

**AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WITHIN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE
WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO THE SAPS IN SOWETO**

by

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I declare that Affirmative Action within the South African Police Service with Specific Reference to the SAPS in Soweto is my own work and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference.


.....
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(Mr DT Masiloane)

2021-11-16
.....
DATE

To my wife Nthabiseng and children Mpho and Lefa

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The SAPS members who completed in the questionnaires so meticulously

Title : Affirmative Action within the South African Police Service with Specific Reference to the SAPS in Soweto

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SUMMARY

The aim of this study was to establish whether police officials in Area Soweto understand the affirmative action that is taking place within the SAPS. A literature study on affirmative action was done and a questionnaire generated. An empirical study was done by questionnaire on the transformation that has taken place within the SAPS from 1994 to 2000. The sample of 300 members was taken out of the eight identified police stations in Soweto.

It was established that police officials in Soweto do not understand affirmative action and its implementation within the SAPS in Soweto. Most of them were uncertain in their response to the questions asked.

Recommendations are made for the SAPS to teach members about affirmative action and its consequences within this organisation for affirmative action to succeed.

KEY TERMS :

Affirmative Action within the South African Police Service with Specific Reference to the SAPS in Soweto; Affirmative Action within the SAPS; SAPS Affirmative Action in Area Soweto; The Impact of Affirmative Action within the SAPS; Perceptions of Police Officials about Affirmative Action.

OPSOMMING

Die doel van hierdie studie is om te bepaal of polisiebeamptes in Area Soweto die regstellende aksie beleid in die SAPD verstaan. 'n Literatuur studie van regstellende aksie is gedoen en 'n vraelys is saamgestel. 'n Empiriese studie oor die transformasie tussen 1994 en 2000 in die SAPD, is met hulp van die vraelys gedoen. 'n Steekproef van 300 lede was geneem uit die agt geïdentifiseerde polisiestasies in Soweto.

Daar is vasgestel dat polisiebeamptes in Soweto nie verstaan wat regstellende aksie behels nie en ook dat hulle nie die implementering daarvan verstaan nie. Meeste respondente was onseker in hul antwoorde op die gestelde vrae.

Aanbevelings word aan die SAPD gedoen in verband met opleiding aan lede betreffende regstellende aksie en die gevolge daarvan binne die organisasie. Dit sal bedrae tot die implimentering van regstellende aksie binne die Suid Afrikaanse Polisie Diens.

ACRONYMS

AA	:	Affirmative Action
ANC	:	African National Congress
AZAPO	:	Azanian Peoples Organisation
BMF	:	Black Management Forum
HSRC	:	Human Science Research Council
NP	:	National Party
NOC	:	National Operations Council
OFCCP	:	Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programmes
PEP	:	Performance Enhancement Process
SAP	:	South African Police
SAPS	:	South African Police Service
UDF	:	United Democratic Front
USA	:	United States of America
ZANU(PF)	:	Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front)

DEFINITIONS OF CONCEPTS

1. **APARTHEID** : Apartheid is defined by Lipton (1986 : 14) as the hierarchical ordering of the economic, political and social structures on the basis of race. It is the institutionalisation of racial discrimination which is enforceable by law.
2. **AFFIRMATIVE ACTION** : Affirmative action is a systematic, planned process whereby the effects of colonialism and racial discrimination are being reversed in all areas of life (Qunta 1995 : 1). It is the systematic programme design to redress the previous inequalities by giving preferential treatment to previously disadvantaged people.
3. **CAPITALISM** : Capitalism is an economic system in which productive assets are predominantly privately owned and production is primarily for sale (Grossman 1974 : 37). It is an economic system whereby the means of production is in private ownership.
4. **MORALE** : Morale is a group phenomenon and reflects cumulative satisfaction of individuals in a group (Whisenand 1971 : 236). Morale is the group satisfaction about organisational goals and desire to achieve them.

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CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL ORIENTATION AND METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Democratising South Africa after 1994 resulted in both the private and the public sectors facing with the huge task of transforming their work force. In order to expedite this transformation, the government repealed the discriminatory legislation and policies such as the Black Affairs Act 23 of 1920, Black Education Act 47 of 1953, Immorality Amendment Act 21 of 1950 etc. To eventually attain the same level of education as the white scholars in South Africa, the education policies which were applicable to whites were now also made applicable to non-whites. Access to the same curricula, examinations and equipments of the same quality was brought about (White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery : (Batho Pele) 1997).

Within the South African Police Service discrimination also existed and had to be addressed. Police officials' force numbers starting with an alphabet representing the race eg. S627345-9, W627345-9 (S indicating **Swart** and W indicating **Wit**) etc were removed from Human Resource Management Records (SAPS Status Report 1996 : 26). However, when discriminatory laws are repealed, injustices and inequalities produced by the past discrimination do not simply disappear. The government

introduced legislation such as the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998, the Skills Development Act 97 of 1998 as well as White Papers to transform the public service. The White Paper on Transforming Public Service Delivery (Batho Pele) Notice 1459 of 1997 was introduced to try and address the imbalances created by apartheid, whereby whites hold senior positions and non-whites junior positions. The White Paper on Affirmative Action in the Public Service sets out the mandatory requirements and steps that National Departments and Provincial Administrations should follow to develop and implement affirmative action programmes (White Paper on AA in the Public Service. 1996-1998).

To give effect to this legislation the South African Police Service designed its affirmative action plan. It also established Training Committees at National, Provincial and Area level, to run skills audits and ensure that employees are trained (Skills Development Act 97 of 1998). Transformational workshops such as Diversity, Human Rights, Ubunye and Victim Empowerment were also introduced. It is compulsory for members of the South African Police Service to attend these workshops.

1.2 COMPILATION OF THE DISSERTATION

This dissertation is divided into twelve chapters.

Chapter One gives a general orientation and describes the manner

in which the sample was drawn. This chapter also stated the method used to collect data and the procedure to test the validity and reliability of the questionnaire.

Chapter Two traces the historical creation of inequalities in South Africa, from pre-colonial and colonial periods to the present day. It starts from Afrikaner Nationalism which is often regarded as the precedent for the present affirmative action programmes, to black resistance against white domination.

Chapter Three is an overview of affirmative action programmes in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Malaysia and the United States of America (USA). A comprehensive literature study on affirmative action in these countries was conducted. It focuses on the intended and unintended consequences of Constitutional and Legislative measures in these countries. It provides insight into a range of critical issues regarding affirmative action which South African policy makers are also faced with.

Chapter Four provides a look at different models of affirmative action, their advantages and disadvantages. It attempts to establish which model or models form the basis of the policy currently followed by the SAPS.

Chapter Five is an insight into affirmative action projects within the SAPS as well as a look at the SAPS Employment Equity Plan. In this chapter the current status of affirmative action in the SAPS is revealed as well as the action steps designed to

address the *status quo*.

Chapter Six to Eleven is the empirical study on affirmative action in the policing area of Soweto. It provides a look into police officials' perceptions on affirmative action and the way in which it affects them. These chapters reveal the advantages and disadvantages of affirmative action as perceived by these police officials. Their aspirations and expectations are also analysed.

Chapter Twelve concludes the dissertation with a discussion of the major research findings and recommendations. It focuses on participants' perceptions on the way in which the SAPS is implementing affirmative action.

In this dissertation the word 'non-white' refers to Blacks, Coloureds and Indians. The word 'Blacks' refers to Africans.

1.3 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

Affirmative action is controversial everywhere, but especially so within the SAPS. The most controversial question is whether the designated groups should get handouts, thus doing away with merits as the basis of promotion and advancement in the SAPS. The following questions need to be answered. Does affirmative action exclude white males, thus discriminating against them, and thereby shattering their promotional opportunities within the SAPS? Does it make it difficult or impossible for the SAPS

to promote competent and capable members who can add value to the effectiveness and efficiency of the organisation? Can the SAPS do away with the injustices and inequalities of the past discrimination by just repealing discriminatory laws without some interventions to redress what happened in the past? Various misconceptions about affirmative action can be attributed to either a lack of knowledge about affirmative action, or the wrong implementation of affirmative action. Research of this nature can be of considerable value in promoting the understanding of affirmative action within the South African Police Service. Especially as this research can identify negative attitudes towards affirmative action which may be eliminated by means of various corrective measures. The perceptions which police officials have about affirmative action will have an impact on job satisfaction, thus affecting the morale of all police members.

It makes academic and practical sense to conduct research on affirmative action within the South African Police Service. This must be done in order to assess the transformation that has taken place from 1994 to 2000. This research must establish whether affirmative action is redressing the imbalances created by apartheid or whether it is creating new imbalances. According to the White Paper on Human Resource Management (1997) the Public Service should be diverse, competent, capable and committed to delivering high quality service. Researching affirmative action

will cast light on whether or not this transformation is influencing the effectiveness and efficiency of the SAPS. It is hoped that the study will also stimulate further research on affirmative action in other policing areas.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The research focuses only on Soweto policing area. Area Soweto was chosen because it is a non-white area in Gauteng that has been under white police officials' management for many years, although not a single white person resides within the area. It is the only area in Gauteng where the Area Commissioner's office is situated in a non-white area compared to the other six areas which are situated in traditionally white areas. This research is intended to shed light on the expectations of the majority non-white police officials who, for the most part of their careers, have been under white management in a non-white area.

On the other hand it also highlights the frustrations experienced by white police officials who see little chance of upward mobility in the area where they have spent much time of their careers maintaining law and order. For some of them, Soweto is the only policing area in which they have worked since being employed by the SAPS.

The objectives of this research are:-

1. To investigate the theoretical roots of affirmative action.

2. To place current affirmative action programmes in proper historical context.
3. To investigate some models of affirmative action and establish which of them formed a blueprint for the SAPS affirmative action policy.
4. To study the participants' perceptions on affirmative action and make some recommendations for re-visiting affirmative action programmes in order to address the main objectives of affirmative action - should the programmes have deviated from them.
5. To analyse the impact of affirmative action on the SAPS and the individual members of the SAPS.
6. To reveal the extent to which police officials in Soweto understand the affirmative action policy of the SAPS.
7. To focus on the support members give to the affirmative action programmes that the SAPS is embarking upon.

1.5 HYPOTHESES

According to Mouton and Marais (1990 : 134) a hypothesis is a statement in which an assumed relationship or differences between two or more variables is or are postulated. In research, a clear statement of the problem and a hypothesis or hypotheses is the point of departure. Research hypotheses or null hypotheses are mainly used in research. Null hypothesis is a statement in which it is assumed that no relationship exists between the variables that are being studied. If null hypothesis

is shown to be false, the researcher can accept that there is a meaningful relationship between the variables (Mouton & Marais 1990 : 135). The hypotheses in this research are there to test certain assumptions made by the researcher.

The following seven operational hypotheses were developed to direct the research :-

Hypothesis 1

Police officials in Soweto do not understand affirmative action.

Hypothesis 2

Affirmative action has a negative effect in the functioning of the SAPS members due to uncertainty about it.

Hypothesis 3

Affirmative action is reverse discrimination.

Hypothesis 4

Affirmative action abolishes promotion on merits.

Hypothesis 5

Affirmative action lowers the standard in the South African Police Service.

Hypothesis 6

Previously disadvantaged are empowered so that they can benefit from affirmative action.

Hypothesis 7

Affirmative action policy of the SAPS does not stipulate clearly how different designated groups will benefit from it.

1.6 RESEARCH PROCEDURES

The research was based upon the known theories of affirmative action. From an empirical point of view, the research was largely based upon stratified random sampling.

A pilot study to test the questionnaire and item analysis (reliability analysis) as well as factor analysis was done to test the validity and reliability of the questionnaire. This pilot study was conducted in the West Rand area, at Kagiso and Mohlakeng police stations. These stations were chosen because they have more or less the same population groups as Soweto, where the real study was conducted, that is, predominantly black communities. Just as is the case in Soweto, these police stations have more black police officials than whites. Duty sheets were obtained from these two police stations and it contained information on the following:- Rank, Race, Service number and Type of work done by these members. This information was obtained to simplify the selection of members to whom questionnaires were to be given (Stratified random sampling).

Kagiso police station has one hundred and thirty four police officials of whom fifteen members participated in the research. Mohlakeng police station has twenty three members of whom ten members participated in the research.

Item analysis :- Item analysis is an internal validation whereby

the extent to which the composite index's relationship to the item in the index is examined (Babbie 1986 : 373).

Factor analysis : Factor analysis attempts to identify underlying variables, as factors that explain the pattern of correlations within a set of observed variables (SPSS Base 10.0 1999 : 323). Factor analysis is often used in data reduction to identify a small number of factors that explain most of the variance observed in a much larger number variables.

1.6.1 QUESTIONS THAT WERE RECTIFIED AFTER THE PILOT STUDY

After conducting the pilot study, it was necessary to change some of the questions in order to improve the validity and reliability of the questionnaire.

1. Question 10-22

Factors : 6 Factors 1:23.77 2:41.2 3:56.93 4:69.47

Item analysis : Alpha:0.7093 before the questions were taken out of the analysis. Alpha:0.7652 after the questions were taken out of the analysis. Questions 10;12;17;22 were then reviewed, as the respondents did not understand them or they were structured in a negative way.

2. Question 24-28

Factors : 2 Factors 1:43.75 2:69.87

Item analysis : Alpha:0.0873 before questions were taken out of

the analysis. Alpha:0.8170 after the questions were taken out of the analysis. The following questions were reviewed, 24;25;28 to improve them.

3. Question 29-40

Factors : 4 Factors 1:24.63 2:43.99 3:57.87 4:68.81

Item analysis : Alpha:0.5004 before the questions were taken out of the analysis. Alpha:0.7357 after the questions were taken out of the analysis. Question 29;33;34;37;38;39 were reviewed to improve them.

4. Question 41-43

Factors : 1 Factor 1:72.08

Item analysis : Alpha:0.7837 before the questions were taken out of the analysis. Alpha:0.85.70 after the questions were taken out of the analysis. Question 43 was reviewed to improve it.

5. Question 44-47

Factors : 1 Factor 1:47.39

Item analysis : Alpha:0.6052 before the questions were taken out of the analysis. Alpha:0.6324 after the questions were taken out of the analysis. Question 46 and 47 were reviewed to improve them.

6. Question 48-50

Factors : 1 Factor 1:49.08 2:85.81

Item analysis : Alpha :-0.3780 before the questions were taken out of the analysis. Alpha:0.4117 after the questions were taken out of the analysis. Question 48 was reviewed to improve it. All the questions were changed accordingly.

1.6.2 SAMPLING DESIGN

Prof DJ Stoker, an expert in sampling was contacted to draw the sample. He previously worked for the HSRC (Human Science Research Council), the University of Pretoria and is currently working for Statistics South Africa. He facilitated the whole sampling process. To get a representative sample of all the races, ranks and genders, the sampling was managed as a controlled selection problem (Barnardt & Stoker 1994 : 6).

In this sampling, the researcher identifies a number of stratification variables, breaks down a heterogeneous population allocation into relatively more homogeneous strata and then employs a sample-size allocation strategy (proportional allocation).

In this case proportional allocation would not work. There are only two per cent (2%) whites and with the sample of three hundred (300), only six (06) would be chosen and that is not representative enough.

For controlled selection the probabilities of selection for some or all preferred combinations of n out of N units, are larger

than in normal stratified random sampling. In line with that, the probabilities of selection for at least some non-preferred combinations are smaller than in stratified random sampling.

Advantages :

- Securing proper representation of the population.
- Ensure adequate sample sizes for sub-groups that are the domain of the study.
- To establish control over the variability of key variables.

Through stratification, the selection probabilities of certain combinations of n out of N , were increased, while other combinations were nullified.

The following study population was acquired : The police officials of eight identified police stations in Area Soweto, excluding the public service personnel, out of twelve Soweto police stations. The police stations on the East, West, South, North and Centre were chosen on the basis of their geographic locations - in order to avoid choosing neighbouring police stations. The other three police stations were chosen because they respectively have predominantly White (W), Coloured (C) and Asian (A) members. The biographical information of the population is reflected in the population pivot table below (Table 1).

Table 1 : Pivot table of population.

Sum of Freq		Rank						
Gender	Race	1	2	3	4	5	6	Grand Total
FEMALE	A		3	4	1			8
	B	10	81	57	4	1		153
	C			4				4
	W			1	1	1		3
FEMALE Total		10	84	66	6	2		168
MALE	A	1	15	23	11	4	1	55
	B	128	1217	300	49	7	2	1703
	C	4	32	11	4			51
	W	8	53	17	14	16	1	109
MALE Total		141	1317	351	78	27	4	1918
Grand Total		151	1401	417	84	29	4	2086

A sample of three hundred was taken out of 2086 members, see the sample below (Pivot Table 2).

Table 2 : Pivot table of the sample.

Sum of freq		Rank						
Gender	Race	1	2	3	4	5	6	Grand Total
FEMALE	A		3	3	1			7
	B	5	16	14	3	1		39
	C				3			3
	W			1	1	1		3
FEMALE Total		5	19	18	8	2		52
MALE	A	1	6	9	5	3	1	25
	B	21	88	36	13	4	2	164
	C	3	10	5	3			21
	W	4	13	7	6	7	1	38
MALE Total		29	117	57	27	14	4	248
Grand Total		34	136	75	35	16	4	300

To get the sample of three hundred, the following method was followed: The station, force number, surname, race, rank and gender of each member was recorded in an Excel spread sheet. The data was validated and frequencies computed. The data was sorted in the following way :

- Race Ascending
- Rank Descending
- Gender Ascending

One extra column namely, frequency was created in Excel and all the values in this column were combined. The population pivot table was created. See the population pivot table below.

Table 3 : Pivot table of the population.

Sum of Freq		Rank						
Gender	Race	1	2	3	4	5	6	Grand Total
FEMALE	A		3	4	1			8
	B	10	81	57	4	1		153
	C			4				4
	W			1	1	1		3
FEMALE Total		10	84	66	6	2		168
MALE	A	1	15	23	11	4	1	55
	B	128	1217	300	49	7	2	1703
	C	4	32	11	4			51
	W	8	53	17	14	16	1	109
MALE Total		141	1317	351	78	27	4	1918
Grand Total		151	1401	417	84	29	4	2086

1.6.3 THE PIVOT TABLE

To ensure that every cell (representing a combination of factor levels) is part of the sample, the cells with small frequencies

(<3) are automatically included. Pivot table 4 below explains the drawing.

Table 4 : Cells with small frequencies

Race	Rank	Gender	Freq	Cut off3	d=4	d=7	d=8	d=10	d=11	d=14	d=15	d=16	d=17	RES	n
A	6	M	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1
A	6	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
A	5	M	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		3
A	5	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
A	4	M	11	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0		5
A	4	F	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1
A	3	M	23	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	9
A	3	F	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		3
A	2	M	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0		6
A	2	F	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		3
A	1	M	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1
A	1	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
B	6	M	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		2
B	6	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
B	5	M	7	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		4
B	5	F	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		1
B	4	M	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	13
B	4	F	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		3
B	3	M	300	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	36	36
B	3	F	57	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	14	14
B	2	M	1217	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	88	88
B	2	F	81	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	16	16
B	1	M	128	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	21	21
B	1	F	10	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0		5
C	6	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
C	6	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
C	5	M	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
C	5	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
C	4	M	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		3
C	4	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
C	3	M	11	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0		5
C	3	F	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		3
C	2	M	32	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	10
C	2	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
C	1	M	4	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		3
C	1	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		0

W	6	M	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
W	6	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
W	5	M	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	7	
W	5	F	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
W	4	M	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	6	
W	4	F	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
W	3	M	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	7	
W	3	F	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	
W	2	M	53	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	13
W	2	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
W	1	M	8	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	
W	1	F	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	
Total :			2086	13	18	4	4	5	10	6	6	7	7	220	300

Every column represents a drawing with a certain percentage and every respondent is included in the first column (cut off 3). When moving through the columns from left to right the percentage respondents included becomes smaller. The sample (the last column) was then drawn randomly in each cell.

Example

1 out of 1 for A 6 M

13 out of 53 for W 2 M

The frequencies in the rest of the cells are chosen with an exponential downward effect.

Example : 3/4 5/8 11/20 20/100 50/900 etc.

The analysis was done with the weights (weighted analysis) and without the weights. See pivot table 5 below with the sample.

Table 5 : Pivot table with the sample

Sum of freq		Rank						
Gender	Race	1	2	3	4	5	6	Grand Total
FEMALE	A		3	3	1			7
	B	5	16	14	3	1		39
	C			3				3
	W			1	1	1		3
Sum of freq		Rank						Grand total
FEMALE Total		5	19	21	5	2		52
MALE	A	1	6	9	5	3	1	25
	B	21	88	36	13	4	2	164
	C	3	10	5	3			21
	W	4	13	7	6	7	1	38
MALE Total		29	117	57	27	14	4	248
Grand Total		34	136	78	32	16	4	300

1.7 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED DURING COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

The stations, force numbers, surnames, ranks, races, genders, educational qualifications and years of service of all 2086 members of these identified police stations were submitted to the research supporting personnel at the Department of Computer Services at the University Of South Africa. This was done in order to find 300 members who were to respond to the questionnaire. By the time this questionnaire was handed out, some of the selected members were transferred to other police stations, had resigned, were on suspension, were on leave, had been medically boarded due to stress, were expelled from the service or dead. In these cases people of the same ranks, genders, races, years of service and educational qualifications

were then selected by research supporting personnel at the Department of Computer Services at Unisa and given the questionnaire to complete. In the case of senior officials such as Senior Superintendents and Directors the questionnaires were handed out even if they did not work in the eight previously identified stations. This was done because there is a shortage of such officials in the identified stations.

Out of the 300 distributed questionnaires, only 268 were returned. Most respondents were uncertain about the questions put to them thereby making it difficult for the researcher to make certain deductions.

1.8 CONCLUSION

After the pilot study that was conducted in West Rand, the shortcomings in seventeen questions were discovered and rectified accordingly. The sample was managed as a controlled selection problem in order to get a representative sample of all the races, ranks and genders. In this case proportional allocation would not work as there are fewer whites than non-whites. The major problem encountered was that most the respondents were uncertain about the questions asked. This made it difficult for the researcher to make certain deductions.

CHAPTER TWO

PRECEDENTS OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN SOUTH AFRICA : A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

For the South African Police Service to understand the concept affirmative action, a historical perspective is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, it draws attention to what happened in the past, and according to Hartshorne (1992 : 20) to the fact that South Africa is presently deeply rooted in historical myths, misrepresentations, divisions and conflict. Secondly, the historical perspective reveals reasons for the actions and views of different groups in a society, thus contributing to a deeper understanding of them. Thirdly, if South Africa had experienced some sort of affirmative action in the past, what lessons can we learn from them? We need to look at how it was interpreted, implemented and received. It is also important to look at it's impact on productivity. This understanding will result in the SAPS implementing affirmative action from a more informed position, so that mistakes of the past will not be repeated.

In the South African Police Service the concept "Affirmative Action" is understood to refer to the occupational advancement of non-white police officials and white female officials. This advancement could historically be equated with the advancement of the Afrikaners

in the 1920's and after 1948, when the National Party came to power and instituted the policy of separate development which was implemented with the promulgation of apartheid legislation.

2.2 AFRIKANER NATIONALISM AND RACIAL CAPITALISM

Inequalities between non-whites and whites were institutionalised by various means. Some of the ways in which it was implemented in practice will be briefly elaborated on.

2.2.1 ECONOMIC ISSUES

Economically, discriminatory measures were put in place to prevent competition between non-whites and whites. This was done to ensure that non-whites would remain in a position where they could provide cheap labour for white farms and mines. Dr HF Verwoerd (Prime Minister and leader of the National Party) put it blatantly that the upliftment of the Afrikaner workers could only occur effectively if they were protected against non-white competition (Schrire 1991 : 5). The range of measures that were designed to empower whites at the expense of non-whites led to white supremacy - mostly in government departments. According to Schrire (1991 : 5) all senior positions in the state bureaucracy, including the courts, the military and the police, were filled by whites - mostly Afrikaners.

The inequalities forged during the colonial and early industrial

periods deepened during Afrikaner nationalism and racial capitalism. Nationalists extended the system, especially with measures such as job reservations in the mines, designed to protect white labourers from competition by non-whites. It ensured that unemployed whites were given jobs by the state or its parastatals (Schrire 1991 : 5). The wages of black workers in the mining and agricultural sector did not rise at all, while during the same period the real wages of white miners doubled (Bundy 1992 : 31).

2.2.2 EMPLOYMENT

Blacks were specifically excluded from the definition of the term "employee" in the 1956 Industrial Conciliation Act (Qunta 1995 : 12). As more and more blacks were forced off their land by the Native Land Act 27 of 1913, that stopped blacks from purchasing land, thus competing with whites. They moved into the mines and developing industries. That made blacks to be a threat to white workers, especially the unskilled ones, as whites had to compete with blacks for employment. Emsley (1996 : 87) is of the opinion that the Industrial Conciliation Act 11 of 1924 was passed to affirm whites to secure employment and advancement. The Afrikaner government focussed its energy on helping white people, at the cost of the rest of the population and also at the expense of economic growth (Emsley 1996 : 87).

2.2.3 THE MINING INDUSTRY

The Mines and Workers Act of 1911 and 1926 barred blacks from the more skilled mining jobs on the grounds of competency (Lipton 1986 : 19). In the state sector the 1924 Civilized Labour Policy protected unskilled whites from undercutting by non-whites. According to Lipton (1986 : 19) it provided that whites should be given preferential employment in unskilled jobs, at the rates of pay on the level which the European employees can maintain their standard of living. It set aside 32 types of jobs in the Transvaal and Orange Free State Mining Industries for which only whites could be recruited (Lipton 1986 : 143).

2.2.4 GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN WHITE FINANCIAL ORGANISATIONS

The "Helpmekaarfonds" which was established after the 1914 rebellion, led to the coming into being of many organisations such as Sanlam, Avbob and parastatals such as the SA Railways and Eskom. These organisations supported and applied affirmative action programmes in favour of the Afrikaners. The plain nepotism based on Afrikaner chauvinism, was strongly propagated throughout (Adams 1993 : 7). In the private sector no statutory job bar was in place during this period, however, the preference for whites was secured by other means eg. the 1925 Customs Tariff Act. According to Lipton (1986 : 19) this Act excluded firms which did not employ a reasonable proportion of

whites from the approved list for the Tender and Supplies Boards. Bunting (1969 : 388) is of the opinion that the rise of the Afrikaner in the private sector was directly attributable to the control of the Afrikaner over the State. A warning was issued to local municipalities not to employ catering firms using white women as waitresses when non-white guests were being entertained (Joyce & Suzman 1990 : 35).

2.2.5 THE PRISON SYSTEM

In police cells and jails, white prisoners were not to work with non-whites or be placed in the same cells with them. If it was possible, whites were not to be made to work in places where they would be constantly seen by the public (Standing Order 300(3) of 1951). This discriminatory system was rationalised by a belief in the inferiority of blacks, then widely held to have a biological basis (Lipton 1986 : 20).

2.2.6 SEPARATE AMENITIES

The Factories Act 22 of 1941 enforced segregation in the work place. It required separate facilities eg. toilets, canteens, etc. for different racial groups. Lipton (1986 : 149) is of the opinion that as this was costly, it discouraged employers from employing different racial groups and they usually settled for whites.

2.2.7 BLACK (BANTU) EDUCATION

Informal educational organisations such as night schools which were established to educate people, were closed down by the National Party (Castle 1996 : 98). In 1953 the National Party introduced the system of "Bantu Education" for blacks. According to Schrire (1991 : 7) blacks were subjected to this "Bantu" education system, which Verwoerd acknowledged that it was intended to educate blacks merely to the level of usefulness to the white economy. Dr Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs, explained to parliament that the previous policy of Native Education had raised false expectations amongst black children. Education was not to show blacks the green pastures of European society in which they are not allowed to graze(Harrison 1981 : 191). Bantu education was to ensure that blacks remain inferior to whites.

2.2.7.1 FUNDING

The money spent on the education of white children was much higher than that spent on black children (Schrire 1991 : 5). The government increased expenditures on whites and reduced real expenditures on blacks. According to Harker, Desai, Moloto, Power, Wilson, Ikaka, Mpotokwane & Sampson (1991 : 27) lack of adequate government funding meant that schooling was expensive for black pupils and their parents.

2.2.7.2 COMPULSORY EDUCATION

Up to the 1980's black parents were purchasing uniforms, stationary and textbooks for their children, while white pupils in state schools received stationary and textbooks free. Due to poverty some black parents could not afford the cost of uniforms and books and kept their children away from school at times. This contributed to a high drop-out rate amongst blacks. School attendance was compulsory for whites - not for non-whites. In 1967, Froneman, the Deputy Minister of Bantu Affairs, rejected compulsory education for blacks on the ground that there would not be enough jobs for them (Lipton 1986 : 33).

2.2.7.3 SYLLABI

Syllabi as well as examinations used in black schools differed from those used in schools for other races. Verwoerd stated that when he had control over native education, he would reform it so that natives will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans was not for them (Qunta 1995 : 14).

2.2.8 NON-WHITES AND TERTIARY EDUCATION

To extend racial separation to tertiary education, the government established a number of ethnic Universities, eg. University of Boputhatswana, Transkei, Venda etc, during the 1960's. According to Harker et al (1991 : 31) non-whites were

restricted to these universities where poor facilities and low teaching standards were the order of the day. Blacks were not allowed to study in white universities, except in distance education such as the University of South Africa, unless they obtained a special permission from the Minister of Education. Permission was granted only if there were no other black universities offering the desired course. Most of the black universities were under-equipped and none of them had faculties such as medicine or engineering (Qunta 1995 : 15). Taking into account the financial position of blacks in South Africa, it was impossible for most black people to send their children to universities. The university offering the desired course would very often be far from the home of that particular child, thus costs were increased. According to Qunta (1995 : 15) this policy resulted in blacks studying mostly arts related courses which were offered at these black universities. This explains the absence of black graduates in technical fields.

2.3 APARTHEID'S EFFECT ON THE OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF EMPLOYMENT

2.3.1 SPECIALIZED OCCUPATIONS

When the exclusion of persons to do certain types of work on the basis of their skin colour (job colour bar) is studied in context, it becomes evident that even if there were no formal job bar, blacks could still not have become engineers, as they

had been excluded from engineering faculties at university level (Lipton 1986 : 370). The existence of the institutionalised job bar, is evidence that the racially ordered occupational structure was not the outcome of natural economic or genetic factors. Lipton (1986 : 112) is of the opinion that it was the deliberate prevention of the occupational structure being shaped by the market forces or individual aptitudes.

2.3.2 THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE

In the South African Police the ranks and designations of the force for whites ranged from constable to the national commissioner of the South African Police who was Major-General (ie. constable; sergeant second and first class; warrant officer; Lieutenant; Captain; Major; Lieutenant-Colonel; Brigadier and Major-General). For non-whites the ranks ranged from constable-labourer to first class sergeant (ie. constable-labourer; constable and second as well as first class sergeant) (Standing Order 3(1) of 1951 : Ranks & Designations). This dispels the notion of inherent black inferiority. According to Lipton (1986 : 39) it is made even more evident by the fact that the relaxation of the job colour bar during World War II, saw blacks overtaking the bottom group of whites, thereby undermining the hierarchical racial structure.

2.3.3 RACIAL RATIOS FOR SOUTH AFRICAN RAILWAYS AND SOUTH AFRICAN MINES

According to Lipton (1986 : 37) the effect of apartheid was not to make South Africa a uniquely different society, but to shift the incidence of poverty onto blacks. This can be illustrated by the fact that between 1924 and 1933 the number of whites employed by the South African Railways rose from 4 760 to 17 783 while the number of blacks decreased from 37 564 to 22 008 (Lipton 1986 : 39). This shows that priority was not on the growing of the economy but on uplifting poor whites to attain superiority. The employment of white workers was more expensive than the employment of black workers.

Mine owners did not escape the consequences of the job colour bar which became more strongly entrenched and costly in mining than in many other sectors (Lipton 1986 : 110). These costs contributed to significant disinvestment in South African mines from 1924 to 1932 as South African based mining companies were investing abroad. The (then) Minister of Mining, Dr van Rhyn was of opinion that the people who maligned South Africa, wanted mixed schools, hotels, clubs and universities, and the government was not prepared to change its policies in return for overseas capital (Joyce & Suzman 1990 : 37).

The effect of apartheid in accounting for the virtual absence of blacks from the ranks of entrepreneurs and commercial farmers is unquantifiable (Lipton 1986 : 41). According to Lipton (1986

: 42) it is reasonable to assume that, without apartheid, many whites would have been unable to hold themselves against the top group of blacks.

2.3.4 RACIAL RATIOS FOR INDUSTRIES

Job Reservation Determination Policy No 1 of 1957 laid down complicated racial ratios for the clothing industries in different parts of the country. This was done to prevent the industry's increasing dependence on black workers. Its objective was not only to protect whites but also coloureds and Indians from being replaced by blacks. Lipton (1986 : 42) states that in the then Transvaal, 70% of the jobs were reserved for whites, the rest for coloureds. However, faced with the practical reality of the shortage of these racial groups, the reservation was gradually relaxed. The relaxation was done in a sophisticated manner so that at the end it could still benefit whites. This can be illustrated by the plea of Tom Muller, the Chairman of an Afrikaans firm called General Mining, to white miners to let the bar float upwards, allowing blacks to take routine jobs (*Kafferwerk*, as it was crudely put), so as to free whites for more specialised work (Lipton 1986 : 117).

2.3.5 APARTHEID'S EFFECT ON INCOME DISTRIBUTION

Racial income distribution became highly skewed in favour of whites. This was evident from the widespread poverty among

blacks and rising affluence among whites. Unisa's Bureau for Market Research indicates that in 1994 the per capita income for whites was about eight times that of blacks (SPA Consultants 1996 : 4). This situation was created by apartheid's distortion of labour, land and property markets. The wage gap was narrower in manufacturing and commerce, where job bar was less effectively enforced, mostly due to less expense in hiring blacks, than in gold mining where job bar was rigidly enforced, resulting in extreme wage gap between whites and non-whites. In the state sector, in accordance with the "civilized" policy, whites were paid more than blacks for the same jobs and qualifications, for example as teachers, nurses or policemen (Lipton 1986 : 43). According to Standing Order 21 (21 of 1951 : Allowances) white constables who had served for a period of not less than ten (10) years and who were awarded the "Police Good Service Medal" or "The South African Police Medal for Faithful Service" were paid a pensionable allowance of R40,00 per annum whilst Indians and Coloureds were paid R30,00 and blacks R24,00.

2.4 REFORM, RESISTANCE AND TRANSITION

2.4.1 THE NEED FOR TRAINING BLACKS

In the 1960's and early 1970's South Africa experienced an economic boom which revealed a skills shortage in technical, professional and managerial fields (Castle 1996 : 102). This led to campaigning by the private sector for the review of some

apartheid legislation and for the improvement of education and training for blacks. The demand for education and training of blacks was also emphasized by the decline in white immigration which ceased to be an alternative solution for economic boom.

2.4.2 SKILLED WORK BY BLACKS

In 1973 Prime Minister Vorster and the Minister of Finance, Nico Diederichs, announced that non-whites, including blacks would be allowed to do skilled work in white areas (Lipton 1986 : 116). This was something which was not allowed in the past. Black lawyers and doctors were denied premises in white areas. Joyce and Suzman (1990 : 35) state that Philemon Nokwe became the first black person in the Transvaal to be called to the Bar. He was advised by Dr Verwoerd to explore the possibility of obtaining office accommodation in one of the black residential areas as he could not take up chambers in His Majesty's Buildings, in Johannesburg (Joyce & Suzman 1990 : 35). The hierarchical structure which prescribed that non-whites must always work under whites was abandoned, and this led to the amendment of the military disciplinary code in 1975. The amendment gave non-white soldiers the same status as their white counterparts, henceforth whites were to take orders from, and salute senior non-white officers.

2.4.3 SHIELDING WHITES FROM DIRECT IMPACT OF BLACK ADVANCEMENT

In the initial stage of black advancement, considerable efforts were made to retain the hierarchical race structure, by retraining and uplifting white workers. Certain strategies were also used to further shield white workers from the direct impact of black advancement. Lipton (1986 : 63) states that examples of such strategies is the renaming of jobs blacks moved into and affording them lower status and pay. This was done to protect whites who were unable to move into more advanced jobs. In the South African Railways whites were ticket collectors, non-whites were ticket examiners (Lipton 1986 : 63). There was a continued effort to upgrade whites and downgrade non-whites such as establishing workshops, offices or rooms as a concerted effort to ensure that whites did not work directly under non-whites.

2.4.4 THE 1976 SOWETO RIOTS

In 1976 the Nationalist government introduced a system whereby half of the subjects in black secondary schools would be lectured in Afrikaans (Castle 1996 : 103). This sparked the 1976 Soweto riots. Amongst the grievances of 1976 was the quality and the provision of education as well as other restrictions on black people such as no freedom to organize and strike (Castle 1996 : 104).

2.4.5 HOMELANDS SYSTEM

The Nationalist government put focus on the homelands in an effort to attract blacks away from cities. Castle (1996 : 105) is of the opinion that this was done because of the government's failed attempt to abolish slums and squatter settlements in South African cities. On the other hand, the government was not willing to invest in the homelands. These homelands were never developed as envisaged. According to Castle (1996 : 105) the homeland system did not solve the problem in South Africa as unemployment and poverty also became prominent in the homelands.

2.4.6 RESISTANCE TO APARTHEID

From the mid 1980's there was a strong growth of resistance to apartheid and this was countered by massive state repression. The state responded by declaring the State of Emergency that provided for various laws such as detention without trial and section six of Terrorism Act of 1967 (Kane-Barman 1978 : 37). The Act gave police powers to arrest without a warrant of arrest any person who is a terrorist or is withholding from the police any information relating to terrorists. Kane-Barman (1978 : 37) is of the opinion that due to these laws it was difficult to be precise about the names, whereabouts, and number of people incarcerated after 16 June 1976.

This state repression brought about wide spread resistance - rallied by students' organisations, local civic associations, women's associations, church groupings etc. Many of these groups were under the political umbrella of the United Democratic Front (UDF). Resistance to Bantu Education reached a new pitch of militancy with class boycotts in 1984 and 1985 under the banner of "Liberation before Education" (Castle 1996 : 107). Children saw national liberation as a priority and normal schooling was disrupted.

South African politics changed from politics of confrontation to politics of negotiation between 1990 and 1995.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The present structural and economic systems in South Africa reflect the historical past of institutionalised discrimination. This chapter has attempted to show how South African's present imbalances were constructed historically and how measures to sustain them have taken various forms at different times.

If affirmative action is to eradicate discrimination and equalise the inequalities in South Africa, it should take cognizance of the legacy of the past and address it holistically and systematically. It should not be turned into a programme that will favour the chosen few, thus diminishing inter-racial divisions while upholding and indeed widening class divisions.

From this chapter it is clear that the advancement of people in South Africa is not a new thing, although policies and strategies associated with this advancement have changed, just as perceived beneficiaries have.

Firstly, whites have consistently monopolized the economic resources of the country as well as the acquisition of skills. They have done this through series of laws which were designed to protect whites from non-white competition. In this process the occupational hierarchy in which whites dominate the professional, managerial and skilled positions was created.

Secondly, it is clear how immensely influential the state policy was in entrenching inequalities between non-whites and whites and in removing or narrowing inequalities among whites. Afrikaners were transformed from poor, incompetent people to skilled workers and managers with a major stake in South African's mining, financial and industrial enterprises. Given the history of institutionalised inequalities, it was inevitable that legislation would be needed to counter-balance its effects.

Finally, given the historical legacy of discrimination against non-whites, it becomes clear that the mere removal of obstacles in their path will be insufficient. A comprehensive injection into their education and training is vital.

CHAPTER THREE

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN DEVELOPING AND DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa, as a country emerging from decades of colonial and apartheid rule, has much to do in order to redress the inequalities created by the past dispensation. In South Africa racial discrimination affected the vast majority of people, unlike in the United States of America (USA) where it affected the minority. One of the advantages of beginning to redress the inequalities after many other countries have gone through similar processes, is to learn from their past mistakes and successes.

The aim of this chapter is to provide a picture of various affirmative action policies and strategies. Firstly this chapter will deal with three developing countries, namely, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Malaysia, and lastly with a developed country namely, the United States of America (USA). Affirmative action policies in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Malaysia were designed to advance racial and ethnic majorities, which were historically disadvantaged. In the USA it was designed to advance the historically disadvantaged minorities. Zimbabwe and Namibia were selected for study because of their geographical proximity to South Africa, and the many similarities of the three countries,

such as colonial history and political economies. Malaysia was chosen because it is still a developing country like South Africa. USA was chosen due to its contrast with South Africa as they were empowering the minority. Also, there is an African component of the population namely, African Americans who have traditionally suffered from racial discrimination. The review of affirmative action in these countries will enable South Africa to be in an informed position regarding affirmative action.

3.2 THE ZIMBABWEAN EXPERIENCE

3.2.1 GENERAL ORIENTATION

In Zimbabwe, racial discrimination was entrenched in a range of statutory provisions. The Masters and Servants Act of 1902, the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 and the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1934 are some of them (Castle 1996 : 114). This legislation brought huge disparities between non-white and white Zimbabweans in terms of income, employment and ownership. As in South Africa, non-whites were also excluded from education and training. This created difficulties for them to advance occupationally, in both the public and the private sectors. According to Hofmeyr and Whata (1991 : 14) a high level of unemployment amongst non-white people in Zimbabwe was a structural feature of the pre-independence economy.

3.2.2 PRIVATE SECTOR

When Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front) ZANU (PF) came to power in 1980, one of its priorities was to redress decades of racial discrimination and to enhance the power and advancement of black people. The Public Service Commission (the body that was responsible for appointments and promotions in the public sector) received a Presidential directive to promote the rapid acceleration of non-whites in the public service (Castle 1996 : 115). The government wanted a balanced representation of the population composition of Zimbabwe in the public sector. This move led to huge voluntary resignations, emigration and movement to the private sector by whites. According to Bennell and Strachan (1992 : 26) whites at that time occupied 90% of senior and middle management positions.

3.2.3 CIVIL SERVICE

In filling the vacated posts, preference was given to suitably qualified blacks. Consequently 1989 saw 95 per cent of the top 300 public sector posts filled by blacks (Charlton & van Niekerk 1994 : 43). Castle (1996 : 116) is of the opinion that the empowerment of non-whites led to the growth in size of the civil service from 40 000 in 1980 to 90 000 in 1989. This growth adversely affected the economy, effectiveness and efficiency of the civil service. Charlton and van Niekerk (1994

: 43) state that no explicit policy of affirmative action was introduced in Zimbabwe for the private sector (perhaps because of fear of capital and skills flight), although dramatic changes have occurred in the public sector. It was hoped that the private sector would voluntarily follow the example set by the government of Zimbabwe.

3.2.4 LEGISLATION

The Zimbabwean government relied on policies rather than preferential legislation to eliminate discrimination against non-whites. Examples of such measures were the Labour Relations Act of 1985 (Castle 1996 : 118). It gave the Ministers of Labour, Manpower, Planning and Social Welfare the power to investigate discriminatory practices in the private sector. Even in the absence of preferential legislation, progress in the private sector was significant. Bennell and Strachan (1992 : 29) state that government statistics indicate that the number of non-white Zimbabweans in professional, technical, administrative and managerial posts increased eight-fold between 1980 and 1987.

3.2.5 LESSONS FOR SOUTH AFRICA

Many lessons can be learned from Zimbabwe's experience of affirmative action. As in Zimbabwe at Independence, the new government of South Africa has to develop and advance non-

whites. As in Zimbabwe, both legislation and social practise have to change to ensure the equality of access to education, training and development. These two factors are long term goals, which in the short and medium term, may be assisted by affirmative action strategies. The Zimbabwean experience also shows that although legislation such as the Labour Relations Act 16 of 1985, which outlaws discriminatory recruitment and promotion is useful, such legislation on its own is insufficient.

3.2.5.1 EMANCIPATION OF NON-WHITE ELITE

A more effective way of countering racism, sexism and nepotism at all levels in the public and private sector is essential. It also became evident from Zimbabwe's experience that affirmative action policies tend to favour the already privileged sectors of the society, thus leading to the emancipation of non-white elite. Nzimande and Sikhosana (1996 : 221) are of the opinion that it will not be sufficient to continue criticising the real problem of continued white dominance of the economy if the major benefactors of this political pressure are small sections of the non-white elite.

3.2.5.2 THE RISE OF CIVIL SERVANTS

Job fragmentation does promote non-white occupational advancement in the public sector, but it is costly as it leads

to the rapid growth in numbers of civil servants. It is clear that affirmative action must be accompanied by structural reform of the civil service. Bennell and Strachan (1992 : 37) are of the opinion that South Africa has a complicated legacy of inflated homelands and Provincial administrations, alongside a public service which has traditionally offered preferential employment to Afrikaners with allegiance to the National Party. What complicates the matter further in South Africa is an agreement made between the National Party and the ANC in 1993 that the jobs of all civil servants would be protected for a period of five years (Castle 1996 : 123).

In South Africa, unlike in Zimbabwe, it is doubtful that Afrikaners in the public service will relinquish their positions as readily as white Zimbabweans did. The threat of unemployment once they relinquish their positions is far too imminent. The private sector is not in the position to offer them employment and emigration is not such an easy option to take as was the case in Zimbabwe. The Zimbabwean tendency to place recruits in soft jobs (communication, human resource etc.) rather than in real responsible positions where they will have a say in the running of companies, is mirrored in South Africa.

3.2.5.3 RACIAL AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

In Zimbabwe there was little or no pressure on the white private sector to accommodate racial or cultural diversity, as it is

increasingly the case in South Africa (Castle 1996 : 124). Instead in Zimbabwe as is the case in South Africa, there is mounting pressure from non-whites for government policy to facilitate non-white business ownership and development. In Zimbabwe there was rapid non-white advancement because most Zimbabweans had been trained and worked overseas during the liberation struggle, and the quality of education of those who had access to it, was high. Castle (1996 : 124) is of the opinion that a high standard of education is absolutely vital to provide the base for on-the-job training and acquisition of valuable experience. The presence of such a high standard of education is questionable in South Africa, taking into account the longstanding crisis in black education.

This could lead to South Africa relying on South Africans who qualified abroad and other qualified expatriates. Ultimately it could lead to a dissatisfactory situation to most South Africans.

South Africa can learn from Zimbabwe that if people feel the government is not doing enough in addressing the inequalities. They tend to take the law into their own hands and violently take back what they feel is rightfully theirs. Zimbabwe land invasion which was mirrored by Bredell land invasion in South Africa is a good example of this. Land claimants in South Africa just like in Zimbabwe are of the opinion that the process of land restitution is very slow. South African Land Claim Commission was told by elderly claimants that the process of compensation was too slow and they (claimants) fear that they will miss out on government payouts (Sowetan 30 July 2001).

3.3 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN NAMIBIA

3.3.1 GENERAL ORIENTATION

Namibia's experience of colonial occupation goes back to 1884, when the territory was known as the German Protectorate of South West Africa. In 1919 Germany renounced its colonial rights and Namibia became a British mandate under the League of Nations, then it was transferred to the United Nations. The British government delegated its mandate to the Union of South Africa. Although the mandate was terminated by the United Nations in 1966, South Africa continued to occupy and effectively rule Namibia until 1990 (Castle 1996 : 125).

As with Zimbabwe at independence, the human resource of Namibia was characterised by the dominance of white males in decision making and skilled posts. Castle (1996 : 126) states that other similarities with Zimbabwe and indeed South Africa are the relative affluence of the colonisers, poverty of the indigenous population and wide spread unemployment, as well as skewed allocation of resources. During the colonial period, separate education systems were established for white children and for the children of non-white people. Christian National Education, which reinforced racial segregation and domination by whites, became the official education policy in Namibia after the National Party took government in 1948 (Castle 1996 : 126). Bantu education was introduced in Namibia from 1955.

3.3.2 ADDRESSING THE IMBALANCES

After independence in 1990, the Namibian parliament was authorized to implement policies and programmes aimed at redressing social, economical and educational imbalances in Namibian society. In Namibia inadequate education and poor living conditions are recognised criteria for affirmative action. It is acknowledged that not all people earn the right to assistance on the basis of their skin colour. Du Pisani (1993 : 30) characterizes this constitutional provision as both a relatively narrow and comprehensive, state-sanctioned understanding of affirmative action.

The affirmative action policy in Namibia mandates preferential recruitment and the promotion of suitably qualified non-whites, to ensure their equitable representation in various positions of employment. Employers are forced to meet the staffing targets - unless it is impossible to find qualified personnel in these groups (Charlton & van Niekerk 1994 : 42). According to Charlton & van Niekerk (1994 : 42) an Independent Employment Equity Commission has been assigned to investigate complaints of discriminatory practices in employment and to advice employers concerning the implementation of affirmative action programmes. The government has indicated its willingness to attend to the issue of women's rights and advancement, by establishing a Department of Women's Affairs in the office of the President (Castle 1996 : 130).

3.3.3 CIVIL SERVICE

At independence in 1990 the white civil servants in Namibia were guaranteed security of tenure, in the interest of peace and reconciliation. The intake of non-whites in the civil service increased the number of civil servants in Namibia and resulted in the state being the largest employer in the country (Castle 1996 : 130).

Castle (1996 : 130) is of the opinion that many jobs in the public sector which were earmarked for Namibians of black descent tend to be occupied by coloured people, privileged by their higher standard of education. The private sector, on the other hand, has not taken on many of the young black matriculants, graduates and artisans returning from exile. Swanepoel (1992 : 24) points out how important it is for Namibian employers not to design and implement affirmative programmes, but to formulate total employment strategies which will simultaneously create and distribute wealth.

3.3.4 COMPARISON BETWEEN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA

South Africa is well placed to benefit from Namibia's experience of affirmative action. Both countries have the same legacy of apartheid eg. both countries denied blacks advancement, education and training. According to Castle (1996 : 131) transformation in Namibia depends strongly on government

subsidies, state assisted job creation programmes and employment quotas. Under the scheme proposed by the Namibian government, employers will be forced to meet the staffing targets unless it is impossible to find qualified personnel in designated groups (Charlton & van Niekerk 1994 : 42).

3.3.4.1 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL BURDENS

In South Africa, the economic and social burdens of transformation is not the sole responsibility of government. Both the government and the private sector play an important role in co-operative arrangement (Castle 1996 : 131). In both countries there is pressure on politicians to employ people who fought apartheid in the public service. This is due to lack of employment and because the public service is still mainly staffed by former oppressors. For the sake of reconciliation both countries protected the incumbents in the public service posts for lengthy periods of time. This led to an increase in the number of public servants because new people had to be employed. Castle (1996 : 131) states that it caused these countries to have a dual civil service, consisting of the hold overs from the old regime and newcomers who share the new leadership's ideology.

3.3.4.2 RESISTANCE TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

White resistance to affirmative action is not overt in Namibia. Castle (1996 : 132) is of the opinion that in South Africa white resentment to affirmative action is considerable, especially in the public sector and parastatals where their domination is prevalent. Namibia's affirmative action policy declares a need to recruit and promote employees on the basis of their qualifications and skills (Castle 1996 : 132). In South Africa we have a more defined and principled strategy which place the emphasize on competency and experience. Namibia, like South Africa, can draw on experiences of other African countries such as Zimbabwe and Malaysia which achieved independence in the last three decades.

3.4 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN MALAYSIA

3.4.1 GENERAL ORIENTATION

In Malaysia affirmative action is defined in ethnic rather than racial or gender terms. Statutory affirmative action policies favour the Malaysians. They constitute the majority in the population of 17 million which comprises of the Malaysians themselves, Chinese and Indians (Castle 1996 : 133). At independence in 1957, a small aristocratic Malaysian elite controlled the political sphere and the bureaucracy whilst the majority of Malaysians were poor. The Chinese who were

concentrated in the urban areas, as compared to the Malaysians who lived mostly in rural areas, constituted a wealthy merchant and trader class. Indians on the other hand, contributed to and benefited from the prosperous colonial economy, and enjoyed a measure of control over trade, commerce and finance (Castle 1996 : 133). The Malaysian elite was co-opted as a buffer between the colonial government and the people while the Chinese leaders were used to keep order in the Chinese community.

There were many measures put in place by the British, such as the land reservation system which prevented non-Malaysians from acquiring land in the reserved areas. This was apparently done to protect the Malaysians from competition with other ethnic groups. Yet, even this preferential treatment had not been effective enough to bring the Malaysians into the modern sector economy. According to Castle (1996 : 135) their position and culture was gradually eroded by alien and materialistic forces.

By the 1940's they had effectively lost control of their country, except in ceremonial matters. During independence an agreement was reached between political parties representing Malaysia's major ethnic groups. The agreement entailed the relaxation of the citizenship requirements and the safeguarding of Chinese economic interests, in exchange for Malaysians being granted political paramountcy in society. Castle (1996 : 136) stated that in Malaysia the group targeted for affirmative action was also the group with the most political power.

3.4.2 THE RIOTS

In the framing of the new Malaysian Constitution, a "sunset" clause which was to be reviewed after 15 years, was introduced. But this review was never done as civil riots broke out in 1969, three years before the review time of 1972 (Castle 1996 : 136). Hundreds of people were killed during these riots.

The following political and economic factors played a part in sparking the 1969 riots, namely:- the rise of unemployment, the Chinese's easy access to citizenship (increasing their political strength which threatened the Malaysians' political hegemony), and the resistance by the Chinese to the imposition of Malay as the only official language. At university level lectures were presented in the Malay tongue. Permission was refused to the Chinese community when they attempted to set up their own Chinese language University (Emsley 1996 : 40).

Following the riots, the parliament was suspended and the country was ruled by the National Operations Council (NOC), the executive of the ruling party. This young generation of Malay leaders brought about a high interventionist role in the economy, to accelerate the transfer of wealth to Malaysians and prevent the erosion of their political power by the Chinese. An attempt was made to uplift the Malaysians in all spheres of life and the constitution was amended to ban public debates on sensitive issues such as language, citizenship and special

provisions favouring Malaysians. Thompson (1993 : 39) states that it is an offence under the Sedition Act to discuss any form of amendment to the positive discrimination provisions of the constitution. The Malays affirmative action policy mostly benefited the middle and upper class. It increased the income disparities within the Malay community more than within any other ethnic group. Plaut (1992 : 22) states that many businesses continued to be controlled by Chinese or Indian owners operating through nominee companies owned by Malaysian front men.

3.4.3 LESSONS FOR SOUTH AFRICA

There are valuable lessons for South Africa in Malaysia's experience of affirmative action. Four of the most important lessons will be elaborated on: Firstly, it is clear that if people are subjected to dominance and their interests are not taken into account, they can sabotage the programmes which exclude them and they will revolt against the system. Affirmative action which is based on racial or ethnic identity and compensatory discrimination is counter productive. It does not promote harmonious race relations but encourages racial xenophobia (hatred of another race). According to Plaut (1992 : 43) there is no certain way of ingraining prejudice than using a system that allocates jobs and other benefits on the basis of skin colour.

Secondly, the Malaysian experience shows that affirmative action tends to benefit the people who already have something, rather than the disadvantaged. This is mainly because the target group does not have the necessary skills and education for them to be placed in higher positions.

Thirdly, it shows that once people have benefited from certain programmes eg. affirmative action, it is extremely difficult to eliminate these programmes. People tend to protect them at all costs even if the programme's objectives have been reached, or they happen not to serve their purpose.

Fourthly, it can be seen that growth and structural change in the economy are important factors in reducing poverty. Although government intervention in the economy does help in reducing poverty, such intervention requires lot of money.

3.5 THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

3.5.1 GENERAL ORIENTATION

In America the African-Americans have suffered through racial discrimination, unfair practices and prejudice (Qunta 1995 : 29). Qunta states that measures to eradicate discrimination in employment on the basis of gender or race were stipulated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and 1991. The Office of Federal Contract Compliance Programmes (OFCCP) was established in 1965. It required compliance with all government rules on

discrimination against minorities and women. Qunta (1995 : 30) states that its aim was to ensure that the number of African-Americans and female staff members in a company, is in direct proportion to the number of staff available in the total workforce. This compelled companies to ensure that their staff complexion reflects the population figures at large, although no quotas were set by this office. According to Ramphele (1995 : 1) the American dream was, and still is, not to transform the system but to gain access to it and share in the dream.

The Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, which monitors and enforces compliance with the government guidelines, was also formed (Qunta 1995 : 30). The Commission has the right to prosecute any private or public company which employs more than fifteen people and does not follow a fair employment policy, with regard to employing racial or ethnic minorities. Charlton and van Niekerk (1994 : 39) are of the opinion that all these programmes did not have a significant impact in advancing the African-Americans, especially the poor, as there were still people in America who found themselves in a cycle of poverty.

The USA has shown that affirmative action on its own cannot make the difference in societies with deep divisions, but when it is used in conjunction with other programmes which deals with broad social problems, eg. health, education, literacy, unemployment, and the combatting of violence, it can be effective (Charlton & van Niekerk 1994 : 38). In America there are no racial quotas

but organisations must meet goals that are reasonably flexible, taking into account quality and merit. According to Charlton and van Niekerk (1994 : 38) quotas are only imposed on those organisations that are found by the judicial or administrative agency to be guilty of discrimination. The private sector has many initiatives to address inequalities but the criticism is that affirmative action tends to focus on the selected few, rather than focussing generally on the target group. This is mainly because the poor do not have the minimum qualifications and experience to take advantage of the opportunities that present themselves.

3.5.2 LESSONS FROM AMERICA

There are also valuable lessons for South Africa in the American experience. Firstly, it could be seen from the USA experience that legislation and regulations are important to compel companies to implement affirmative action programmes. Affirmative action is too important to be left to the will of companies' directors.

Secondly, it is clear that affirmative action on its own is incapable of changing inequalities and bringing about the desired situation. For it to be effective it has to be supported by other developmental programmes.

Thirdly, it once again shows that affirmative action tend to benefit the "haves" rather than the "have nots" because the "haves" are better equipped to take advantage of opportunities that arise.

3.6 CONCLUSION

In Zimbabwe, Namibia and Malaysia majority groups wielded political power but they were weak economically. Deeply rooted demarcations such as class structures, political organisations, and economic activities permeate society in all three countries. The legitimacy of leaders in these three countries depends on the way in which they deal with challenges presented by social and political factors. Malaysia's riots, in which hundreds were killed, provided an example of how people react when their interests are threatened in favour of other groups.

Affirmative action contributed favourably to redistribution of wealth and status amongst racial groups in Malaysia, Zimbabwe and USA. But it failed to address inequalities within groups, and this led to the emergence of elite groups. With respect to reconstruction and development, affirmative action strategies appear to function best when they provide many inter-related avenues for advancement, as it is seen from Malaysia and USA. In these two countries, affirmative action was used in conjunction with other programmes such as health, education etc unlike

in Zimbabwe where affirmative action is limited to the public service.

CHAPTER FOUR

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION MODELS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The guidelines in the SAPS affirmative action policy document does not prescribe a set of steps to be imposed on the organisation. It promotes the notion that affirmative action is a long term strategic process, that intersects human and organizational development (AA policy for SAPS 1997). Therefore it requires a careful consideration of the organisational history, context and resources. Organisations embarking on affirmative action have used different models to varying degrees of success (Industrial Relations & Law II : 10). Wide spread understanding and acceptance of affirmative action will be brought about by an unambiguous and clearly formulated policy. This will include participative planning, decision-making and monitoring of the programme, especially with representatives of the previously disadvantaged groups.

4.2 THE CHOICE OF THE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION MODEL

Firstly, it is important that the organisation examines and identifies its attitude towards affirmative action. This plays an important part in the model that will be chosen and the product that will be brought about by that model. Senior management, line managers and supervisors should be drawn into

the process of identifying, selecting and supporting any affirmative action model that will advance the target group (Wingrove 1993 : 80). Although the choice of the model is largely influenced by the infrastructure and culture of the organisation, the most important factor is whether the chosen model will bring about the desired results. Charlton and van Niekerk (1994 : 89) state that without a clear plan and a solid base, the best conceived system is bound to fail.

Different affirmative action models as well as their advantages and disadvantages are discussed below. This enables us to look at the best model or models that could be used by the SAPS to implement affirmative action smoothly.

4.3 THE ASSIMILATION MODEL

The assimilation model creates an environment where the previously disadvantaged has to compete on an equal basis with the previously advantaged. It ignores the fact that the previously disadvantaged will not have the same knowledge and skills as their counterparts, because of their background. All employment decisions are made solely on the basis of merit, thus factors such as race, colour and gender will play no role in recruitment or promotions (Wingrove 1993 : 74).

This model does not provide real intervention as it assumes that allowing persons equal opportunities will be sufficient to bring

about affirmative action. This model implies that in a highly competitive labour market, the market should, in the long term, eradicate discrimination.

The fundamental criticism is that the process is very slow. In the past, developing skills essentially meant sending white police officials to training courses as they were regarded to be the indispensable resource of the SAP (Industrial Relations & Law II : 11). This created a vast backlog with regard to the training and development of non-white police officials within the SAPS. The viability of this model becomes highly questionable (Industrial Relations & Law II : 11).

4.4 THE DISPLACEMENT MODEL

The displacement model changes the organisation to be in line with the broad changes happening in a country. This, in South African context, means changing the SAPS to reflect the demographics of South African society, and thus being in line with changes happening both in social and political spheres. In this transformation from minority to the majority, non-white police officials gain more prominence in positions of power. They will increasingly fill senior positions within the SAPS, displacing whites in the process. Wingrove (1993 : 75) mentioned that the driving force behind this affirmative action model is the social and political developments in a country.

4.5 THE JOB INSERTION MODEL

The job insertion model narrows the gap between white and non-white job categories. It inserts between the upper limits of the non-white job hierarchy and the lower limits of the white job hierarchy, further job categories. It does not really create one organisational culture. The motivation behind this is to reduce the distance between white and non-white job categories (Wingrove 1993 : 75).

4.6 THE SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT MODEL

In this model specific divisions are earmarked for affirmative action, where its beneficiaries (mainly non-whites and women) can develop away from the mainstream. The aim is to reintegrate them after their development so that the effectiveness of the organisation is not minimised during their learning process. Non-whites will be free from intimidation and animosity, and whites will feel less threatened by affirmative action. Wingrove (1993 : 76) refers to these divisions as hot houses or nurseries in which non-whites can develop away from the mainstream until they are ready to be integrated. An organisation must utilize its current resources and not have a separate infrastructure or programmes for non-white incumbents only, as that will lead to stigmatization and accusation of reverse discrimination from white employees (Zelnick 1996 : 98).

The main argument against this model is that it cannot adequately prepare the target group for the realities of the workplace namely covert racism, discrimination and intense competition. Taking the history of the SAPS and South Africa as a whole into consideration, this model can easily be perceived as another form of discrimination. It will also not adequately prepare these police officials to the realities of the work place as police officials only develop sufficiently in a real practical environment. The chairperson of Black Management Forum's Johannesburg branch, Mr Bonang Mohale, states that racist and sexist cultures as well as attitudes seeking to assimilate black managers into alien cultures rather than genuine integration, persist in companies (Black Leader 1994 : 22).

4.7 THE ORGANIC GROWTH MODEL

This model does not force affirmative action, but facilitates it by developing the human resources of an organisation by their own free will, irrespective of race or gender. It puts in place support structures as well as creating a conducive climate in an attempt to promote affirmative action. According to Wingrove (1993 : 78) the important focus area is communication, to ensure that conflict or misunderstandings are avoided.

4.8 CONCLUSION

Various models of affirmative action provide different ways of implementing it. The success of an organisation in implementing affirmative action depends largely on the type of model chosen by the organisation. As organisations differ, the success of the chosen model will also be determined by the organisational culture and structures.

The seriousness and the pace in which the organisation wants to implement affirmative action are important factors in the choice of the model to be used. Currently it seems as if the approach of the SAPS towards affirmative action is more of an integrated model ie. combination of assimilation, displacement and organic growth models.

CHAPTER FIVE

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION PROJECTS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The goal of the below mentioned projects is to develop an affirmative action implementation programme, that will be used to achieve targets stipulated in the affirmative action policy document. The affirmative action policy document states that the South African Police Service shall strive to attain a minimum of fifty (50) per cent non-white people at management levels by the year 2000 (AA policy for SAPS 1997). During that period women should comprise at least thirty (30) per cent at middle and senior management levels. Within ten years, people with disabilities should comprise at least two per cent of the SAPS. The personnel composition at management level as on 31 May 2000 was 78% white and 22% non-white (SAPS Employment Equity Plan 2000 : 8). The police service should strive to attain representivity which reflects the population distribution, based upon the 1996 National Population Census by the year 2005 (AA policy for SAPS 1997).

5.2 NUMERICAL TARGETS FOR THE SAPS EMPLOYMENT EQUITY PLAN

Since 1995 the SAPS has taken a down scaling exercise which resulted in the SAPS being reduced from 123 055 to 119 916 personnel (SAPS Workplace Skills Plan 2000 : 3). During the

past twelve months of reporting (June 1999 - June 2000), the executing authority of the SAPS set an interim target of 50/50 (50% designated and 50% non-designated groups) for all levels of management as a starting point. According to the SAPS Employment Equity Plan (2000 : 8) in the recruitment drive during the reporting period (31 May 2000), the non-designated groups comprised 13% as opposed to 87% from designated groups. The majority of those to whom severance packages were granted during the reporting period, were from the non-designated group and the designated groups were not extensively affected by this exercise (SAPS Employment Equity Plan 2000 : 8). Table 6 shows the status of the South African Police Service personnel composition as on 31 May 2000.

Table 6 : Composition of SAPS personnel.

	WHITE		INDIAN		COLOURED		BLACK			
TOTAL	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Total	%
Salary level 15-16	9	1	2	1	1	0	7	0	21	0.02
%	43	4.8	9.5	4.8	4.8	0	33.3	0		
Salary level 13-14	235	26	23	4	23	3	126	6	446	0.36
%	53	5.8	5.2	0.9	5.2	0.7	28.3	1.3		
Salary level 11-12	523	80	46	4	42	6	156	25	882	0.71
%	59	9.1	5.2	0.5	4.8	0.7	17.7	2.8		
Salary level 9-10	1355	271	95	12	35	2	291	21	2082	1.67
%	65	13	4.6	0.6	1.7	0.1	14	1		

Salary level 7-8	12056	3978	1694	315	2378	410	13882	1907	36620	29.31
%	33	10.9	4.6	0.9	6.5	1.1	37.9	5.2		
Salary level 3-6	9149	8336	1612	604	4828	1326	42644	5350	73849	59.11
%	12	11.3	2.2	0.8	6.5	1.8	57.7	7.2		
Salary level 1-2	144	136	58	25	763	596	4706	4535	10963	878
%	1.3	1.2	0.5	0.2	7	5.4	42.9	41.4		
Total	23500	12828	3532	965	8070	2343	61847	11844	124929	100
%	18.81	10.27	2.83	0.77	6.46	1.88	49.5	9.48		

The SAPS management have set targets for the SAPS Employment Equity Plan spanning the period from 1 June 2000 to 31 December 2004.

Table 7 indicates the overall targets for SAPS at management level and table 8 indicates the overall targets at other levels.

Table 7 : Targets of SAPS management from 2000 to 2004.

	Year 2000	Year 2001	Year 2002	Year 2003	Year 2004
Designated Groups	50%	60%	70%	Realign to Provincial /National Demographics and Maintenance	
Non-Designated Groups	50%	40%	30%	Realign to Provincial/National Demographics and Maintenance	

Table 8 : Targets of SAPS at other levels from 2000 to 2004

	Year 2000	Year 2001	Year 2002	Year 2003	Year 2004
Designated Groups	60%	70%	Maintenance	Realign to Provincial / National Demographics and Maintenance	
Non-Designated Groups	40%	30%	Maintenance	Realign to Provincial / National Demographics and Maintenance	

Recruitment at all levels for the duration of the plan is reflected in tables 9.

Table 9 : Recruitment for the duration of the Employment Equity Plan.

	Percentage	Duration
Male	70%	2000 - 2004
Female	30%	2000 - 2004
Designated Group	70%	2000 - 2004
Non-Designated Group	30%	2000 - 2004
Disable People	2%	2000 -2010

Designated Groups are defined as non-white people (Blacks, Coloureds and Indians), women of all races and people of all races with disabilities (SAPS Employment Equity Plan 2000 : 10).

5.3 PROJECTS FOR ACHIEVING REPRESENTIVITY

5.3.1 FAST TRACK PROMOTION

The Fast Track Promotion Scheme aims to bring about promotion opportunities to historically disadvantaged persons with proven abilities in the South African Police Service. This is done to achieve the target set in the affirmative action policy document by the year 2000 (SAPS Accelerated Development 1999 : Ref 45/26/2 (80)). It entails the promotion of constables and sergeants to Inspectors as well as equivalent civilian ranks, who have shown the capability to function independently at senior level. By the end of November 2000, 219 members had been promoted in Soweto Area through this Fast Track Promotion project.

5.3.2 ACCELERATED DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

The Accelerated Development Programme will ensure that the South African Police Service develops a competent management core, arising from historically disadvantaged persons in order to achieve the affirmative action target for the year 2000. This includes placing the individual managers with relevant potential in training programmes. This is done to enhance their competencies and strengthen their chances to compete equally for senior positions (SAPS Accelerated Development 1999 : Ref 45/26/2 (80)). This project in Soweto is targeting 678 Inspectors and equivalent civilian ranks as entry level managers. It is also

targeting one hundred and eighty seven (187) Captains to Superintendents and equivalent civilian ranks as supervising managers. At the same time it is targeting eleven (11) Senior Superintendents or equivalent civilian ranks as emerging leaders and managers.

5.3.3 SUCCESSION PLAN

The Succession Plan exposes historically disadvantaged managers to senior and top management environment, to achieve representivity, effectiveness and continuity. This project identifies the future leaders of the service so as to continue with long-term strategic direction of the organisation. These people will succeed the present managers after successful completion of the mentoring programmes, should the opportunity arise. The project focuses on Assistant Commissioners or Chief Directors and above (SAPS Accelerated Development 1999 : Ref 45/26/2(80)).

5.3.4 PREFERENTIAL AND AFFIRMATIVE TRAINING

The Preferential and Affirmative Training project improves literacy, technical skills and knowledge levels of historically disadvantaged persons, to enable them to function effectively in the SAPS. The project entails placing of individuals in training programmes, which will aid them to do their present tasks more efficiently and equip them with relevant skills. The focus here

is on constables to Inspectors, labourers, messengers to senior clerks or equivalent civilian ranks (SAPS Accelerated Development 1999 : Ref 45/26/2 (80)).

5.3.5 SHADOW POSTING

Shadow Posting places identified historically disadvantaged persons as understudies to incumbents in management posts. It enables these members to acquire management experience and expertise in order to fill a post and promote representivity and continuity. The focus is on management positions. The individuals with potential will through coaching and mentoring, be placed in a position that will facilitate accelerated growth and development. Later the individual will be offered the opportunity to take over the position (SAPS Accelerated Development 1999 : Ref 45/26/2(80)). It is targeted at all management positions.

5.3.6 LATERAL ENTRIES

Lateral entries aims to address the limited internal human resource based capacity, in order to attain the affirmative action targets by ensuring effective service delivery (SAPS Accelerated Development 1999 : Ref 45/26/2(80)). This entails the recruitment of persons with special skills, education and expertise (which does not exist yet in the SAPS), in order to also address affirmative action.

5.3.7 EMERGING LEADER PROGRAMME

Emerging Leader Programme was presented as a pilot project. It is envisaged that its implementation will address one of the focus areas of affirmative action programmes. This pilot project trained 300 members and most of them were the previously disadvantaged managers, with the ranks of Captain to Senior Superintendent and equivalent civilian ranks. Previously disadvantaged are blacks, coloureds, Indians, white females and disabled employees (AA policy for SAPS 1997). These 300 selected members who applied were granted an opportunity to attend the leadership programme at the Kagiso Leadership School. The Emerging Leader Programme was presented in seven modules over a period of twelve months (SAPS Accelerated Development 1999 : Ref 45/26/2(80)). The direct managers of the employees who were selected were expected to support them. They underwent a training programme that equipped them to support the learners. Learners were away from their workplace for ten days at the most, over a period of twelve months. The programme was presented as close as possible to the learners' workplaces. 278 successfully completed the programme whilst 28 were unsuccessful.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Fast track promotion brought about the promotion of 219 constables and sergeants of all races in Soweto by the end of November 2000. Taking into account that there is currently no promotion policy in the SAPS to complement fast track promotion, in terms of facilitating the promotion of the previously disadvantaged at that level. What the SAPS has achieved through fast track promotion, although it did not only focus on the previously disadvantaged as its target group is commendable. For the fast track promotion policy to be more focussed, it shall have to be complemented by a detailed, more radical promotion policy. This must be done in a way that ensures acceleration in the advancement of the previously disadvantaged, whilst not entirely shattering the advancement dreams of the previously advantaged group, thereby completely demotivating them.

There is no visible evidence that the SAPS did embark on Accelerated Development Programme. This makes it difficult to assess the failures or successes of the programme.

The emerging leader programme stretched for twelve months and only 272 successfully completed it and 28 were unsuccessful. Taking into account the number of members who are accommodated in the session and those who successfully completes it, it becomes quite evident that the SAPS is doing too little too late.

The programme states that the selected learners' managers shall undergo a training programme, so that they could be able to support the learner. This is rather unrealistic. Some of these managers are from the previously advantaged group, and they might be against affirmative action **per se**. This could lead to a situation where the learners are set to fail by such managers in an attempt to frustrate affirmative action.

On the other hand such managers can simply refuse, because there is no binding clause that compels them to positively contribute to the development of the learner. Even if there was one, it would be difficult or even impossible to enforce it.

CHAPTER SIX

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The main objective of this chapter is to get the respondents' perceptions about affirmative action policy and its implementation. The advantages as well as the disadvantages of the policy, or the way in which it is implemented, will be highlighted in order to refocus it to the levelling of the playing field - should it have diverted from that.

Getting to understand the concerns of the previously advantaged group will oblige the SAPS to investigate the root cause of these concerns, and come up with programmes or interventions that will address such concerns. This is quite important because for affirmative action to succeed, it will have to be supported by all role players.

The high expectations on the part of the previously disadvantaged group will also have to be corrected so that people can have realistic expectations. Expectations that can not be met will in the long run be detrimental to the organisation, as it will de-motivate and frustrate members.

6.2 PERCEPTIONS ABOUT THE AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY

6.2.1 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AS THE GOOD INTERVENTION TO RECTIFY THE PREVIOUS INEQUALITIES

In this research it is agreed by 88.37% of non-white police officials that affirmative action is a good intervention to rectify the previous inequalities.

Table 10 : Affirmative action is a good intervention to rectify inequalities.

Race	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Non-white	205 88.37%	19 8.19%	8 3.44%	232 100%
White	3 8.33%	21 58.33%	12 33.33%	36 100%

Affirmative action enables the previously disadvantaged police officials to be appointed to higher positions, thus competing with the previously advantaged group. It will make white police officials to realise that police officials of colour are also capable of handling responsibility, dispensing knowledge and applying valued skills. It attempts to eradicate discriminatory practices and promote skills and abilities of those who suffered as a result of apartheid policies, so that competition on merits can follow thereafter. According to Faundez (1994 : 4) affirmative action is a method of providing reparation to benefit members of a group which has been discriminated against on account of race.

6.2.2 NON-WHITES ARE INFERIOR

It is agreed by 53.46% of male police officials and 66.67% of female police officials that affirmative action creates the impression that non-white police officials are inferior so they need some form of legislation to make them competent.

Table 11 : Affirmative action creates the impression that non-whites are inferior.

Gender	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Male	116 53.46%	89 41.01%	12 5.53%	217 100%
Female	34 66.67%	13 25.49%	4 7.84%	51 100%
Race	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Non-white	26 11.21%	175 75.43%	31 13.36%	232 100%
White	5 13.89%	24 66.67%	7 19.44%	36 100%

Stephen Carter, a black professor at Yale Law School who sees both the benefits and costs of affirmative action, says he is forced to live in a box with a label on it, which reads, "Warning! Affirmative Action Baby! Do not assume that this individual is qualified" (Bergman 1996 : 28). This perception could really be damaging to those police officials who believe that they could have made it on their own with or without affirmative action. To those who believe that had it not been for affirmative action they would not have made it, researcher is of the opinion that the perception will not be as damaging as

to their counterparts. American Supreme court Judge, Clarence Thomas feels that affirmative action demeans the achievement of successful non-whites and violates the ideal of individual merit enunciated by Martin Luther King (Kemp 1994 : 8).

6.2.3 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ENCOURAGES NON-WHITES NOT TO WORK HARD

Seventy five per cent of white police officials believe that affirmative action will encourage non-white police officials not to work as hard as they should.

Table 12 : Affirmative action encourages non-white police officials not to work as hard as they should.

Race	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Non-white	6 2.59%	211 90.95%	15 6.47%	232 100%
White	27 75%	9 25%	-	36 100%

A deduction could be made from this response that whites are of the opinion that non-whites will no longer work hard for promotions. They will know that their skin colour will be taken into consideration during promotions. When one looks at the practical phenomenon within the SAPS, the skin colour does not automatically qualifies a person for promotion. This was evident during the promotions from Captain to Superintendent that were announced in August 2000. In Soweto one hundred and two (102) non-white Captains with Diplomas and Degrees were not promoted whilst five (5) whites with Standard 10 (Grade 12) were

promoted. This could also be due to the fact that the criteria was that out of hundred per cent (100%) of the members that were to be promoted, thirty per cent (30 %) was to be white members and seventy per cent (70%) to be non-white members (Post Promotions : Ref 8/1/1).

Secondly there are too few advertised positions for the number of non-whites. Researcher is of the opinion that this makes them think that for them to be promoted, they have to be outstanding among other non-whites, so that they can be seen as such and indeed be remembered during the promotions. This **per se** entails hard work on their part.

6.2.4 AFFIRMED POLICE OFFICIALS SHY AWAY FROM AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

If affirmative action does indeed encourage non-white police officials not to work as hard as they should, affirmed police officials will shy away from the affirmative action tag by denying that they have benefited from affirmative action policy. As it is inevitable to continue having police officials who will benefit from affirmative action, it is important that members benefiting from affirmative action should begin to be proud of their appointments as long as they know that they are qualified for those appointments or have the potential to do the job. Tulwana, the director of Organisational Dynamics at Denel, mentioned that she does not shy away from the affirmative action tag, as she was appointed because she is black and she is a

female, but also because she is qualified to do the job (City Press, 21 December 1997).

6.2.5 EVERY HIGH RANKING NON-WHITE POLICE OFFICIAL HAS BEEN AFFIRMED

61.62% of police officials with qualifications ranging from Diplomas to Degrees say that affirmative action creates the impression that every high ranking non-white police official has been affirmed.

Table 13 : Affirmative action creates the impression that every high ranking non-white police official has been affirmed.

Qualification	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Diploma to Degree	61 61.62%	31 31.31%	7 7.07%	99 100%
Grade 4 to Grade 12	12 7.10%	155 91.72%	2 1.18%	169 100%

A deduction can be made that members with higher qualifications are more conscious of the fact that non-white police officials who are in high positions could be seen as being there, not because of their capabilities, but because the SAPS wants to reflect the demographics of the South African population. If this belief that high ranking non-white police officials are affirmed is upheld, it can seriously undermine the integrity of these police officials as well as the discipline in general within the SAPS.

It is important that non-white police officials should not accept positions for which they do not qualify for, because they may perceive such promotions as a favour to them. When an appointed person views his / her appointment as a favour, he / she tends to accept most negative things without complaint and this will affect his / her effectiveness and efficiency. Professor Marcus Ramogale of the University of Venda is of the opinion that working well and efficiently is a form of struggle, it is the struggle against the self, against that part of human nature which is inclined towards shoddiness and mediocrity (City Press, 4 January 1998).

6.2.6 NON-WHITES ARE MORE EDUCATED THAN WHITES

51.04% of non-white police officials are of the view that most whites who are against upward mobility of non-whites, have changed from using qualifications as a reason for non-whites not to be promoted to lack of relevant experience, because some non-whites are now better educated than most of their white counterparts.

Table 14 reflects the perception of the respondents that currently most white police officials who are against upward mobility of non-white police officials have changed from using qualifications as the reason not to promote them because some non-whites are now more educated than whites.

Table 14 : Non-whites are more educated than whites

Race	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Non-white	98 51.04%	94 48.96%	-	192 100%
White	-	33 91.67%	3 8.33%	36 100%

The opinion of these 51.04% non-whites can be understood in the context of the recent promotions of Captain to Superintendent in August 2000 in Soweto. Five whites with Grade 12 were promoted and 102 non-whites with Diplomas and Degrees left out. It seems as if whites who want to continue to enjoy unfair privileges want to change from using qualifications as the basis for promotions (as it was the case before) to lack of experience. This will ensure that they can use the excuse of "lack of relevant experience" as reason why non-whites are not allowed to hold top positions.

6.2.7 NON-WHITE COMMUNITY HAS MORE TRUST IN WHITE POLICE OFFICIALS

According to 60.73% of members holding the ranks of Constable to Inspector and 51.02% with the ranks of Captain to Director, the non-white community has more trust in white police officials than in non-white police officials.

Table 15 reflects the perception that seemingly the non-white community has more trust in white officials compared

to non-white officials when potential dangerous situations arise.

Table 15 : Non-white communities have more trust in white police officials

Rank	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Captain to Director	25 51.02%	19 38.78%	5 10.20%	49 100%
Constable to Inspector	133 60.73%	65 29.68%	21 9.59%	219 100%

The difference in response of the different ranks could be an indication that the amount of interaction with the public plays a decisive role in forming this perception. The low ranking police officials have more interaction with the public than the high ranking police officials. Azanian Peoples Organization (AZAPO) President, Mr Mosibudi Mangena says while blacks do not support one another's endeavours, other races are free to dominate them (City Press, 15 February 1998).

It appears as if some non-white complainants have imbibed a "white superiority" belief to a certain extent. For example when non-white police officials attempt to solve a family's problem with their rebellious teenage son in non-violent and professional manner eg. by not beating the child the parent is complaining about, the complainants usually tell them that they will call white police officials who do not take nonsense from children. They seem to be comfortable with some sort of force

used by these white police officials. This can be indicated by the vehicle hijacking incident shown in the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) television footage, where white members of Johannesburg Flying Squad were seen brutally assaulting non-white suspects after arresting them (The Star 20 April 1999). The incident was some how condoned by many people including non-whites. This can be due to the escalating crime that people are subjected to daily, but on the other hand if we as the community start to condone this type of brutality by the law enforcement agencies, we will be tacitly indicating that acts of violence by law enforcement officials are acceptable. This may reinforce the belief amongst white police officials that their non-white counterparts are not as effective as they are in policing the community.

6.2.8 THE CRITERIA FOR PROMOTING POLICE OFFICIALS IS SUBJECTIVE

83.67% of Captains to Directors believe that the criteria used to assess people during appointments is subjective (see table 16). Most junior police officials (Constable to Inspector) are uncertain about this question.

Table 16 : The criteria used to appoint people to certain positions is subjective.

Rank	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Captain to Director	41 83.67%	2 4.08%	6 12.24%	49 100%
Constable to Director	31 14.16%	188 85.84%	-	219 100%

The uncertainty of junior police officials could be attributed to the fact that junior police officials are not interviewed before they are promoted. The lack of objective criteria could lead to the panel appointing most of people they are comfortable with, thus leading to nepotism and undermining the credibility and integrity of the beneficiaries of affirmative action as well as the concept affirmative action itself. It makes affirmative action to be only attractive in theory but its practice becomes fraught with difficulties.

The promotion criteria, among other things, requires that the person who is appointed to an officer's post (Captain and upwards) should have relevant managerial experience (AA policy for SAPS 1997). This sounds reasonable under normal circumstances but within the SAPS it serves to reduce the promotion rate of non-whites as most of them were not given opportunities to be in those managerial positions previously. This strategy perpetuates the discriminatory effects of the past race and gender oppression. Researcher is of the opinion that the success or failure of affirmative action depends entirely on its

assessment for appointments, as this is the stage where affirmative action can be frustrated or frustrating. Chairperson of Black Management Forum at Johannesburg branch, Mr Bonang Mohale, is of the opinion that the disaster which characterises the implementation of affirmative action will not end until affirmative action is seen as a positive rather than a discriminatory process (Black Leader 1994 : 22).

6.3 CONCLUSION

The police officials' previous status either advantaged, disadvantaged or the ability to advance despite the imposed difficulties, plays a very important role in the way in which they perceive affirmative action. Most non-whites see affirmative action as a good thing that will enable the SAPS to reflect the society it serves. Most whites see it as something that will retard their advancement and promote non-whites even if they do not deserve to be promoted (see table 10).

The implementation of affirmative action is not up to standard because the criteria used by the panel to appoint people to certain positions seems to be too subjective. It results in the wrong people being appointed in the right positions, thus negatively affecting the effectiveness and efficiency of the SAPS.

CHAPTER SEVEN

REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter attempts to establish whether affirmative action leads to reverse discrimination or not. The way in which police officials perceive affirmative action, as well as their attitude towards it, will enable us to understand whether their perceptions are determined by their previous status (previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged).

This chapter will also indicate whether affirmative action denies the SAPS the opportunity to select qualified people thus closing off all promotional and developmental opportunities for white men.

7.2 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS ON REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

7.2.1 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IS NOT REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

83.62% of non-white Constables to Directors believe affirmative action does not result in reverse discrimination.

Table 17: Affirmative action is reverse discrimination.

Race	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Non-white	-	38 16.38%	194 83.62%	232 100%
White	32 88.89%	4 11.11%	-	36 100%

Based on this response the following deductions can be made : Affirmative action does not put a moratorium on the employment and advancement of white police officials, but it commits the SAPS to make an attempt to identify a suitable recruit for the vacant post. This is evident from a number of whites who are still getting promotion within the SAPS. Affirmative action must not be mistaken for reverse discrimination as preferential treatment does not equate to reverse discrimination (Kemp 1994 : 49).

7.2.2 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN THE SAPS

The researcher is of the opinion that affirmative action provides some systematic steps for dismantling discrimination, thus promoting integration that will enable the SAPS to achieve racial and gender diversity. A racially diverse community needs a racially diverse police service, for the police to gain the trust of that community. All different racial groups will benefit to different degrees, enabling the SAPS to redress the imbalances and be the service reflecting the demographics of the South African society as envisaged in its affirmative action policy statement (AA policy for SAPS 1997).

Albie Sachs (the Constitutional Court Judge) described affirmative action as not so much that it wants to Africanise the work place but to South Africanise it (Herbert 1994 : 34). The SAPS will also correct the past legacy of over dependence on

white male police officials thus dispelling the "white works better syndrome" if it develops non-white police officials as well. Affirmative action within the SAPS deals with the history of the past and about the future.

When looking at the South African situation in its proper historical context, it is obvious that removing present obstacles won't necessarily make police officials equal. It would be naive to think that after decades of racism as the result of the apartheid policy, the SAPS can just adopt a colour blind approach and expect the vestiges of racism to disappear.

Practical experience in South Africa, as well as lessons learned overseas, suggest that affirmative action programmes should seek to increase the opportunities of formerly excluded groups without denying the employer the opportunity to select qualified people and without closing off all promotional and developmental opportunities to white men (Adams 1993 : 82).

The charge of reverse discrimination is also disputed by Feagin and Feagin (1986 : 214) when they state that the reversal of traditional discrimination will mean reversing the power and resource inequalities for a long time. Affirmative action does not have the purpose or effect of establishing a system of non-white supremacy over whites or female over men or widespread anti-white prejudice on the part of non-whites nor widespread anti-male prejudice on the part of women. Affirmative action

should be an intervention that is applied for a certain period, because if it is extended over a long period, ie. going beyond redressing past discrimination, it will result in reverse discrimination. Once the situation has been normalised, the preferential treatment falls away (Kemp 1994 : 9).

7.2.3 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IS REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

88.89% of white police officials with ranks from Constable to Director believe affirmative action is reverse discrimination (see table 17 above). From this response it is evident that whites' perception is that they are now discriminated against and non-whites are getting preferential treatment. Mohale (Black Leader 1994 : 22) states that while reverse discrimination may have happened in some organisations, it should be seen as a consequence of inadequate planning and communication rather than a necessary result of affirmative action.

The researcher is of the opinion that this perception of reverse discrimination could cause bitter division among police officials of different races. It is believed that affirmative action amounts to racial preferences over individual merits, thus demeaning those who are advantaged by it and discriminating against those who are disadvantaged by it. Zelnick (1996 : 116) is of the view that many young white executives are presently apprehensive because they have grown up in an environment where

they know that they only had to compete amongst themselves but now the competition floodgates are being thrown wide open. The researcher is of the opinion that white police officials will over and above learning to compete with non-white police officials, learn to accept occasional defeats as well, because the more participants compete, the less are the individual's chances of winning. It seems as if white police officials find it hard to believe that they could be defeated by non-whites, so they usually attribute such defeats to affirmative action.

7.2.4 LEVELLING THE PLAYING FIELD

One of the goals of affirmative action is to end the habit of giving white police officials, especially males, as many privileges as they want at the expense of all other groups. This is done in the understanding that historical privileges for the white police officials were unfair and should not be continued. It will, in the long term, bring about a dispensation in the SAPS where the only difference between non-white and white police officials will be the colour of their skin. Innes, Kentridge and Perold, (1993 : 180) are of the opinion that the process of reversing discriminatory practices in an attempt to eradicate their effects is sometimes called reverse discrimination - an emotive title, which its opponents consider more accurate than the term affirmative action or positive action. Affirmative action does

not mean that whites who are already employed will be replaced by non-whites (Mpufane 1992 : 26). The objective of affirmative action is to ensure that in future, unlike in the past, ability and not race or gender will be the sole criterion for selection, thus creating a police service where every police official has the same chance of advancement.

The wrong way to address colour and gender imbalances in the SAPS is to sweep history under the carpet, pretending that everything is fine and that discrimination no longer occurs. The Provincial Commissioner of Free State, Commissioner MJ Gaobepe emphatically denied that there is racism within the SAPS in the Eastern Free State Area. He said distribution of resources has nothing to do with racism when he was interviewed by Lesedi Sterio on 06 April 2000 at 06:40 on the programme **MAKUMANE A MONA LE MANE** (MAKUMANE A MONA LE MANE 2000). From this denial a person can conclude that most senior non-white police officials operated within a racist atmosphere for quite a long time to the extent that they have accepted racism as a normal way of life or they are afraid to acknowledge racism as management, because they will be asked what are they doing about it. Supreme court judge, Justice Harry Blackman, argued that in order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race, and in order to treat some persons equally we must treat them differently, we cannot let equal protection clause perpetuate racial supremacy (Zelnick 1996 : 26).

7.3 CONCLUSION

83.62% of non-white police officials believe affirmative action is not reverse discrimination but the reversal of discrimination (see table 17 above). Without affirmative action non-whites would not have a fair chance to compete with whites. Whites perceive affirmative action as discrimination in reverse (see table 17 above). These perceptions are largely determined by the way in which affirmative action affects or will affect these different groups.

When affirmative action is viewed textually, it is easy to attach negative connotation to it. If it is viewed in its historical context, people will realise that it does not really lead to reverse discrimination. The SAPS will have to initiate programmes which will ensure that every police official understands affirmative action in its real context. Proper understanding of affirmative action by the SAPS members could enable the SAPS management to gain the support and co-operation of police officials who currently see affirmative action as reverse discrimination. SAPS members must be made aware of the significance of affirmative action within the SAPS and this can only be done through thorough and effective communication.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MERITS, STANDARDS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

8.1 INTRODUCTION

Studies show that different people have diverse views on the effect of affirmative action on performance standard, and on whether it abolishes merit-based promotion or not (Adams 1993 : 83). This chapter attempts to see whether within the SAPS these perceptions are dictated by: - the previous status (previously advantaged or previously disadvantaged), - the level of education or - the years of service by the member within the SAPS. It is through the understanding of the effect of these variables that affirmative action can be seen as a destructive or constructive mechanism to address past inequalities. That will bring about a just and representative police service.

8.2 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS ON MERITS, STANDARDS AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

8.2.1 AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WILL LEAD TO THE LOWERING OF STANDARDS

According to 97.22% of white constables to Directors, one of the biggest fears regarding affirmative action, is that it will lead to the lowering of standards.

Table 18 : Affirmative action will lead to the lowering of standards.

Race	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Non-white	23 9.91%	139 59.91%	70 30.17%	232 100%
White	35 97.22%	1 2.78%	-	36 100%

Looking at the standard of policing from 1994 up to 2000, one could have a valid reason to argue that the standard and morale has declined. This can be attributed to the confusion caused by affirmative action within the SAPS, as is evident from the large number of respondents who are uncertain (59.91%) about the questions asked (see table 18 above). This uncertainty has had a negative effect on the members in general. It is an indication that the organisation is not doing enough in terms of communicating its transformational policies and plans to members at grass roots level.

8.2.2 INDIVIDUAL PERFORMANCE IS ACCURATELY MEASURED IN THE SAPS

According to 91.92% police officials with Diplomas and Degrees performance is not objectively measured in the SAPS.

Table 19 : Individual performance is accurately measured in the SAPS.

Qualification	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Diploma to Degree	-	8 8.08%	91 91.92%	99 100%
Grade 4 to Grade 12	21 12.43%	111 65.68%	37 21.89%	169 100%

It appears as though the management of the SAPS is also aware of this problem, that is why they introduced the Performance Enhancement Process (PEP). PEP is an integrated process that defines, assess, reinforces and promotes the best job-related behaviour, outputs and expected deliverables (Servamus 2001 : 42). Some of the objectives of PEP is to improve service delivery, measure performance and assess competencies regularly and objectively. PEP will basically assess performance and the development needs of the individual member (Servamus 2001 : 43).

8.2.3 ANY FAILURE TO PERFORM BY NON-WHITE PERSON IS ATTRIBUTED TO RACE

75% of non-white Captains to Directors believe any failure to perform by the non-white person is attributed to his / her race rather than personal incapacibilities.

Table 20 : Any failure to perform by a non-white person is attributed to race.

Race	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Non-white	174 75%	51 21%	7 3.02%	232 100%
White	2 5.56%	3 8.33%	31 86.11%	36 100%

A deduction could be made from this that the failure or mistakes of their white counterparts are judged and dealt with on an

individual basis. Once a black person or a woman is appointed, there is extra pressure to perform impeccably, and any lapse is immediately attributed not to any personal incapability, but to race or gender (Adams 1993 : 120). Researcher is of the opinion that if this view is true it causes non-white police officials to be defined not by their successes but by their failures. This is because people tend to concentrate more on the negative than the positive things that a person does.

8.3 CONCLUSION

Respondents answers as to whether affirmative action lowers the standard or not, is largely influenced by the way in which the individual will be affected by affirmative action. Police officials who believe that they are disadvantaged by affirmative action are of the view that affirmative action will be or is lowering the standard. Those who are of the view that they will be advantaged by the process do not believe that it will lower the standard. The failure of people to execute certain tasks should be viewed as the failure of that particular person. It should not be viewed as the failure of the race from which that person comes from, as this over-generalisation cannot be justified. Such an opinion may be regarded as prejudiced to non-white members.

CHAPTER NINE

EMPOWERING THE PREVIOUSLY DISADVANTAGED

9.1 INTRODUCTION

Affirmative action needs to be implemented smoothly and completed in the shortest possible time. There is a need for developmental programmes which will equip the previously disadvantaged, so that they will be able to benefit from affirmative action. It is only through this paving of way, that people who will be appointed to senior positions from the previously disadvantaged will be able to function effectively in those posts.

If people are not firstly groomed for certain posts, they will fail because it will be a "swim or drown" situation and that will indeed cause affirmative action to fail. This chapter is an attempt to establish whether previously disadvantaged police officials are indeed empowered so that they can benefit from affirmative action.

9.2 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS ON EMPOWERMENT

In general 79.85% of both non-white and white Constables to Directors, are of the opinion that managers empower their members in different ways so that they can be able to benefit from affirmative action.

Table 21(a) : Non-white managers empower their members.

Race	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Non-white	183 78.88%	38 16.38%	11 4.74%	232 100%
White	21 58.33%	11 30.56%	4 11.11%	36 100%
Total	204 76.12%	49 18.28%	15 5.60%	268 100%

Table 21(b) : White managers empower their members.

Race	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Non-white	197 84.91%	6 2.59%	29 12.5%	232 100%
White	27 75%	-	9 25%	36 100%
Total	224 83.58%	6 2.24%	38 14.18%	268 100%

Table 21(c) indicates the overall percentage of table 21(a) and 21(b) on empowerment in different ways so that they will be able to benefit from affirmative action.

Table 21(c) : SAPS managers empower their members.

Race	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Non-white	190 81.89%	22 9.48%	20 8.62%	232 100%
White	24 66.66%	11 30.55%	7 19.44%	36 100%
Total	214 79.85%	33 12.31%	27 10.07%	268 100%

These empowerment strategies vary from sending them to in-service training, exposing them to various tasks, to giving them the opportunity to develop fully and have confidence in what they are doing before they are switched to other tasks. One of the objectives of the SAPS affirmative action policy document is to empower people at all levels, so that at the end of the day they will be able to deliver effective and efficient service. A person can develop and produce outstanding results when his / her supervisor gives him / her some challenging work to do and expresses confidence in his / her abilities.

A perception exists that under-utilisation is the most effective strategy of the SAPS to ensure that unwanted police officials do not develop skills, experience and confidence. An under-utilised police official can experience immense frustration and humiliation which can ultimately destroy him / her. Empowerment also goes with creating a climate which is conducive to human resource development. This will entail changing the attitudes of police managers, and make them understand that past practices in the SAPS weren't fair to other racial groups. Contrition by the previously privileged police officials will motivate them to assist in a process of empowering the previously disadvantaged. Researcher is of the opinion that it is important that white police officials should not be petrified by the thought of giving the previously disadvantaged police officials power. They should see the process as the enlargement of the cake, so that

all the participants could have a fair share in it.

In the process of empowering the previously disadvantaged, police managers will also have to reassure the non-target group (eg. white males) about their job status. Affirmative action will most probably fail if the SAPS ignores the importance of educating its entire workforce about affirmative action and its consequences. Whites should be informed that affirmative action does not imply that, in the quest to ensure the levelling of the playing field, whites will be denied their rights to equal opportunity. Fischer (1996 : No page number) mentioned that the organisation needs to clearly and honestly communicate its affirmative action policy, indicating how race and gender will feature in selection and promotion.

9.3 CONCLUSION

There appears to be a systematic effort embarked upon to empower the previously disadvantaged, so that they can benefit from affirmative action. This will expedite the smooth implementation of affirmative action within the SAPS.

The SAPS should educate its workforce about affirmative action. It is imperative that they all understand that the sooner affirmative action is dealt with, the better for every one - as merit - will then be the sole criteria for advancement.

CHAPTER TEN

THE EFFECT OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ON THE MORALE OF POLICE OFFICIALS AND ITS IMPACT ON SERVICE DELIVERY

10.1 INTRODUCTION

Affirmative action within the SAPS will have a certain effect on police officials. This will be reflected in the morale and the standard of service delivery. If it has a positive effect the morale will be high and the quality of service delivery will be satisfactory. This chapter strives to determine the levels of morale and service delivery. Where it is found to be negatively affected by the unfolding transformation, the particular causes are examined and recommendations are made about possible areas for improvement. The perceptions of police officials who are practically affected by affirmative action is crucial. Whether it is the true reflection of what happens or not, it will indeed have an impact in the organisation.

10.2 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS ON MORALE

According to 71.03% of police officials who have eleven years of service and more, the performance standard in the SAPS has dropped. The respondents' answers vary according to the years of service that they have in the SAPS.

Table 22 : The performance standard in the SAPS has dropped.

Years of service	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
0-10 years	3 3.45%	76 87.36%	8 9.19%	87 100%
11 + years	103 71.03%	5 3.45%	37 25.52%	145 100%

A deduction can be made that these members know what type of service the SAP was rendering in the past. They are in a better position to draw a comparison than newly employed members. Transformation within the SAPS can also be one of the factors which has contributed to the drop in the performance standard. Members' confusion and uncertainty about the future is a probable cause.

One of the objectives of the Performance Enhancement Process is to improve service delivery. Researcher is of the opinion that the top management of the SAPS is aware that performance is not as good as it is suppose to be - so they introduced PEP as a tool to improve it.

10.3 CONCLUSION

Misconceptions about affirmative action have led to low morale and have negatively affected members' performance in general. This is because police officials are still confused about transformation and more so by the lack of a clear indication as

to how this transformation will affect them. Affirmative action impacts negatively on both the previously advantaged group (who see it as threat) and some of the previously disadvantaged groups (because they are frustrated by the subjectivity of the this programme). The SAPS needs to come-up with action steps as to how it will implement affirmative action so that police officials can have a clear vision of their future within this organisation.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WITHIN THE DESIGNATED GROUPS

11.1 INTRODUCTION

Affirmative action is a tool used for addressing the legacy of past discrimination. In justly addressing this, it is crucial that the degree of disadvantages within the previously disadvantaged groups should be taken into consideration. Then only can affirmative action be meaningful and understandable to both the previously advantaged and disadvantaged groups. The respondents' perceptions and the affirmative action policy document of the South African Police Service will reveal the approach of the SAPS in this regard.

11.2 RESPONDENTS' PERCEPTIONS ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WITHIN THE DESIGNATED GROUPS

According to the SAPS' affirmative action policy document, non-whites are amongst the people who will benefit from affirmative action. During apartheid there was a degree of discrimination ie. Coloureds and Indians had better opportunities in terms of salaries, education, promotions, etc as compared to Blacks. The Indian and Coloured Constables who served for a period not less than ten years and to whom the Police Medal for Good Service or The South African Police Medal for faithful service were awarded were paid a pensionable allowance of R30-00 and Blacks R24.00

(Standing Order 21 of 1951 : Allowances). The policy on affirmative action does not stipulate precisely the extent to which these different racial groups will benefit from affirmative action.

There is no doubt that of the three groups within the non-white community, Blacks have been treated the worst (Qunta 1995 : 17). In Soweto area the current situation is that there are more Indians at senior management level than Blacks although, in terms of population numbers in the area, Blacks constitute the majority. Area Soweto has 115 Indian police officials and 4106 Black police officials - but on senior management level it has nine Indians in the rank of Senior Superintendent and only three Black Senior Superintendents. This does not reflect the population composition served by the SAPS in the Area but it does show a shift from White management to Indian management.

11.3 DEFEATING THE PURPOSE OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

The lack of focus on representivity in implementing affirmative action enhances the misunderstanding of affirmative action by both Black and White police officials. This is contrary to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa which envisages a public service that is broadly representative of the community it serves (Act 108 of 1996 : 107). It also contradicts the SAPS Affirmative Action Policy document which mentions that the South African Police Service is committed to the creation of a

service that is broadly representative of the community it serves (AA for SAPS 1997).

If this imbalance is not addressed it could lead to the SAPS in Area Soweto to continue being dominated by the Indian minority, - the exact opposite of what affirmative action is trying to achieve. It could lead to Black police officials rebelling against the Indian police officials, thus leading to a similar situation to that which occurred in Kwazulu-Natal where Black police officials were rebelling against the Indian police officials' domination in the Province (City Press 15 February 1998 : 18).

The argument which is often presented for not having more senior Black police officials is that Blacks do not have the required skills and necessary experience to enable them to be promoted to such senior positions. Herbert (1994 : 50) is of the opinion that if the SAPS can find only 2% Black management out of the employee population of 70% and dare to say people are not ready for promotion, then it is tantamount to a confession that their recruitment policy is inadequate; their training programme has failed; and that their trainers are incompetent. If there is nothing wrong with the SAPS promotion policy, then SAPS is setting people up for failure by failing to recruit the right people eg. recruiting people who have minimum potential for advancement so these police officials respond poorly to training. However, researcher is of the opinion that affirmative

action which takes into account race factor within the SAPS is not a choice but a necessity for maintaining harmonious coexistence among different racial groups within the SAPS.

77.78% of White and 100% Black police officials believe Blacks should not benefit to the same extent as Coloureds and Indians.

Table 23 : Blacks must benefit to the same extent as Indians and Coloureds.

Race	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Total
Black	-	-	192 100%	192 100%
Coloured	15 88.24%	2 11.76%	-	17 100%
Indians	22 95.65%	1 4.35%	-	23 100%
White	3 8.33%	5 13.89%	28 77.78%	36 100%

A deduction can be made that Whites and Blacks want preferential treatment to take into account (percentage wise), the degree of disadvantages suffered by different racial groups in the past.

According to 95.65% Indians and 88.24% Coloureds, affirmative action should not differentiate among these three racial groups (ie. Blacks, Coloureds and Indians) as they all suffered under apartheid, see table 23 above.

To say Coloureds and Indians should benefit to the same extent as Blacks or they should not benefit at all, is to deny or

distort the reality of the past. The real fact is that they were disadvantaged, but not to the same extent as the Blacks.

Qunta(1995 : 18) is of the opinion that the way to solve this problem is to accept, that of all non-white people, Blacks have been the most disadvantaged and that they should therefore be given preference. If Blacks benefit according to previous injustices, the SAPS will achieve its objective of creating the police service that is representative of the communities they serve. This necessitates the implementation of affirmative action from the opposite side from what the hierarchy in the past used to be - where whites were on top followed by Indians and Coloureds and finally Blacks at the bottom.

The SAPS needs to be sensitive and deal with this issue in a realistic manner, so that intra-non-white polarisation (bad relationship among non-whites) can be kept to the minimum. It is also very important to educate these groups so that they do not resent the different treatment which each group gets. They must understand that this has to happen due to history which created inequalities.

11.4 WHITE WOMEN

White women are also the target of affirmative action due to the discrimination that they suffered in the past. Yet, discrimination against White women cannot be equated to that of non-white

people, as apartheid in general benefited all White people in South Africa. They had no burden of raising a family because unlike their counterparts in the Western world, most had at their disposal very cheap domestic labour (Qunta 1995 : 19). The reality is that when it comes to employment and promotions they were discriminated against.

11.5 CONCLUSION

Apartheid brought about a certain division amongst non-whites and in the process imposed different degrees of disadvantages. As affirmative action is about addressing previous injustices, it has to allocate different degrees of advantages according to different degrees of previous disadvantages. The SAPS' Affirmative Action Policy Document is supposed to give direction as to what extent these different non-white groups should benefit from affirmative action.

CHAPTER TWELVE

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

12.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the adoption of the new Constitution, the challenge has been to transform the SAPS to the extent of it reflecting the values of the new democratic order. This study examined the perceptions of police officials in Area Soweto on affirmative action within the SAPS. Although many studies have been done on affirmative action worldwide, none have been done on affirmative action within the SAPS in Area Soweto.

The research was done to investigate whether police officials in Soweto perceive affirmative action as something that will promote designated groups - even if they do not deserve promotion according to the way in which they work? Is affirmative action discriminating against non-designated groups, thus shattering their promotional opportunities? Does affirmative action forces SAPS management to promote less competent police officials thus negatively affecting productivity within the SAPS? Lastly, can the SAPS redress the past imbalances without preferential treatment?

12.2 FINDINGS

12.2.1 HYPOTHESIS 1 : **Police officials in Soweto do not understand affirmative action.**

Hypothesis one has been confirmed, police officials in Soweto lack proper understanding of affirmative action. This is indicated by most of the respondents who were uncertain about most of the questions asked. It seems as if some non-white police officials are over optimistic about affirmative action. This arose unrealistic expectations in them that are not going to be fulfilled.

White police officials (75%) are of the opinion that affirmative action will lead to the promotion of non-white police officials even if they do not deserve promotions according to their performance (see table 12). A deduction could be made from this that white police officials feel that the standard of service delivery will decline as less competent and less committed police officials could be promoted.

Lack of understanding affirmative action is further enhanced the by lack of objective criteria that is used by the SAPS to promote people to senior positions. Researcher is of the view that in some cases less educated and mediocre performers tend to be appointed to senior positions.

12.2.2 HYPOTHESIS 2 : Affirmative action has a negative effect in the functioning of the SAPS members due to uncertainty about it.

The hypothesis is confirmed as (75%) white police officials are of the opinion that affirmative action makes non-white police officials not to work as hard as they should. Lack of hard work on the part of non-white police officials will indeed have a negative effect in the SAPS (see table 12). Taking into account that 33.33% of white police officials are of the opinion that affirmative action is not a good mechanism of levelling the playing field. This could cause them not to be as committed as they were previously thus affecting productivity (see table 10).

According to Post Promotions (Ref 8/1/1) the SAPS was required to promote 30% whites and 70% non-whites. In essence it dealt away with merit (the promotion of the best person). For example if the SAPS management find 40% best white members and 60% best non-white members. According to the Post Promotion's requirements they have to leave out 10% best white members and promote 10% less best non-white members. This, on the one hand will mean that 10% of less competent police officials is promoted, thus negatively affecting productivity of the SAPS. On the other hand it will mean that the SAPS has left out 10% of most capable police officials who will now be negative as they will feel that their hard work is not recognised. These members will now not be as committed to work as hard as they used to.

12.2.3 HYPOTHESIS 3 : Affirmative action is reverse discrimination.

The hypothesis is confirmed. Non-white (83.62%) members perceive affirmative action as not reverse discrimination (see table 17). Their perception could be dictated by the believe that they stand to benefit from affirmative action.

Whites (88.89%) are of the opinion that affirmative action is reverse discrimination (see table 17). They are of the opinion that they are now discriminated against and non-whites are getting preferential treatment. This is also corroborated by the SAPS Employment Equity Plan that wants designated group to be 70% and non-designated group to be 30% at management level by the year 2002, (see table 7 above). This in practical terms means that to get to that percentage by 2002 the SAPS will have to discriminate against the non-designated group members. An inference can be made that previously non-whites were discriminated against in order to give whites senior positions and now whites are discriminated against in order to give non-whites senior positions.

Negative or positive discrimination is still discrimination. Even if discrimination is done for the purpose of levelling the playing field, the fact remains that during that period of levelling the playing field people are discriminated against.

12.2.4 HYPOTHESIS 4 : Affirmative action abolishes promotion on merits.

This hypothesis is confirmed by the AA Policy for SAPS (1997) which states that for the purpose of affirmative action, merits and standard should be condoned. This is also supported by the quota system that is often stipulated in the SAPS promotion documents, eg. that promoted members should be 30% whites and 70% non-whites. According to 83.67% of the respondents (see table 16 above), the promotion policy of the SAPS is subjective. This **per se** also shows that during appointments incompetent police officials might be appointed thus in essence disregarding merits.

12.2.5 HYPOTHESIS 5 : Affirmative action lowers the standard in the SAPS.

Hypothesis five is confirmed by 71.03% of experienced police officers (eleven years and above) (see table 22 above). These members are in a better position to assess the standard of the SAP then, and compare it with the standard of the SAPS now. The introduction of PEP by the SAPS management might also serve as a confirmation that the performance standard of the SAPS is not as good as it should be. The quota is often imposed on the SAPS to promote certain number of non-white and white police officials in order to meet the equity plan of the organisation. This prevent the

SAPS from promoting only the best police officials. The AA Policy for SAPS (1997) states that for the purpose of affirmative action any requirements, eg. level of training, merits and experience, should be condoned. Condonation of the above mentioned requirements in practical terms entails the lowering of standards.

12.2.6 HYPOTHESIS 6 : Previously disadvantaged are empowered so that they can benefit from affirmative action.

The hypothesis is confirmed by 79.85% police officials who stated that managers do empower their members so that they can benefit from affirmative action. This empowerment will make members to stand a good chance of benefiting from affirmative action. Secondly, it will enhance the quality of the service rendered to the community as members will be skilled to render the best service.

12.2.7 HYPOTHESIS 7 : Affirmative action policy of the SAPS does not stipulate clearly how different designated groups will benefit from it.

The hypothesis is confirmed by both the SAPS Employment Equity Plan and the response of the respondents. The SAPS Employment Equity Plan (2000 : 9) states that by 2002 the designated group should be 70% and non-designated group 30% at the SAPS management level. There is no breakdown as to how this 70%

designated group should be composed percentage wise as designated group consist of coloureds, Indians, Blacks and White women, (see table 7 above). The position of people with disability is clear, as it should be 2% by 2010.

All Black police officials (see table 23 above) are of the opinion that Coloureds and Indians should not benefit to the same extent as Blacks. A deduction could be drawn from this that Blacks are aware that it will be unfair for them to compete with people who were not disadvantaged to the same extent as them.

Most Coloureds and Indians (see table 23 above) are of the opinion that they should benefit to the same extent as Blacks. Their opinion could be understood if a person takes into account that Black police officials occupied senior positions in the former homelands, eg. Qwa-Qwa, Venda, Transkei, Lebowa, Bophuthatswana, etc. These police officials are now amalgamated to form the SAPS. Coloureds and Indians on the other hand had no homelands where they were promoted to senior positions as they were part of white South Africa.

Most whites (77.78%) are of the opinion that Coloureds and Indians should not benefit to the same extent as Blacks. Whites might be aware that should Coloureds and Indians benefit to the same extent as blacks, the SAPS will not be able to reflect the composition of the society they serve as more Coloureds and Indians than Blacks could be promoted. This is because Coloureds

and Indians had better education and most of them were better exposed to management positions than Blacks.

When this position of benefiting to the same extent is analysed. A deduction could be made that for the SAPS to redress the past inequalities and reflect the composition of the South African population. Affirmative action should take into account the extent to which different designated groups were disadvantaged in the past.

12.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

12.3.1 EDUCATION ON AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

The SAPS must teach its members about the affirmative action policy of the organisation, and how this policy will affect them. This will enable both the designated and non-designated groups to visualise their future within the SAPS. The concerns of the non-designated groups and the high expectations of the designated groups could be addressed by this type of education. Affirmative action will not succeed without the involvement and support of all police officials. Police officials will only support the affirmative action policy of the SAPS in particular if they properly understand it and see its importance in the SAPS and South Africa in general.

It should be made unequivocally clear that affirmative action is only an interim measure so that competition on merits can be the only criteria in future. Historically entrenched inequalities should be explained to members so that they can be able to understand affirmative action in its historical context.

12.3.2 SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE PROMOTION POLICY

The promotion policy of the SAPS should be reviewed so that it could be drafted in such a way that it will support the SAPS affirmative action policy. The policy should be objective and measurable in order to minimise nepotism, cronyism, favouritism and uphold merits.

The short term solution for the SAPS should be to identify police officials with potential and affirm them. The criteria for identifying these police officials should be qualifications, experience and performance. These are easily measurable aspects and if a person has got these, a reasonable deduction could be made that he / she will be able to perform in the senior post.

The above mentioned criteria will have a positive effect in the SAPS because it will make members to work hard as they will know that performance is taken into account during promotions. This will minimise the decline of standards during this transition period. Members will also attempt to improve their academic qualifications and this will contribute towards professionalism

in the SAPS.

The medium term will be for the SAPS to use the same criteria namely, qualifications, experience and performance to identify police officials who should be developed for immediate promotion. The identified members should be placed in responsible positions where they will develop managerial skills. For example, at a station where a commander is a Superintendent and has three Captains under him / her. The identified Captain should be made the second in command so that he / she could learn from the commander. It should be made absolutely clear that the purpose of this is to develop such members' managerial skills. It does not necessarily mean that he will take the mentor's position after being developed. But he will be able to assume any vacant management position open anywhere. This will ensure that police officials who are promoted to managerial positions are competent and service delivery will not be negatively affected. There should be continuous evaluation of the progress made by the candidate and the contribution made by the mentor. This will enable the SAPS to identify good mentors and promote them to higher positions were they will continue mentoring.

The long-term solution is for the SAPS to racially balance its stations and units. This will make the SAPS to be able to align its composition to the Provincial and National demographics and the maintenance thereof as required by the SAPS Employment Equity Plan.

12.4 CONCLUSION

This research was done in order to establish the perceptions of police officials towards affirmative action. Affirmative action within the SAPS is a tool used to redress the imbalances created by apartheid. From this research it is evident that police officials in Soweto lack proper understanding of affirmative action. Therefore it is questionable as to whether they will support the affirmative action programmes which the SAPS is embarking upon.

Affirmative action has a negative impact in the SAPS as it lowers the standards and deals away with promotion based on merits. It makes it difficult for the SAPS to promote the best suitable candidate, as the SAPS is still in the process of addressing representivity of its members. This frustrate the best qualified police officials and does not inculcate work ethics in the SAPS members.

In the process of trying to level the playing field, affirmative action discriminate against the non-designated groups. Police officials should be told that affirmative action is discrimination with the objective of bringing about fair competition once the playing field has been levelled. SAPS should not be afraid to acknowledge that affirmative action is a discrimination, but for a good course.

In undoing what apartheid has done, the SAPS should take into account the degree of disadvantages that different designated groups suffered under apartheid. There is no way in which the SAPS can adequately and fairly address the past inequalities if it does not determine to what extent did different designated groups suffer in the past.

Affirmative action shall only succeed if it is supported by all role players, and it is genuinely addressing past inequalities.

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2.4 CIRCULARS

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Standing Orders 1951. For the information and guidance of the South African Police : Third Edition.

SECTION ONE : BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

For office use only

Questionnaire
Number

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1-3

1. Indicate your gender

	Female
Male	
1	2

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4

2. Indicate your population group

	Black	White	Coloured
Asian			
1	2	3	4

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5

3. What rank do you hold

	Sgt	Insp	Capt	Supt	S/Supt	Director
Const						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

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6

4. How many years of service do you have in the SAPS

	0-5 yrs	6-10yrs	11-15yrs	16-20yrs	21+yrs
1		2	3	4	5

5. What is your highest qualification

	Below Std 8	Std 8-9	Std 10	Diploma	Degree
1		2	3	4	5

6. What is the prevalent nature of your work

	Crime Prevention	Community Service Centre	Administration	Crime Investigation	Public Order Policing	Flying Squad	Crime Intelligence	LCRC	Highway Patrol
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

7. Where are you stationed

	Lenz	Area/Comm.	Eldorado Park	Protea Glen	Moroka	Diepkloof	Dobsonville	Meadowlands
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8

8. What is your present position at the station or unit

Area Comm	Area Head	Station Comm	Branch Comm	Unit Comm	Relief Comm	CSC Comm	Section Comm	n/a
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

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SECTION TWO : AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICY AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

	Definitely agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Definitely disagree	
2.1 Affirmative action is a good intervention to rectify the previous inequalities	1	2	3	4	5	12
2.2 Implementation of affirmative action within the SAPS is effective	1	2	3	4	5	13
2.3 It is fair for the white police officers to compete with the people who are advantaged by the affirmative action policy	1	2	3	4	5	14
2.4 Affirmative action creates the impression that blacks are inferior so they need some sort of legislation to make them competent	1	2	3	4	5	15
2.5 Affirmative action encourages black police officers not to work as hard as they should	1	2	3	4	5	16
2.6 Affirmative action creates the impression that every high ranking black police officer has been affirmed	1	2	3	4	5	17

2.7	Affirmative action creates the impression that people who are worth the ranks they are holding are white police officers	1	2	3	4	5	18
2.8	Most black police officers who are in positions of authority do not get the full respect from white police officers	1	2	3	4	5	19
2.9	Currently most white police officers who are against the upward mobility of black police officers have changed from using qualifications as the reason not to promote them as blacks are now more educated than whites	1	2	3	4	5	20
2.10	Black police officers lack relevant experience thus making it hard for them to be promoted to higher levels	1	2	3	4	5	21
2.11	Blacks who appear to challenge whites by taking their positions are more likely to face racial prejudice	1	2	3	4	5	22
2.12	Seemingly the black community has more trust in white officers compared to black officers when potential dangerous situation arise	1	2	3	4	5	23
2.13	The criteria used to appoint people to certain positions is subjective	1	2	3	4	5	24
2.14	The pace of affirmative action is so slow that no practical changes are seen on the ground	1	2	3	4	5	25

SECTION THREE : REVERSE DISCRIMINATION

	Definitely agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Definitely disagree	
3.1 Affirmative action is discrimination	1	2	3	4	5	26
3.2 Affirmative action is a comprehensive (it does not only mean promoting blacks to senior positions, but it includes educating and giving the skills that they were deprived in the past) programme	1	2	3	4	5	27
3.3 Affirmative action includes providing equal employment opportunities	1	2	3	4	5	28
3.4 Affirmative action removes all discriminatory practices in employment and advancement	1	2	3	4	5	29
3.5 Affirmative action helps the previous disadvantaged police officers to catch up	1	2	3	4	5	30

SECTION FOUR : MERIT, STANDARD AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

	Definitely agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Definitely disagree	
4.1 For the purpose of affirmative action any requirement (e.g level of training, merit and experience) should be condoned	1	2	3	4	5	31
4.2 Affirmative action will lead to the lowering of standards	1	2	3	4	5	32
4.3 When blacks are in charge the organisation will be as effective as when whites are in charge	1	2	3	4	5	33
4.4 I work better under the supervision of white police officers rather than black police officers	1	2	3	4	5	34
4.5 When black police officers make tremendous achievements they get sufficient recognition	1	2	3	4	5	35
4.6 When black police officer does not perform up to standard or makes mistakes his/her mistake becomes an indictment to the entire black police officers	1	2	3	4	5	36
4.7 The performance standard has dropped because white police officers are no longer taking hard measures when a mistake is made	1	2	3	4	5	37
4.8 When white police officers take hard measures against a non-white police officer who made a mistake they tend to be easily classified as racists	1	2	3	4	5	38
4.9 The performance standard in the SAPS has dropped	1	2	3	4	5	39

4.10 Individual performance is accurately measured in the SAPS	1	2	3	4	5	40
4.11 Once a black person is appointed there is extra pressure to perform impeccably	1	2	3	4	5	41
4.12 Any failure to perform by a black person is attributed to his or her race not to personal incapacilities	1	2	3	4	5	42

SECTION FIVE : THE EFFECT OF AFFIRMATIVE ACTION ON THE MORALE OF POLICE MEMBERS AND THE DELIVERY OF THE SERVICE

	Definitely agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Definitely disagree	
5.1 Affirmative action affects the morale of members differently depending on the way in which the individual view it	1	2	3	4	5	43
5.2 If members could be taught about affirmative action it (affirmative action) could have positive effect on the morale of members at my station/unit	1	2	3	4	5	44
5.3 Members of the SAPS are familiar with affirmative action policy document of the SAPS	1	2	3	4	5	45

SECTION SIX : EMPOWERING THE PREVIOUSLY DISADVANTAGED

	Definitely agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Definitely disagree	
6.1 There is a need to embark on special programmes to empower blacks	1	2	3	4	5	46
6.2 Blacks and whites were always competing on an equal base within the SAPS	1	2	3	4	5	47
6.3 Non-white managers empowers their members in different ways so that they can be able to benefit from affirmative action	1	2	3	4	5	48
6.4 White managers empowers their members in different ways so that they can be able to benefit from affirmative action	1	2	3	4	5	49
6.5 Affirmed people do not want to be seen as people who benefited from affirmative action	1	2	3	4	5	50

SECTION SEVEN : TAKING THE PAST INTO CONSIDERATION

	Definitely agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Definitely disagree	
7.1 Blacks must benefit to the same extent as Indians and Coloureds from affirmative action	1	2	3	4	5	51
7.2 Blacks must benefit more than Indians and Coloureds from affirmative action	1	2	3	4	5	52
7.3 Indians and Coloureds must not benefit at all from affirmative action	1	2	3	4	5	53

SECTION EIGHT : GENERAL

Is there anything else that you would like to add with reference to affirmative action in the SAPS (Please do not mention more than three facts)

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Thank you for your co-operation!