater insight into aspects of police culture after more than a decade of organisational transformation. On the encouraging side, it is apparent that most police officers uphold, or at least are sensitive to, the values of non-discrimination outlined in the constitution. Nevertheless, race remains a salient feature of organisational dynamics in the SAPS. Indeed, it would be surprising if the damage that apartheid did to race relations in South Africa could have been so diminished in the 10 short years since democracy.

As the demographics of the SAPS continue to change and new recruits are drafted into the organisation, it can be expected that police culture will continue to transform. However, it also needs to be recognised that police organisational culture can shape the attitudes and behaviours of new recruits who will look to more experienced members and managers for guidance as to what is acceptable. It is therefore critical that the SAPS is able to clearly articulate constitutional values and principles, and that managers act as role models in support of this.

Nevertheless, the research highlights a number of specific challenges that need to be addressed if greater progress towards police transformation is to be realised. These are expressed in the recommendations that follow.

Mainstream diversity training

The research revealed that, although a minority, a substantial proportion of police officers (42.1%) are of the opinion that racial differences cause difficulties in the workplace. The interviews highlighted that some police officers hold prejudicial views of their colleagues from different races. This leads to situations in which police officers of different races lack trust in each other and will resist working together. This could undermine police service delivery as officers will not be able to work together as effectively as when they trust each other.

The respondents who have attended training related to diversity and race generally reported that it had been a positive experience and had assisted them in overcoming their prejudices. Typically, they stated that they had found that this type of training had allowed them to better understand people whom they had perceived as different from themselves as a result of race or culture. The survey results support these assertions as the groups that have been less exposed to this type of training were more likely to perceive race to cause difficulties in the workplace.

The relatively low attendance of diversity training was explained as a consequence of how useful it is perceived to be by police officers and their managers. A common response was that this type of training is not a core police function and, therefore, not necessary. Moreover, it was stated that white police officers in some senses resist attending this training as they believe that it was targeted at them specifically rather than at all groups.

These findings suggest that elements of diversity training should be 'mainstreamed', or incorporated, into other police training programmes. Operationally focused training could be designed to ensure

that participants recognise how prejudices based on group identity can undermine operational effectiveness. In particular, 'diversity management' should form a core part of any police management training. Managers have greater power, authority and responsibility in the organisation and, therefore, are more likely to have an impact on overall organisational culture. Furthermore, diversity training should also form a core element of the basic training provided to all new SAPS recruits.

Gender recruitment and diversity training

While there are clear signs of male prejudice against the role of women as functional police members in the SAPS, it is encouraging that most men believe that women can make good police officers. The women respondents demonstrated confidence in their abilities in spite of the challenges that they face as a result of male prejudice.

It is clear that the SAPS is far from achieving its objective of having women make up 40% of the organisation. While much has been achieved internally towards promoting women into management ranks, they still only make up 15% of the total number of sworn police officers. Given that police work is dominated by men and is seen generally throughout society as a male occupation, a recruitment strategy targeted at encouraging women to become police officers should be adopted. Unless this approach is followed it is unlikely that many women will apply to join the ranks of the police.

The diversity training initiatives should also address issues relating to gender discrimination and prejudice in the organisation. In particular, the training should sensitise police officers to the SAPS sexual-harassment policy.

Increased transparency in promotions

The issue of promotions emerged strongly as a source of unhappiness for police officers of all races. Among the different race groups, white police officers were almost unanimous in their perception that it unfairly discriminates against them on the basis of race. Most white officers saw this as a result of the SAPS affirmative action policy. However, a majority of respondents from all race groups revealed discontent with the way promotions are handled in the SAPS. A typical concern raised had to do with feelings that in some cases individuals who deserved promotions were not promoted, while in others individuals who did not were promoted. Furthermore, a number of respondents appeared uncertain about the criteria for promotions.

This is a serious issue that can have a negative impact on the morale of police officers, and can lead to a number of consequences for the organisation. Skilled and talented individuals may leave the SAPS if they feel that they are not appreciated, while others may perform poorly at their jobs or, in extreme cases, become involved in corruption as a means of improving their material conditions.

It will be useful to review the current promotions policy and its practice with a view to identifying shortcomings that may exist in allocating the right people to the right posts. A further recommendation is to improve the communication of the promotions policy to ensure that the rank and file are fully aware of the process and the criteria used to promote people to various posts.

Further research into diversity management

The research found that a significant majority of black and Indian police officers believe that they have been unfairly discriminated against in relation to the allocation of work duties, resource allocation and access to information. These findings are consistent with the findings of the Independent

Commission of Inquiry into Racism in the SAPS undertaken in 1999. Certainly, perceptions that individuals are treated differently as a result of their race, whether based on fact or not, are damaging to police officers' morale. Further research should be undertaken to establish the reasons behind this perception, and to ascertain the extent to which this occurs.

If it is found that there are inequities in the way that work duties and resources are allocated, then this needs to be addressed both as part of senior management command and control but also in relation to management training. Improved horizontal and vertical communication throughout the organisation can prevent interpretations of deliberate discrimination in relation to access to information.

Moreover, police managers must ensure that they set the example when it comes to providing policing services to the public in an equitable manner. In particular, police management should be careful not to provide better services to wealthy individuals as opposed to those who are poor. Clear procedures for meeting with station commissioners and unit commanders should be developed to avoid a situation where it appears that police management are more likely to respond to wealthy members of the public. If members of the public do not receive the level of service from the client service centre that they feel is appropriate, they must be able to formally register complaints at the station. A service-delivery feedback system should be established at each police station and higher administrative levels (that is, area and provincial offices), not only to respond to but also to capture and analyse patterns of complaints regarding service delivery. This will make it easier for police commanders at station level to respond impartially to individuals.

Programme to tackle xenophobia in the SAPS

The research uncovered a fault-line in relation to pervasive xenophobic attitudes among police officers. While there appears to be a general awareness of the principles of the Bill of Rights in the South African constitution, it is apparent that many police officers do not believe that these principles should be extended to foreign nationals.

As long as the current situation is allowed to continue it will undermine the ability of the SAPS to fight crime as effectively as it otherwise would. Apart from potentially damaging relationships with thousands of otherwise law-abiding foreign nationals who would be willing to cooperate and support the police, relationships will be damaged with many thousands of South Africans who are arrested for looking foreign.

It is recommended that a programme to tackle xenophobia is developed and implemented throughout the SAPS, with priority given to areas where large numbers of foreigners live. This issue needs to be addressed at every level of the organisation, starting with senior management who have to demonstrate that xenophobia is unacceptable in the SAPS. Moreover, human-rights and diversity-appreciation training has to include issues relating to xenophobia. Ideally, the SAPS would recruit individuals of different nationalities living legally in South Africa to engage with relevant local migrant communities. Furthermore, the SAPS should consider exchange programmes with police officers of other countries to assist our police officers with understanding and developing constructive relationships with migrant communities.

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