**The Commission of Inquiry into Allegations of Police Inefficient in Khayelitsha and a Breakdown of Relations between the Community and the Police in Khayelitsha**

**Submission on the Issue of Relative Resourcing of Police Areas**

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**Summary**

If policing burden were distributed equally, then police human resources should be distributed through a per capita method (i.e. population size determines relative resourcing). However policing burden is not distributed equally. Any method of determining resources which deviates from the per capita method, must be checked against per capita figures for obvious anomalies. The SAPS method fails this test. A method is suggested which sees a minimum number allocated to each station, and then the remaining resources distributed according to a method which uses per capita figures to distribute most resources, but takes some account of reported crime as well as the true serious violent crime rate, as indicated by the murder rate.

**Introduction**

The issue of allocation by the state of human resources to policing is one which impinges on various constitutional rights, such as the right to safety and security of the person, dignity, life, and equality before the law, inter-related with the right not to be unfairly discriminated against. At issue is whether the distribution of state resources on policing, which impinge on the protection or realisation of these rights, is unequal to the extent that it amounts to unfair discrimination. Variations in allocations per capita are prima facie an indication of unequal distribution of resources. Where the distribution of human resources in policing is not only unequal from area to area, but areas comprising predominantly poor and black people are particularly under-resourced, indirect discrimination on protected constitutional grounds exists. Such unequal resourcing is automatically unfair unless the state can show that the allocations are fair.

I have been asked to:

•       review the relative resourcing of police stations in the Western Cape,

•       comment on the method employed by the SAPS to determine relative resourcing, and

•       propose a fair method for determining relative resourcing.

**The data**

The per capita calculations, using personnel figures provided by Lamoer and population data from Census 2011, show that Harare, which is among the poorest areas of the Western Cape and whose population is overwhelmingly black, has the lowest number of police personnel per 100 000 people of all police stations in the Western Cape (111 per 100 000). Indeed it has almost ten times fewer people per 100 000 than Camps Bay (959 per 100 000) (see table 9 annexed). Since an indirect inequality on protected grounds has been shown, the state must demonstrate that the inequality is

nevertheless fair. The indirect inequality demonstrated by the unequal allocations runs counter to the transformative project of the Constitution.

**The SAPS method**

SAPS has attempted to justify the allocations by demonstrating that the way in which resource requirements are calculated is rationally related to the burden of policing. The allocation of police resources is apparently based on a Theoretical Human Resource Requirement (THRR). This THRR is in turn calculated using a range of factors which must be attested to by each police area in an Information Management Sheet. All of the factors in the Information Management Sheet listed appear to relate to the burden of policing in one of the following ways: they affect the burden in terms of difficulty and extent of policing (e.g. number of square kilometres, presence of schools, daily influx of commuters, number of gangs), including the actual incidence of crime; they affect the burden of police interaction with the courts and with prisons (e.g. proximity of courts and prisons) or they affect the burden of internal police bureaucracy (e.g. accounting station, services offered, etc.).

One of the problems with this approach is that it is highly dependent on accurate information being supplied. Incorrect estimates can result in large distortions. Indeed SAPS itself alludes to misrepresentations apparently designed to influence resource allocation in submitted evidence. In further evidence submitted to the Commission, a number of errors in the relevant THRR information sheets were apparent, for example, incorrect unemployment rates. Furthermore the relative weight applied to the various factors appears to have been subjectively determined. It is indeed my submission that it is near impossible to take into account all relevant factors in a way which does not result in distortions.

Indeed those factors which speak to the incidence of crime are probably better indicated by an objective measure of the actual incidence of crime. (My previous submission suggested the likely extent of under-reporting in the three Khayelitsha areas resulting in reported crime being far lower than the actual incidence. The submission also described how the number of murders tracks the number of serious violent crimes closely, suggesting it is a suitable proxy for the variation in the true incidence of serious violent crime).

Ultimately, however, the best test of the SAPS THRR method is common-sense. Does the method accurately and fairly distribute resources on the basis of burden of policing? Township areas, known for their difficulty of policing, almost all demonstrate massive downward adjustment from the per capita amounts suggested. Indeed not only is it the case that the adjustment is downward, but it is such that township areas are among the least resourced per capita in the Western (see Table 9 annexed) despite being amongst the most difficult to police. Unless SAPS wishes to argue that the burden of policing is indeed lowest in Harare, Lwandle, Belhar and Nyanga, and thus the lowest resourcing per capita in these areas is fair, these results alone demonstrate the flaw in the SAPS approach and suggests flaws in either one or all the factors considered, their weighting, and the input data. It further suggests that SAPS is as a result of applying this formula discriminately unfairly against these areas in terms of police human resource allocation.

**Proposed method**

The question then arises as to what is a fair method of adjusting per capita figures to take into account the burden of policing. For sensible adjustments taking into account the burden of policing a disaggregation of the various broad components of the SAPS is necessary: Administration, Visible policing, Detective service, Crime intelligence, Protection and security.

Visible policing is not only about responding to crime, but about carrying out policing in a manner which prevents crime. Consequently it may be that visible policing patrols carried out in currently relatively crime-free areas will cease to be crime-free areas if such resourcing is removed. In other words it is not recommended that the incidence of crime replace total population as the determinant of allocation, not least also because varying rates of reporting mean the actual incidence of crime is difficult to determine from area to area. For the same reason reported crime should not determine allocations.

Consequently in relation to visible policing, in my view reference to the total population (the per capita measure) should remain the primary indicator of relative resourcing. This is particularly important as visible policing is the largest component of the SAPS. Some adjustment to take into account high day-time populations prevalent in city centre, may be required. These should be based on empirical evidence i.e. actual measures of daytime populations.

The burden of policing on detective services on the other hand can be directly measured by the incidence of crime reported at the police station, as a detective's burden is directly determined by the amount of crime reported. Assuming that the detective service conducts only reactive investigations (and that crime intelligence is thus responsible for pro-active investigations) the incidence of reported crime, in particular, serious reported crime, should in my view be the primary determinant of relative resourcing in relation to detective services.

The work of crime intelligence is directly related to the number of crimes actually occurring in the area (actual incidence of crime) as their objectives are to contribute to the neutralisation of crime by gathering, collating and analysing intelligence information which leads to actionable policing activity. The incidence of serious violent crime, as indicated by proxy through the number of murders, should in my view be the primary determinant of the relative resourcing of the crime intelligence component.

The primary indicator of the administrative burden should the size of the population of the area served. (Adjustments to take into account the type of police station (cluster, accounting, satellite) would be justifiable, provided the determination of type is itself justifiable, are discussed below).

The protection and security services component of policing appears not to be relevant to policing at station level as this service apparently serves only dignitaries. (A separate issue for consideration is whether the amount spent on this component, and thus on dignitaries, is justified.) For the purposes of national figures and formula calculations, these are then omitted.

**Proposed method on national figures**

What does this method imply in practice on current figures? According to the SAPS Annual Report of 2013, the personnel available to SAPS is as follows (note 21% of these personnel are Public Service Act employees as opposed to SAPS Act employees):

Table 1: SAPS National personnel by function and rate per 100 000 population

| SAPS Function | Number of personnel (national) | Personnel per 100 000 people (using 52 982 000 population) |
|---|---|---|
| Administration | 36703 | 69.27 |
| Visible policing | 106527 | 201.06 |
| Detective service | 39425 | 74.41 |
| Crime intelligence | 8928 | 16.85 |
| **SUBTOTAL** | **191583** | **361.60** |
| Protection and security | 6363 | 12.01 |
| **TOTAL** | **197946** | 373.61 |

As described above, the primary determinant of visible policing and administrative function resources should be the population size. Thus the available administrative and visible policing personnel must be divided equally amongst the population. To do this the total number of relevant personnel in South Africa is divided by the total population of South Africa, and multiplied by 100 000, to arrive at the number per 100 000.

On current personnel and population figures as indicated in the table above, this implies that there should be 69 administrative personnel for every 100 000 population and 201 visible police personnel per 100 000 people. To calculated the number of visible policing personnel in a particular area, the population of that area must be divided by 100 000 and multiplied by 201, while for the number of administrative staff the population is divided by 100 000 and multiplied by 69.

The detective service component resourcing is by contrast primarily indicated by the number of crimes reported to the SAPS. The available detective resources must be divided equally amongst all reported serious crimes. The total number of detective personnel in South Africa is divided by total serious crimes in South Africa. To account for yearly anomalies, the last four years' crime figures should be used. On current national personnel and crime figures this equates to 0.01876 detectives per crime or 1.88 detectives for every 100 of the 20 most serious crimes reported in a year in an area on average over the last four years.

| SAPS Function | Number of personnel (national) | Personnel per 100 serious crimes (20 most serious, average last 4 years 2101417 nationally) |
|---|---|---|
| Administration | 36703 | 1.75 |
| Visible policing | 106527 | 5.07 |
| **Detective service** | **39425** | **1.88** |
| Crime intelligence | 8928 | 0.42 |
| Protection and security | 6363 | 0.30 |
| TOTAL | 197946 | 9.42 |

The primary indicator of the relative resourcing of the crime intelligence component, as discussed above, is the average number of murders over the last 4 years. The available crime intelligence resources must be divided equally amongst all murders recorded. On current figures this would imply 0.55 crime intelligence personnel for every murder recorded in an area on average over the last four years.

Protection and security personnel are not included in this national formula, as it is anticipated that these operate in discrete units and are not necessarily allocated to particular stations.

**Table 3**

| SAPS Function | Number of personnel (national) | Number per murder (average last 4 years 16161) |
|---|---|---|
| Administration | 36703 | 2.27 |
| Visible policing | 106527 | 6.59 |
| Detective service | 39425 | 2.44 |
| **Crime intelligence** | **8928** | **0.55** |
| Protection and security | 6363 | 0.39 |
| TOTAL | 197946 | 12.25 |

The national primary distribution formula, for each area for which an allocation is calculated, based on current available personnel is thus as follows:

(pop * 69.27 / 100 000) + (pop * 201.06 / 100 000) + (20 crimes * 1.88/100) + (murder * 0.55)

On this national primary distribution formula, the Western Cape should receive 25 832 total personnel, compared to the per capita basis, which would result in 20 718 personnel (excluding protection and security). The difference reflects the additional burden of policing present in the Western Cape.

On this national primary distribution formula, Khayelitsha would receive 643 personnel, Lingelethu-West 275 and Harare 651, making a total of 1569 for the three areas together. This compares to the per capita basis, which would see 558, 233 and 624 employees respectively or 1415 for all three together.

The deviation is *upward* from the per capita calculation on national figures due to the burden of policing being higher than is suggested by population alone. Indeed almost all police stations save for seven in the Western Cape show an adjustment upward from the figures suggested by per capita figures, suggesting all but these seven have higher than average rates of crime.

Each year the calculation should be adjusted to take account of latest available population and crime figures. The formula calculation for each area is thus:

$(pop\_area * admin\_total/total\_pop) + (pop\_area*vispol\_total/totalpol) + (area\_20crimes * detectives\_total/total\_20crimes) + (murder\_area * crime\_int\_total/murder\_total)$

**Proposed method on provincial figures**

It is interesting to note that the total number of police personnel in the Western Cape according to Lamoer figures (16 237) is very close to the total number of personnel which should be allocated to the Western Cape, purely on the basis of national per capita figures (20 407) (excluding protection and security) less the 21% Public Service Act employees (16 367). This suggests that:

1. The Lamoer figures refer to Police Act employees only; AND

2. Nationally, policing resources are in fact allocated to the provinces on a flat per capita basis, excluding protection services; OR

3. The THRR method simply reduces to the per capita method (excluding protection services) in the case of the Western Cape.

(A per capita calculation including the protection and security component would see 16 883 allocated to the Western Cape).

Given that it is the responsibility of the Provincial Commissioner to distribute the resources allocated to the province amongst the police stations in the province, and that the total resources allocated nationally are fewer than suggested by the national primary distribution formula explored above, there is a need to adjust the formula for application in the Western Cape.

Assuming that the personnel functions are similarly distributed as they are nationally, allocating protection and security on a per capita basis (which has the effect of treating them in the same way as visible policing) and assuming the Lamoer total number allocated to the Western Cape, the following arises:

Table 4: Western Cape personnel allocations by function

| SAPS Function | Number of personnel (national) | National % | Implied Western Cape personnel based on 16 237 total allocation |
|---|---|---|---|
| Administration | 36703 | 18.54% | 3010 |
| Visible policing | 106527 | 53.82% | 8739 |
| Detective service | 39425 | 19.92% | 3234 |
| Crime intelligence | 8928 | 4.51% | 732 |
| **SUBTOTAL** | 191583 | 96.79% | 15715 |
| Protection and security | 6363 | 3.21% | 521 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 197946 | 100% | 16237 |

Table 5: Western Cape personnel by function and per 100 000

| SAPS Function | Number of personnel (province) | Personnel per 100 000 people (using 5 729 594 population) |
|---|---|---|
| **Administration** | **3010** | **52.53** |
| **Visible policing** | **8739** | **152.52** |
| Detective service | 3234 | 56.44 |
| Crime intelligence | 732 | 12.78 |
| **SUBTOTAL** | 15715 | 274.28 |
| **Protection and security** | **521** | **9.09** |
| **TOTAL** | 16237 | 283.39 |

Table 6: Western Cape personnel by function and per 100 serious crimes

| Function | Number of personnel (province) | Personnel per 100 serious crimes (20 most serious, last year 474669 ) |
|---|---|---|
| Administration | 3010 | 0.63 |
| Visible policing | 8739 | 1.84 |
| **Detective service** | **3234** | **0.68** |
| Crime intelligence | 732 | 0.15 |
| Protection and security | 521 | 0.11 |
| TOTAL | 16237 | 3.42 |

Table 7: Western Cape personnel by function and per murder

| SAPS Function | Number of personnel (province) | Number per murder (last year 2580) |
|---|---|---|
| Administration | 3010 | 1.17 |
| Visible policing | 8739 | 3.39 |
| Detective service | 3234 | 1.25 |
| **Crime intelligence** | **732** | **0.28** |
| Protection and security | 521 | 0.20 |
| Total | 16237 | 6.29 |

(Note that "last year" figures are used for convenience. )

The provincial primary distribution formula then becomes:

(pop * 52.53 / 100 000) + (pop * 152.52 / 100 000) + (total20 crimes * 0.68/100) + (murder * 0.28) + (pop *9.09 / 100 000)

On this provincial primary distribution formula, Harare and Khayelitsha receive the third (444) and fourth (424) largest allocations in the province, and Lingelethu-West 178, making a total of 1046 for the three areas together. This compares to the provincial per capita basis, which would see 437, 182, and 489 employees respectively or 1108 for all three together.

Note that the formula for the three areas results in a *downward* adjustment compared to what is suggested on a per capita basis alone. (This is because the under-reporting of crime in these areas reduces the burden on the detective service.) The question is whether this is a fair reduction in resourcing. The formula suggests it is. However there is a need to check the formula allocations on a per capita basis (see Table 10 annexed).

Table 8: Per capita, formula, and actual allocations compared

|  | Provincial per capita | Provincial formula | Actual |
|---|---|---|---|
| Khayelitsha | 437 | 424 | 294 |
| Harare | 489 | 444 | 192 |
| Lingelethu West | 182 | 178 | 177 |
| TOTAL | 1108 | 1046 | 663 |

Unlike the actual resource per capita figures, the formula allocation does not result in township areas occupying the bottom of the resource list on a per capita basis. Relatively underpopulated areas, such as Nuwerus, have the lowest per capita figures on formula allocations, while the township areas occupy the middle band of resourcing (see table 7). Most over-resourced (per capita) on the provincial primary distribution formula figures are, appropriately, those areas with high daytime populations, such as Cape Town, Sea Point, Woodstock, Claremont and Wynberg . However, a transparent, rational and fair basis now underpins the apparent per capita inequality .

**Amendment to the primary formula**

Nevertheless it may be judged that the formulas does not sufficiently take into account the extra burden on detectives whenever loss of life occurs, that is, when there is an incident of culpable homicide or murder, as these crimes consume more time and resources than do others arising through inquest proceedings and the like. The formula can be adjusted by double-weighting murder and culpable homicide reports in the detective component of the formula. The formula then becomes:

(pop * 52.53 / 100 000) + (pop * 152.52 / 100 000) + ((total20crimes + murder + culphom)* 0.68/100) + (murder * 0.28) + (pop *9.09 / 100 000)

This has the effect of slightly raising (by between 1 and 4 persons) the number of personnel allocated to township areas, which tend to have a high proportion of all crimes being homicides, which in turn results in an improved per capita figure for township areas.

**Adjustments to the primary distribution allocations**

Rational adjustments to the primary distribution formula adopted might include those occasioned by the formula resulting in a number of personnel too small for a viable police station. This can be overcome by allocating to each station the minimum number of personnel necessary for a policing

station of that type (for example, a satellite station with limited opening hours requires at least 4 personnel).

Wherever the minimum number for the station type concerned is higher than the number suggested by the provincial primary distribution formula as initially applied, then the minimum number becomes the number allocated to that area. Whenever that substitution occurs, each such difference between the allocated number and the minimum number must be subtracted from the total number to be used in an amended formula. The primary distribution formula is then applied to the stations which have not had the minimum allocated, using the reduced totals.

For example, for the purposes of illustration assume that 12 is the minimum number of personnel for all police stations of all types. All police stations with primary distribution formula allocations below 12, of which there are 5, are allocated 12 personnel. From the total available personnel, 60 are removed from the total. For the formula calculations, the respective populations, crime numbers and murder numbers emanating from the already allocated areas must be subtracted from those totals, for calculating the factors which must be applied to the remaining 144 stations.

Other adjustments may require similar processes. However whatever adjustments occur, the final allocation must then be checked on a per capita basis to ensure that distortions resulting in unjustifiably unequal allocations have not occurred.

**Conclusion**

A fair method of downward adjustment of township areas resource allocations, compared to per capita allocations, exists. The method being applied by SAPS does not appear to be fair.

**Jean Redpath 6 May 2014**

**Table 9: ACTUAL RESOURCES: Number of police personnel (Lamoer figures, 2013), per 100 000 people (Census 2011) Western Cape ranked from most resourced to least resourced on a per capita basis (average = 283 police per 100 000).**

|  | Place | Police personnel per 100 000 | Actual number of personnel |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | TABLE BAY HARBOUR | 2636.38 | 63 |
| 2 | CAPE TOWN CENTRAL | 1544.88 | 541 |
| 3 | REDELINGHUYS | 1156.31 | 28 |
| 4 | SUURBRAAK | 1086.63 | 32 |
| 5 | ELANDS BAY | 1011.35 | 26 |
| 6 | CAMPS BAY | 959.51 | 53 |
| 7 | WYNBERG | 852.57 | 215 |
| 8 | DORING BAY | 847.11 | 28 |
| 9 | MOSSEL BAY | 836.85 | 88 |
| 10 | LEEU GAMKA | 797.83 | 43 |
| 11 | STRUISBAAI | 731.35 | 33 |
| 12 | MOWBRAY | 693.92 | 69 |
| 13 | GRAAFWATER | 688.2 | 34 |
| 14 | LAINGSBURG | 655.17 | 53 |

| 15 | NUWERUS | 650.88 | 33 |
|----|---------|--------|-----|
| 16 | DE RUST | 625.98 | 37 |
| 17 | EENDEKUIL | 617.32 | 35 |
| 18 | MCGREGOR | 604.96 | 35 |
| 19 | SEA POINT | 592.56 | 147 |
| 20 | CLAREMONT | 592.22 | 183 |
| 21 | WOODSTOCK | 569.85 | 157 |
| 22 | CALITZDORP | 564.02 | 43 |
| 23 | PRINCE ALBERT | 528.94 | 53 |
| 24 | PAARL | 526.71 | 271 |
| 25 | STANFORD | 525.93 | 32 |
| 26 | RONDEBOSCH | 521.71 | 77 |
| 27 | LADISMITH | 517.43 | 90 |
| 28 | PHILADELPHIA | 506.09 | 37 |
| 29 | NAPIER | 501.58 | 34 |
| 30 | BARRYDALE | 496.45 | 37 |
| 31 | MURRAYSBURG | 484.69 | 36 |
| 32 | LAMBERTSBAAI | 480.36 | 34 |
| 33 | RAWSONVILLE | 474.29 | 62 |
| 34 | VANRHYNSDORP | 469.58 | 36 |
| 35 | CALEDON | 467.99 | 128 |
| 36 | DA GAMASKOP | 466.64 | 121 |
| 37 | UNIONDALE | 466.28 | 65 |
| 38 | GEORGE | 456.94 | 282 |
| 39 | BELLVILLE | 450.07 | 297 |
| 40 | PLETTENBERG BAY | 438.26 | 118 |
| 41 | RIVIERSONDEREND | 432.61 | 34 |
| 42 | KLEINMOND | 428.08 | 39 |
| 43 | LANGEBAAN | 427.72 | 35 |
| 44 | VREDENDAL | 427.35 | 110 |
| 45 | GENADENDAL | 421.73 | 45 |
| 46 | BEAUFORT WEST | 416.7 | 167 |
| 47 | HOPEFIELD | 416.02 | 37 |
| 48 | MAITLAND | 414.76 | 81 |
| 49 | TULBAGH | 410.48 | 77 |
| 50 | STELLENBOSCH | 408.65 | 218 |
| 51 | STILL BAY | 402.98 | 33 |
| 52 | TOUWS RIVER | 399.43 | 35 |
| 53 | ALBERTINIA | 396.27 | 33 |
| 54 | OUDTSHOORN | 392.59 | 293 |
| 55 | PORTERVILLE | 388.21 | 61 |
| 56 | GANS BAY | 387.95 | 59 |

| 57 | HEIDELBERG(C) | 385.13 | 60 |
|----|---------------|--------|-----|
| 58 | BREDASDORP | 380.17 | 86 |
| 59 | SWELLENDAM | 372.53 | 90 |
| 60 | ROBERTSON | 372.41 | 133 |
| 61 | SARON | 368.81 | 37 |
| 62 | CERES | 363.34 | 153 |
| 63 | ST HELENA BAY | 362.23 | 41 |
| 64 | BONNIEVALE | 351.01 | 49 |
| 65 | CLANWILLIAM | 346.5 | 55 |
| 66 | MITCHELLS PLAIN | 344.97 | 674 |
| 67 | VREDENBURG | 339.8 | 140 |
| 68 | PINELANDS | 338.77 | 70 |
| 69 | BELLVILLE SOUTH | 337.94 | 99 |
| 70 | SIMON'S TOWN | 337.35 | 44 |
| 71 | GOODWOOD | 332.41 | 146 |
| 72 | MELKBOSSTRAND | 331.08 | 41 |
| 73 | ASHTON | 326.99 | 61 |
| 74 | WORCESTER | 319.61 | 365 |
| 75 | KLAWER | 317.16 | 35 |
| 76 | HERMANUS | 311.42 | 149 |
| 77 | RIVERSDALE | 311.22 | 63 |
| 78 | STRAND | 300.39 | 155 |
| 79 | FISH HOEK | 295.75 | 60 |
| 80 | DYSSELSDORP | 294.34 | 44 |
| 81 | ELSIES RIVER | 292.72 | 204 |
| 82 | RIEBEEK WEST | 291.45 | 47 |
| 83 | LANGA | 290.64 | 138 |
| 84 | PAROW | 290.03 | 175 |
| 85 | SOMERSET WEST | 288.98 | 165 |
| 86 | PHILIPPI | 287.56 | 155 |
| 87 | MBEKWENI | 286.05 | 115 |
| 88 | CONVILLE | 285.99 | 135 |
| 89 | CITRUSDAL | 279.01 | 54 |
| 90 | KLAPMUTS | 278.01 | 38 |
| **91** | **LINGELETHU-WEST** | **274.97** | **177** |
| 92 | PACALTSDORP | 270.35 | 69 |
| 93 | ATHLONE | 270.11 | 171 |
| 94 | MOORREESBURG | 270.1 | 63 |
| 95 | LUTZVILLE | 269.42 | 39 |
| 96 | MONTAGU | 269.14 | 63 |
| 97 | WOLSELEY | 264.12 | 44 |
| 98 | KWANOKUTHULA | 262.65 | 55 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 99 | LAAIPLEK | 261.53 | 36 |
| 100 | KNYSNA | 261.26 | 179 |
| 101 | ATLANTIS | 259.95 | 207 |
| 102 | GORDONS BAY | 259.48 | 43 |
| 103 | KIRSTENHOF | 257.7 | 78 |
| 104 | WELLINGTON | 257.39 | 138 |
| 105 | BOTHASIG | 254.86 | 68 |
| 106 | KUILSRIVIER | 254.33 | 183 |
| 107 | RAVENSMEAD | 254 | 156 |
| 108 | THEMBALETHU | 252.89 | 111 |
| 109 | VILLIERSDORP | 250.92 | 58 |
| 110 | PIKETBERG | 248.58 | 59 |
| 111 | PHILIPPI EAST | 246.02 | 138 |
| 112 | LANSDOWNE | 245.43 | 119 |
| 113 | MILNERTON | 242.77 | 209 |
| 114 | KWANONQABA | 242.1 | 83 |
| 115 | BISHOP LAVIS | 241.39 | 256 |
| 116 | BRACKENFELL | 240.83 | 122 |
| 117 | GROOT-DRAKENSTEIN | 238.12 | 41 |
| 118 | GRABOUW | 237.11 | 100 |
| 119 | KENSINGTON | 234.31 | 60 |
| 120 | MANENBERG | 228.65 | 195 |
| 121 | STEENBERG | 215.47 | 133 |
| 122 | DIEPRIVIER | 214.47 | 83 |
| 123 | DARLING | 214.13 | 33 |
| 124 | GROOT BRAKRIVIER | 211 | 45 |
| 125 | SALDANHA | 210.58 | 61 |
| 126 | MALMESBURY | 205.56 | 123 |
| 127 | HOUT BAY | 204.29 | 68 |
| 128 | FRANSCHHOEK | 204.13 | 46 |
| 129 | DURBANVILLE | 201.8 | 146 |
| 130 | PRINCE ALFRED HAMLET | 197.43 | 75 |
| 131 | MACASSAR | 196.97 | 69 |
| 132 | PAARL EAST | 194.77 | 163 |
| 133 | MUIZENBERG | 193.25 | 114 |
| **134** | **KHAYELITSHA** | **190.46** | **294** |
| 135 | TABLE VIEW | 190.21 | 140 |
| 136 | GRASSY PARK | 178.27 | 158 |
| 137 | DE DOORNS | 173.78 | 61 |
| 138 | GUGULETHU | 172.55 | 214 |
| 139 | KLEINVLEI | 171.86 | 166 |
| 140 | STRANDFONTEIN | 162.79 | 46 |

| 141 | MFULENI | 160.63 | 186 |
|-----|---------|--------|-----|
| 142 | KRAAIFONTEIN | 160.05 | 265 |
| 143 | CLOETESVILLE | 152.37 | 78 |
| 144 | DELFT | 149.58 | 230 |
| 145 | OCEAN VIEW | 146.07 | 59 |
| 146 | NYANGA | 143.82 | 291 |
| 147 | BELHAR | 131.96 | 75 |
| 148 | LWANDLE | 128.94 | 84 |
| **149** | **HARARE** | **111.32** | **192** |

**Table 10: FORMULA RESOURCES Number of police personnel (provincial primary distribution formula), per 100 000 people (Census 2011) Western Cape ranked from most resourced to least resourced per capita (average = 283 police per 100 000).**

| Rank | Place | Formula number per 100 000 | Formula Number | Actual Number |
|------|-------|---------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| 1 | TABLE BAY HARBOUR | 666 | 16 | 63 |
| 2 | CAPE TOWN CENTRAL | 580 | 203 | 541 |
| 3 | SEA POINT | 348 | 86 | 147 |
| 4 | WOODSTOCK | 347 | 96 | 157 |
| 5 | CLAREMONT | 339 | 105 | 183 |
| 6 | WYNBERG | 337 | 85 | 215 |
| 7 | STELLENBOSCH | 334 | 178 | 218 |
| 8 | MITCHELLS PLAIN | 326 | 638 | 674 |
| 9 | KLEINMOND | 324 | 30 | 39 |
| 10 | MOSSEL BAY | 323 | 34 | 88 |
| 11 | BELLVILLE | 323 | 213 | 297 |
| 12 | PHILIPPI | 321 | 173 | 155 |
| 13 | CAMPS BAY | 318 | 18 | 53 |
| 14 | MOWBRAY | 317 | 32 | 69 |
| 15 | RONDEBOSCH | 308 | 45 | 77 |
| 16 | ATHLONE | 306 | 194 | 171 |
| 17 | PAROW | 305 | 184 | 175 |
| 18 | MAITLAND | 304 | 59 | 81 |
| 19 | KIRSTENHOF | 302 | 92 | 78 |
| 20 | ELSIES RIVER | 302 | 211 | 204 |
| 21 | STRAND | 301 | 155 | 155 |
| 22 | MILNERTON | 299 | 257 | 209 |
| 23 | MANENBERG | 298 | 254 | 195 |
| 24 | BEAUFORT WEST | 297 | 119 | 167 |
| 25 | PAARL | 297 | 153 | 271 |
| 26 | GEORGE | 296 | 183 | 282 |
| 27 | GORDONS BAY | 295 | 49 | 43 |
| 28 | PLETTENBERG BAY | 294 | 79 | 118 |

| 29 | HOUT BAY | 294 | 98 | 68 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 30 | GOODWOOD | 293 | 129 | 146 |
| 31 | SWELLENDAM | 291 | 70 | 90 |
| 32 | PINELANDS | 291 | 60 | 70 |
| 33 | WORCESTER | 290 | 331 | 365 |
| 34 | GUGULETHU | 289 | 358 | 214 |
| 35 | BISHOP LAVIS | 288 | 305 | 256 |
| 36 | DIEPRIVIER | 288 | 111 | 83 |
| 37 | CONVILLE | 288 | 136 | 135 |
| 38 | ALBERTINIA | 287 | 24 | 33 |
| 39 | RAVENSMEAD | 287 | 176 | 156 |
| 40 | KUILSRIVIER | 286 | 206 | 183 |
| 41 | SOMERSET WEST | 285 | 163 | 165 |
| 42 | KLEINVLEI | 285 | 275 | 166 |
| 43 | FISH HOEK | 284 | 58 | 60 |
| 44 | GRASSY PARK | 284 | 252 | 158 |
| 45 | LANGEBAAN | 284 | 23 | 35 |
| 46 | DA GAMASKOP | 284 | 74 | 121 |
| 47 | KNYSNA | 283 | 194 | 179 |
| 48 | TOUWS RIVER | 282 | 25 | 35 |
| 49 | LAINGSBURG | 282 | 23 | 53 |
| 50 | RAWSONVILLE | 282 | 37 | 62 |
| 51 | NYANGA | 281 | 569 | 291 |
| 52 | KLAPMUTS | 281 | 38 | 38 |
| 53 | STEENBERG | 281 | 173 | 133 |
| 54 | VREDENBURG | 280 | 116 | 140 |
| 55 | BELLVILLE SOUTH | 279 | 82 | 99 |
| 56 | MFULENI | 277 | 321 | 186 |
| 57 | KWANONQABA | 277 | 95 | 83 |
| 58 | TABLE VIEW | 277 | 204 | 140 |
| 59 | KRAAIFONTEIN | 276 | 458 | 265 |
| **60** | **LINGELETHU-WEST** | **276** | **178** | **177** |
| 61 | LADISMITH | 276 | 48 | 90 |
| 62 | BRACKENFELL | 276 | 140 | 122 |
| 63 | GANS BAY | 276 | 42 | 59 |
| 64 | CERES | 276 | 116 | 153 |
| 65 | RIVIERSONDEREND | 275 | 22 | 34 |
| **66** | **KHAYELITSHA** | **274** | **424** | **294** |
| 67 | UNIONDALE | 274 | 38 | 65 |
| 68 | LANGA | 274 | 130 | 138 |
| 69 | PHILIPPI EAST | 274 | 154 | 138 |
| 70 | MUIZENBERG | 274 | 162 | 114 |
| 71 | STANFORD | 274 | 17 | 32 |
| 72 | BELHAR | 274 | 156 | 75 |

| 73 | KENSINGTON | 274 | 70 | 60 |
|----|------------|-----|-----|-----|
| 74 | MACASSAR | 274 | 96 | 69 |
| 75 | CALITZDORP | 274 | 21 | 43 |
| 76 | OUDTSHOORN | 273 | 204 | 293 |
| 77 | LEEU GAMKA | 273 | 15 | 43 |
| 78 | CLANWILLIAM | 273 | 43 | 55 |
| 79 | LANSDOWNE | 273 | 132 | 119 |
| 80 | RIEBEEK WEST | 273 | 44 | 47 |
| 81 | ATLANTIS | 273 | 217 | 207 |
| 82 | DELFT | 273 | 419 | 230 |
| 83 | ELANDS BAY | 272 | 7 | 26 |
| 84 | CITRUSDAL | 272 | 53 | 54 |
| 85 | KLAWER | 272 | 30 | 35 |
| 86 | WELLINGTON | 272 | 146 | 138 |
| 87 | TULBAGH | 272 | 51 | 77 |
| 88 | STRUISBAAI | 271 | 12 | 33 |
| 89 | GENADENDAL | 271 | 29 | 45 |
| 90 | ROBERTSON | 270 | 97 | 133 |
| 91 | CALEDON | 270 | 74 | 128 |
| 92 | GRABOUW | 269 | 113 | 100 |
| 93 | DURBANVILLE | 269 | 194 | 146 |
| 94 | VILLIERSDORP | 268 | 62 | 58 |
| 95 | BREDASDORP | 268 | 61 | 86 |
| 96 | PHILADELPHIA | 266 | 19 | 37 |
| 97 | VREDENDAL | 266 | 68 | 110 |
| 98 | LAMBERTSBAAI | 265 | 19 | 34 |
| 99 | SARON | 265 | 27 | 37 |
| 100 | PRINCE ALBERT | 264 | 26 | 53 |
| 101 | HERMANUS | 264 | 126 | 149 |
| 102 | SALDANHA | 264 | 76 | 61 |
| 103 | PORTERVILLE | 264 | 41 | 61 |
| 104 | WOLSELEY | 264 | 44 | 44 |
| 105 | LUTZVILLE | 264 | 38 | 39 |
| 106 | MALMESBURY | 263 | 158 | 123 |
| 107 | SUURBRAAK | 263 | 8 | 32 |
| 108 | PAARL EAST | 263 | 220 | 163 |
| 109 | PACALTSDORP | 263 | 67 | 69 |
| 110 | BOTHASIG | 263 | 70 | 68 |
| 111 | REDELINGHUYS | 263 | 6 | 28 |
| 112 | ST HELENA BAY | 263 | 30 | 41 |
| 113 | STRANDFONTEIN | 263 | 74 | 46 |
| 114 | DE RUST | 262 | 15 | 37 |
| 115 | THEMBALETHU | 262 | 115 | 111 |
| 116 | BARRYDALE | 262 | 20 | 37 |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 117 | ASHTON | 262 | 49 | 61 |
| 118 | MBEKWENI | 261 | 105 | 115 |
| 119 | DE DOORNS | 261 | 92 | 61 |
| 120 | MOORREESBURG | 261 | 61 | 63 |
| 121 | VANRHYNSDORP | 260 | 20 | 36 |
| 122 | LAAIPLEK | 259 | 36 | 36 |
| 123 | KWANOKUTHULA | 258 | 54 | 55 |
| **124** | **HARARE** | **258** | **444** | **192** |
| 125 | BONNIEVALE | 258 | 36 | 49 |
| 126 | FRANSCHHOEK | 257 | 58 | 46 |
| 127 | SIMON'S TOWN | 256 | 33 | 44 |
| 128 | OCEAN VIEW | 256 | 103 | 59 |
| 129 | NAPIER | 256 | 17 | 34 |
| 130 | RIVERSDALE | 255 | 52 | 63 |
| 131 | MONTAGU | 255 | 60 | 63 |
| 132 | HEIDELBERG(C) | 255 | 40 | 60 |
| 133 | MURRAYSBURG | 255 | 19 | 36 |
| 134 | LWANDLE | 254 | 166 | 84 |
| 135 | GROOT-DRAKENSTEIN | 254 | 44 | 41 |
| 136 | GRAAFWATER | 254 | 13 | 34 |
| 137 | DARLING | 252 | 39 | 33 |
| 138 | MELKBOSSTRAND | 251 | 31 | 41 |
| 139 | PRINCE ALFRED HAMLET | 250 | 95 | 75 |
| 140 | PIKETBERG | 250 | 59 | 59 |
| 141 | STILL BAY | 249 | 20 | 33 |
| 142 | MCGREGOR | 249 | 14 | 35 |
| 143 | CLOETESVILLE | 247 | 127 | 78 |
| 144 | GROOT BRAKRIVIER | 246 | 53 | 45 |
| 145 | HOPEFIELD | 246 | 22 | 37 |
| 146 | DYSSELSDORP | 244 | 37 | 44 |
| 147 | DORING BAY | 237 | 8 | 28 |
| 148 | EENDEKUIL | 233 | 13 | 35 |
| 149 | NUWERUS | 214 | 11 | 33 |

**Table 11: Actual personnel compared to personnel suggested by provincial primary distribution formula, ranked from the largest difference between formula and actual**

| Rank | Name | Actual personnel | Formula personnel | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | NYANGA | 291 | 568 | 277 |
| **2** | **HARARE** | **192** | **444** | **252** |
| 3 | KRAAIFONTEIN | 265 | 457 | 192 |
| 4 | DELFT | 230 | 419 | 189 |
| 5 | GUGULETHU | 214 | 357 | 143 |

| 6 | MFULENI | 186 | 320 | 134 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 7 | **KHAYELITSHA** | **294** | **423** | **129** |
| 8 | KLEINVLEI | 166 | 275 | 109 |
| 9 | GRASSY PARK | 158 | 252 | 94 |
| 10 | LWANDLE | 84 | 165 | 81 |
| 11 | BELHAR | 75 | 156 | 81 |
| 12 | TABLE VIEW | 140 | 203 | 63 |
| 13 | MANENBERG | 195 | 254 | 59 |
| 14 | PAARL EAST | 163 | 220 | 57 |
| 15 | BISHOP LAVIS | 256 | 305 | 49 |
| 16 | CLOETESVILLE | 78 | 127 | 49 |
| 17 | DURBANVILLE | 146 | 194 | 48 |
| 18 | MILNERTON | 209 | 257 | 48 |
| 19 | MUIZENBERG | 114 | 162 | 48 |
| 20 | OCEAN VIEW | 59 | 103 | 44 |
| 21 | STEENBERG | 133 | 173 | 40 |
| 22 | MALMESBURY | 123 | 158 | 35 |
| 23 | DE DOORNS | 61 | 92 | 31 |
| 24 | HOUT BAY | 68 | 98 | 30 |
| 25 | DIEPRIVIER | 83 | 111 | 28 |
| 26 | STRANDFONTEIN | 46 | 74 | 28 |
| 27 | MACASSAR | 69 | 96 | 27 |
| 28 | KUILSRIVIER | 183 | 206 | 23 |
| 29 | ATHLONE | 171 | 193 | 22 |
| 30 | PRINCE ALFRED HAMLET | 75 | 95 | 20 |
| 31 | RAVENSMEAD | 156 | 176 | 20 |
| 32 | PHILIPPI | 155 | 173 | 18 |
| 33 | BRACKENFELL | 122 | 140 | 18 |
| 34 | PHILIPPI EAST | 138 | 154 | 16 |
| 35 | SALDANHA | 61 | 76 | 15 |
| 36 | KNYSNA | 179 | 194 | 15 |
| 37 | KIRSTENHOF | 78 | 91 | 13 |
| 38 | LANSDOWNE | 119 | 132 | 13 |
| 39 | GRABOUW | 100 | 113 | 13 |
| 40 | FRANSCHHOEK | 46 | 58 | 12 |
| 41 | KWANONQABA | 83 | 95 | 12 |
| 42 | ATLANTIS | 207 | 217 | 10 |
| 43 | KENSINGTON | 60 | 70 | 10 |
| 44 | PAROW | 175 | 184 | 9 |
| 45 | WELLINGTON | 138 | 146 | 8 |
| 46 | GROOT BRAKRIVIER | 45 | 53 | 8 |
| 47 | ELSIES RIVER | 204 | 211 | 7 |
| 48 | DARLING | 33 | 39 | 6 |
| 49 | GORDONS BAY | 43 | 49 | 6 |

| 50 | VILLIERSDORP | 58 | 62 | 4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 51 | THEMBALETHU | 111 | 115 | 4 |
| 52 | GROOT-DRAKENSTEIN | 41 | 44 | 3 |
| 53 | BOTHASIG | 68 | 70 | 2 |
| 54 | CONVILLE | 135 | 136 | 1 |
| 55 | **LINGELETHU-WEST** | **177** | **177** | **0** |
| 56 | STRAND | 155 | 155 | 0 |
| 57 | PIKETBERG | 59 | 59 | 0 |
| 58 | KLAPMUTS | 38 | 38 | 0 |
| 59 | WOLSELEY | 44 | 44 | 0 |
| 60 | LAAIPLEK | 36 | 36 | 0 |
| 61 | LUTZVILLE | 39 | 38 | -1 |
| 62 | KWANOKUTHULA | 55 | 54 | -1 |
| 63 | CITRUSDAL | 54 | 53 | -1 |
| 64 | PACALTSDORP | 69 | 67 | -2 |
| 65 | MOORREESBURG | 63 | 61 | -2 |
| 66 | SOMERSET WEST | 165 | 163 | -2 |
| 67 | FISH HOEK | 60 | 58 | -2 |
| 68 | RIEBEEK WEST | 47 | 44 | -3 |
| 69 | MONTAGU | 63 | 60 | -3 |
| 70 | KLAWER | 35 | 30 | -5 |
| 71 | DYSSELSDORP | 44 | 37 | -7 |
| 72 | LANGA | 138 | 130 | -8 |
| 73 | ALBERTINIA | 33 | 24 | -9 |
| 74 | KLEINMOND | 39 | 30 | -9 |
| 75 | MELKBOSSTRAND | 41 | 31 | -10 |
| 76 | PINELANDS | 70 | 60 | -10 |
| 77 | MBEKWENI | 115 | 105 | -10 |
| 78 | TOUWS RIVER | 35 | 25 | -10 |
| 79 | SARON | 37 | 27 | -10 |
| 80 | SIMON'S TOWN | 44 | 33 | -11 |
| 81 | ST HELENA BAY | 41 | 30 | -11 |
| 82 | RIVERSDALE | 63 | 52 | -11 |
| 83 | CLANWILLIAM | 55 | 43 | -12 |
| 84 | LANGEBAAN | 35 | 23 | -12 |
| 85 | ASHTON | 61 | 49 | -12 |
| 86 | RIVIERSONDEREND | 34 | 22 | -12 |
| 87 | STILL BAY | 33 | 20 | -13 |
| 88 | BONNIEVALE | 49 | 36 | -13 |
| 89 | HOPEFIELD | 37 | 22 | -15 |
| 90 | LAMBERTSBAAI | 34 | 19 | -15 |
| 91 | STANFORD | 32 | 17 | -15 |
| 92 | GENADENDAL | 45 | 29 | -16 |
| 93 | VANRHYNSDORP | 36 | 20 | -16 |

| 94 | NAPIER | 34 | 17 | -17 |
|-----|--------|-----|-----|-----|
| 95 | GANS BAY | 59 | 42 | -17 |
| 96 | MURRAYSBURG | 36 | 19 | -17 |
| 97 | BELLVILLE SOUTH | 99 | 82 | -17 |
| 98 | GOODWOOD | 146 | 129 | -17 |
| 99 | BARRYDALE | 37 | 19 | -18 |
| 100 | PHILADELPHIA | 37 | 19 | -18 |
| 101 | ELANDS BAY | 26 | 7 | -19 |
| 102 | PORTERVILLE | 61 | 41 | -20 |
| 103 | SWELLENDAM | 90 | 70 | -20 |
| 104 | DORING BAY | 28 | 8 | -20 |
| 105 | HEIDELBERG(C) | 60 | 40 | -20 |
| 106 | MCGREGOR | 35 | 14 | -21 |
| 107 | STRUISBAAI | 33 | 12 | -21 |
| 108 | GRAAFWATER | 34 | 13 | -21 |
| 109 | DE RUST | 37 | 15 | -22 |
| 110 | NUWERUS | 33 | 11 | -22 |
| 111 | REDELINGHUYS | 28 | 6 | -22 |
| 112 | MAITLAND | 81 | 59 | -22 |
| 113 | EENDEKUIL | 35 | 13 | -22 |
| 114 | CALITZDORP | 43 | 21 | -22 |
| 115 | HERMANUS | 149 | 126 | -23 |
| 116 | SUURBRAAK | 32 | 8 | -24 |
| 117 | VREDENBURG | 140 | 115 | -25 |
| 118 | RAWSONVILLE | 62 | 37 | -25 |
| 119 | BREDASDORP | 86 | 61 | -25 |
| 120 | TULBAGH | 77 | 51 | -26 |
| 121 | PRINCE ALBERT | 53 | 26 | -27 |
| 122 | UNIONDALE | 65 | 38 | -27 |
| 123 | LEEU GAMKA | 43 | 15 | -28 |
| 124 | LAINGSBURG | 53 | 23 | -30 |
| 125 | RONDEBOSCH | 77 | 45 | -32 |
| 126 | WORCESTER | 365 | 331 | -34 |
| 127 | CAMPS BAY | 53 | 18 | -35 |
| 128 | ROBERTSON | 133 | 96 | -37 |
| 129 | CERES | 153 | 116 | -37 |
| 130 | MITCHELLS PLAIN | 674 | 637 | -37 |
| 131 | MOWBRAY | 69 | 32 | -37 |
| 132 | PLETTENBERG BAY | 118 | 79 | -39 |
| 133 | STELLENBOSCH | 218 | 178 | -40 |
| 134 | VREDENDAL | 110 | 68 | -42 |
| 135 | LADISMITH | 90 | 48 | -42 |
| 136 | TABLE BAY HARBOUR | 63 | 16 | -47 |
| 137 | DA GAMASKOP | 121 | 73 | -48 |

| 138 | BEAUFORT WEST | 167 | 119 | -48 |
|-----|---------------|-----|-----|-----|
| 139 | MOSSEL BAY | 88 | 34 | -54 |
| 140 | CALEDON | 128 | 74 | -54 |
| 141 | SEA POINT | 147 | 86 | -61 |
| 142 | WOODSTOCK | 157 | 95 | -62 |
| 143 | CLAREMONT | 183 | 105 | -78 |
| 144 | BELLVILLE | 297 | 213 | -84 |
| 145 | OUDTSHOORN | 293 | 204 | -89 |
| 146 | GEORGE | 282 | 183 | -99 |
| 147 | PAARL | 271 | 152 | -119 |
| 148 | WYNBERG | 215 | 85 | -130 |
| 149 | CAPE TOWN CENTRAL | 541 | 203 | -338 |