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Clarno is working on a book manuscript, *The Empire's New Walls*, comparing the impact of political and economic restructuring in South Africa and Palestine/Israel over the last 30 years. He is also working with faculty and students to study how individuals and cities in the Chicago area have responded to high levels of immigration from Latin America.

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**POLICING IN POST-APARTHEID JOHANNESBURG**

**Introduction**

Until 1994, state security forces (i.e. police and military) policed Johannesburg and targeted black South Africans in order to uphold the apartheid system of racial segregation, racial discrimination, and racial capitalism. How has policing changed in post-apartheid Johannesburg?

With the end of apartheid, private security companies have grown increasingly powerful – particularly in the largely white middle- and upper-class neighborhoods. Neighborhood based residents' associations and private security companies now work together to develop increasingly aggressive forms of "preventative security."

This analysis of policing in post-apartheid Johannesburg is based on interviews conducted by Andy Clarno and Martin J. Murray with police officials, private security companies, and neighborhood associations in Johannesburg from June to August 2012. The findings also draw on observations of meetings involving residents' associations, police, and private security companies.

**Findings**

- Just like the apartheid-era police, private security companies today engage in racial profiling to identify potential criminals. In identifying people as suspicious, security personnel admit that they conduct an investigation whenever they come across "two black males."
- Initially private security services were largely *reactive*, with companies stationing armed rapid-response units in neighborhoods where they had clients. But over time, wealthy residents joined together and began to demand more *proactive* forms of private policing including the arrest of 'suspicious' black South Africans or escorting unwanted people out of the area.
- Since the early 1990s, private security has been the fastest-growing industry and employer in South Africa. In 1990, the net worth of private security was \$160 million. By 2006, this number had grown to \$1.8-2.6 billion. In 2011, there were close to 9,000 security companies employing over 400,000 private security officers.

**Recommendations**

Creating mechanisms for community-based oversight of private security forces could begin to rein in an industry that profits from the insecurity generated from racial stereotypes about crime. Furthermore, enhanced state regulation of the private security industry would ensure that private security forces: (1) do not merely displace crime from neighborhoods that have purchased coverage; and (2) do not rely on racial profiling to identify suspicious behavior. Overall, the goal of any reform should be to ensure protection for the freedom of movement and the end of racial segregation.

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Clarno, A. & Murray, M. J. (2013). Policing in Johannesburg after apartheid. *Social Dynamics*, 39(2), 210-227.



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