

**OLD VERSUS NEW:
A South African Police Service culture attitudinal comparison**

By

Vuyelwa Kemiso Maweni

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Supervisor: Dr. Jéan Steyn

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this masters dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science in Criminology and Forensic Studies, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), is my own original work and has not been submitted to any other institution, and that all the sources consulted or quoted are indicated and acknowledged by means of a comprehensive list of references.

Vuyelwa Kemiso Maweni

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ABSTRACT

Contemporary ethnographers (Cockcroft, 2013; O'Neill, Marks & Singh, 2007; Sklansky, 2005) argue that new developments in policing have changed the police, and that traditional understanding of police culture, as a consequence, are no longer relevant. More specifically, these researchers fashionably imply that the South African Police Service (SAPS) has changed many of the traits of police culture that accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public. This masters' dissertation is an attempt to contribute to this narrative by comparing the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism attitudes of two (2) different cohorts of new South African Police Service (SAPS) recruits separated by ten (10) years. By making use of the 30-item police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism questionnaire, designed by Steyn (2005), the study established that a representative sample (138 out of a population of 140) of new SAPS recruits from the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute (August 2015), had remarkably similar attitudes in support of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism, compared to a representative sample of all new SAPS recruits that started their basic training in January 2005 (Steyn, 2005). Although small in representation, the current study refutes the claims made by Cockcroft (2013), O'Neill, Marks & Singh (2007), and Sklansky (2005), that traditional understandings of police culture are no longer relevant. The current study further argues that new developments in the South African Police Service (SAPS) over the past ten (10) years (2005-2015) have not done much to counteract traits of police culture that accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public.

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CHAPTER ONE GENERAL ORIENTATION

Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world.

Nelson Mandela

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE

The motivation of police agencies worldwide (Australia, Canada, Great Britain, Japan, New Zealand, South Africa, Nigeria, Botswana, Uganda, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and the United States) to change coincides with disillusionment with the military and paramilitary model of traditional policing (O’Neil, Marks & Singh, 2007; Chan, 1997; Manning, 1997; Bayley & Shearing, 1994). Where traditional policing emphasizes arrests, speedy vehicles and haphazard perambulation, the new vision of policing is one of being accountable to the community and establishing a nexus of partnerships with the community in policing (Cockcroft, 2013; O’Neil, Marks & Singh, 2007). It recognizes the ineffectiveness of traditional policing methods as well as the resourcefulness of the community in matters of crime deterrence and social control (Chan, 1997:49). The ‘blueprint for the future’ of policing is not one of piecemeal tinkering with police practices or the police image, but a dramatic departure from traditional policing: *“Police, in order to be competitive and to attract the resources necessary to fulfill their role of the future, must become outward-looking, increasingly sensitive to developments and trends in their environment, responsive and resilient to change, innovative and creative in their approach to problem solving and idea generation, and more open and accountable to the community and Government”*

(Bayley & Shearing, 1994:143). To this endeavour, the South African national Minister of Safety and Security, at the time, Dr. Sidney Mufamadi, stated at the time of transforming South Africa from an autocratic state to a democracy: *“The philosophy of community policing must inform and pervade the entire organisation. Changing the police culture is perhaps the most significant challenge facing the new government”* (Department of Safety and Security, 1994).

For such change to be actual and durable the creed of democratic policing must essentially be espoused by the stance of the police organisational culture, to comprise altering the rudimentary suppositions of each police official pertaining to the establishment and its setting.

In advancing this makeover, the South African Police Service (SAPS) applied a national policy of guaranteeing gender and race compatibility in the composition of the Service to the conclusion of befitting representation of the greater South African populace. Alpert, Dunham and Stroshine (2006) contend that an upsurge in variety in police establishments might succeed to splinter, and even perhaps extinguish, the notion of a homogeneous police culture. Particularly, service of women in the police could weaken certain of the hypermasculine makings of police culture and as an alternative, spawn an empathetic and gentler manner of policing (Miller, 2003). Contemporary ethnographers (Cockcroft, 2013; O’Neill, Marks & Singh, 2007; Sklansky, 2005) contend that these new developments in policing have changed the police, and that traditional understanding of police culture, as a consequence, are no longer relevant. More specifically that the South African Police

Service (SAPS) has changed many of the traits of police culture that accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public.

This masters' dissertation is an attempt to contribute to this narrative by comparing the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism attitudes of two (2) different cohorts of new South African Police Service (SAPS) recruits separated over a ten (10) year period (2005-2015).

1.2 OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESES

The primary objective of the current study is to establish whether changes in the South African Police Service (SAPS) have made traditional understandings of police culture obsolete. In other words, have new developments in the SAPS counteracted many of the traits of police culture that accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public. More specifically, the study asks whether a representative sample of new SAPS recruits that started their basic training in July 2015 at the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute have similar or different attitudes in support of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism, compared to a study conducted by Steyn (2006) ten years ago (2005) in the SAPS amongst a representative sample of all new recruits in the SAPS that commenced their basic training in January 2005?

The current study hypothesizes that:

- A representative sample of all SAPS recruits that commenced their basic police training at the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute in July 2015 have indicators evincing of police culture theme of solidarity, police culture theme of isolation, and police culture theme of cynicism.
- A representative sample of all SAPS recruits that commenced their basic police training at the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute in July 2015 have weaker attitudes in support of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism, compared to a study conducted by Steyn (2006) ten (10) years ago amongst a representative sample of all new SAPS recruits that commenced their basic police training in January 2005.

1.3 OPERATIONALISATION OF RELEVANT CONCEPTS

1.3.1 DEPENDENT VARIABLES

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE (SAPS) NEW RECRUIT

This concept can be described as inhabitants of the Republic of South Africa (RSA) who were recruited by the South African Police Service (SAPS) to undergo their basic police training at a SAPS basic training institute. A distinction is made between a lateral recruit and a non-lateral recruit. A lateral recruit is a South African citizen that was employed by another Government department at the time of recruitment by the SAPS. A non-lateral recruit is a South African citizen that was not employed by a South African Government department at the time of recruitment by the SAPS. The relevancy here is that the current study participants were all lateral recruits whilst the 2005 study sample were all non-lateral recruits.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE (SAPS) NEW RECRUIT ATTITUDES

Such attitudes refer to cognitive evaluations (favourable or unfavourable) of statements noted in response to the items on the 30-Item Police Culture Questionnaire developed by Steyn (2006) that measures indicators evincing of attitudes in support of police culture solidarity, police culture isolation, and police culture cynicism.

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE (SAPS)

The South African Police Service (SAPS) is a South African Government organisation that was established on the 27 January 1995 in terms of section 214 of the Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993. The SAPS is the only national police service in the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and is assigned with, under section 205 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), to prevent, combat and investigate crime, maintain public order, protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property; and uphold and enforce the law.

1.3.2 INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

CULTURE, ORGANISATIONAL CULTURE AND POLICE CULTURE

According to Steyn (2015), culture, organisational culture, and police culture, are tricky concepts to define due to their scientifically abstract, intangible and non-essential nature. Hall and Neitz (1993), states that the study of culture emerged in ethnographies of primitive civilisations. In its origins, culture was conceived broadly, in that there are bounded, isolated and stable social entities called cultures, and these cultures provide the measure of a whole way of life of a people (Redfield, 1939). At its heart, the study of culture is the study of what it means to be quintessentially human. More specifically, Schein (2004) defines *culture* as a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration that has

worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. Schraeder, Tears and Jordan (2005) bridges culture and *organisational culture* by noting that the latter tends to be unique to a particular organisation, composed of an objective and subjective dimension, and concerned with tradition and the nature of shared beliefs and expectations about organisational life. Crank (2004) provides a meaning of culture that furnishes a conduit to works on culture in the main, and from which depictions of police culture appear cogent. Crank (2004) terms culture as shared sense making. Sense-making with ideational, behavioural, material, social structural and emergent elements, such as (1) ideas, knowledge (correct, wrong, or unverifiable belief) and recipes for doing things, (2) behaviours, signs and rituals, (3) humanly fabricated tools including media, (4) social and organisational structures, and (5) the products of social action, including conflicts, that may emerge in concrete interpersonal and inter-social encounters and that may be drawn upon in the further construction of the first four elements of collective sense-making. Roberg, Crank and Kuykendall (2000) conceptualise *police occupational* and *organisational culture* as the work-related principles and moral standards that are shared by most police officials within a particular sovereignty (Roberg, Crank, & Kuykendall, 2000). *Police subculture*, on the other hand, is the values introduced by the wider civility in which police officials exist (Roberg, Crank, & Kuykendall, 2000).

POLICE CULTURE THEME OF SOLIDARITY

According to Steyn (2006) police culture theme of solidarity represents the formation of powerful loyalties between police officials in an attempt to protect themselves against the sheer danger of police work as well as external oversight in the form of challenges to police authority on how they do their day-to-day work.

POLICE CULTURE THEME OF ISOLATION

The degree to which police officials feel the need to be isolated from previous friends, isolated from the community, isolated from the legal system and isolated from their spouses and families. *Isolation is also seen as a consequence of police solidarity* (Steyn, 2006).

POLICE CULTURE THEME OF CYNICISM

A pessimistic interpretation of ‘out-groups’ such as the public, media, Justice System and police top ranking officials (Steyn, 2006).

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND PROCEDURE

The research project was an attempt to contribute towards a current debate regarding the relevance of conventional thoughts of police culture by exploring and comparing police

culture thematic attitudes amongst police cadets in the SAPS. As a result a quantitative and deductive research approach was adopted due to the measurement of relationships between dependent and independent variables.

1.5 RESEARCH SAMPLE

To preserve a great measure of external validity (generalisation), to moderate standard errors and to avert systematic biases, the sample mean was chosen to value the population mean. Subsequently the sample was selected to be within a 5% variance of the population mean with a 99% confidence level, as per Table 1.

Table 1
Research sample

\mathcal{X}	\mathcal{N}			\mathcal{N} % of \mathcal{X}
SAPS Chatsworth BTI new recruit population (July 2015)	Study sample of SAPS Chatsworth BTI new recruits (August 2015)			
	Ethnicity	Number	%	
	Black	124	90	
	Coloured	7	5	
	Indian	5	4	
	White	2	1	
140	TOTAL	138	100	98.57

Note. ‘ \mathcal{X} ’ denote ‘population’; ‘ \mathcal{N} ’ indicates ‘sample’; ‘SAPS BTI’ represent ‘South African Police Service Basic Training Institute’; ‘%’ designate ‘percentage’.

A more comprehensive discussion on the study sample is provided in the Research Methodology and Data Analysis chapters of this dissertation.

1.6 DATA ANALYSIS

A number of computerised statistical techniques were used to transform the raw data into meaningful information. Some of these statistical techniques included: significance tests, non-parametric tests, correlations, associations and variance. These techniques along with the data analyses are discussed in more detail under the Data Analysis Chapter.

1.7 CONCLUSION: ORGANISATION OF THE DISSERTATION

Based on the research rationale, problem statement, objectives and hypotheses stated above, the rest of the dissertation is organised in the following chapters:

- Chapter 2 discusses the origins, maintenance, and implications of police culture
- Chapter 3 compares the police culture predisposition and socialisation schools of thought
- Chapter 4 provides a reflection on the three (3) coping police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism
- Chapter 5 discusses police transformation in South Africa over the last ten (10) years
- Chapter 6 describes the research methodology followed in the study
- Chapter 7 provides the data analyses
- Chapter 8 elaborates on the findings and recommendations of the study

CHAPTER TWO POLICE CULTURE – ORIGINS, MAINTENANCE, AND IMPLICATIONS

Lack of knowledge is darker than night.

African proverb

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Research and thought on policing and the police have extensively recognised the part colloquial standards and principles play concomitant with its members in sculpting circadian decisions and praxis. Since the pivotal work of William Westley, police culture research methodologies have traversed numerous epochs and remain to be broadly deliberated in current parleys of policing (Westley, 1953 & 1970; Banton, 1964; Whitaker, 1964; Skolnick, 1966 & 1994; Niederhoffer, 1967; Wilson, 1968; Cain, 1973; Rubinstein, 1973; Van Maanen, 1975; Genz & Lester, 1976; Reiner, 1978; Punch, 1979; Brown, 1981; Holdaway, 1983; Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983; Klockars, 1985; Smith & Grey, 1985; Brogden, Jefferson & Walklate, 1988; Fielding, 1988; Hobbs, 1988; Bayley & Bittner, 1989; Manning, 1989; Shearing & Ericson, 1991; Young, 1991; Brogden & Shearing, 1993; McNulty, 1994; Waddington, 1999; Roberg, Crank & Kuykendall, 2000; Beal, 2001; Walker, 2001; Paoline III, 2003; Downes & Rock, 2003; Crank, 2004; Sklansky, 2005; Steyn, 2006; Chan, 2007; O'Neill, Marks & Singh, 2007; Meyer & Steyn, 2009; Loftus, 2010; Cockcroft, 2013; Steyn, 2015). The following chapter discusses the origins, maintenance, and consequences of police culture.

2.2 THE ORIGINS OF POLICE CULTURE

Police culture, within relative terms; derive from conspicuous qualities of two (2) interdependent but paradoxical surroundings within which police officials perform their duties. More specifically, the police occupational setting and the police organisational setting (Paoline III, 2003). The occupational setting relates to the police officials connection to the community of people living in a particular country or region. The most referenced components of this setting are the manifest or latency for physical harm/risk, and the distinctive forcible license police officials have over the populace (Paoline III, 2003). Police officials tend to be fixated with believing that their work setting is loaded with hazards (real or perceived), and expect such most of the time (Steyn & De Vries, 2007). The component of physical harm/risk is so central to the police official's world view that being confronted could potentially prompt affective impediments to performing police work (Paoline III, 2003). Physical harm/risk creates formidable solidarity amongst police officials whilst at the same time isolation from the public whom they see as the primary cause/source of physical harm/risk (Crank, 2004). The police occupation is distinct in that police officials have the legislative right to use force if chosen to do so. This very license and the accompanying need to demonstrate control underscores the acuity of physical harm/risk. Irrespective of the circumstances; police officials are compelled to initiate, demonstrate and uphold, – control (Paoline III, 2003).

The second setting that police officials work in is the organisation, which consists of one's connection with the establishment (i.e. overseers) (Paoline III, 2003). The two (2) most

salient components of this setting that police officials are faced with are the erratic and disciplinary overseeing, and the abstruseness of the police role (Paoline III, 2003). The connection between police officials and their managers has been depicted as ambiguous. It is expected of the police to impose laws, yet are obliged to keep to the correct bureaucratic rubrics and conventions (Paoline III, 2003). Technical infringements from inappropriate use of the law can end in punitive proceedings. Novice police officials soon realise that when they become noticed it is usually for mistakes, instead of being commended for behaving admirably (Steyn & De Vries, 2007). Enthusiastic behaviour amongst police officials is not encouraged as it increases the likelihood of blunders and its accompanying detection and reprimand. As such, police officials are constricted, employed by an establishment that commands that all challenges on the 'front line' be controlled with competent inevitability, yet kept to extreme inquiry by faultfinders in the future (Paoline III, 2003). This institutional ambiguity is the corresponding element to the apparent corporal risks within the police work setting. Supplementary to the erratic and disciplinary overseeing, police officials also work within an institutional setting that supports vague task affinity. Empirical enquiries have ascertained no less than three (3) foremost roles that police officials are anticipated to perform: preservation of the peace, execution of the law and the provision of public assistance, yet police institutions have traditionally more often than not formally recognised execution of the law. This is buttressed through police institutional tuition, formation of expert sections, emphasis on crime numbers and notably, assessment of performance and advancement (Meyer, Steyn & Gopal, 2013).

In general, operational police manage circumstances that comprise all three roles, yet only criminal law execution is underpinned and endorsed. For police officials the vagueness derives from overseers who require juniors to perform all operational tasks the same. The hazards and forcible license in police officials' occupational setting, as well as overseer critical observations and role vagueness from the organisational setting, generates pressure and angst for police officials (Paoline III, 2003). The manner in which police officials deal with these tensions maintain police culture which is the topic of discussion in the next section.

2.3 MAINTENANCE OF POLICE CULTURE

The values of police culture come from the inherent dangers of the police vocation, and police officials attempt to reduce these dangers to shield themselves (Paoline III, 2003).

Adaptive strategies particularised by the police culture attempts to curtail the pressure and nervousness produced by the settings, directing opinions and actions. In other words, adaptive strategies assist police officials by providing order and control to their vocational realm. Two (2) extensively quoted adaptive strategies arise from police officials' occupational setting: distrustfulness and sustaining superiority (Paoline III, 2003). Parallel, self-preservation and firm devotion to the anti-crime warrior semblance result from police officials' organisational setting (Paoline III, 2003).

In the endeavour to minimise the haziness related with a treacherous occupational setting, police officials are thought to be distrustful thespians. Skolnick (1994:46) notes: “... *it is the nature of the [public police officials’] situation that [her or his] conception of order emphasizes regularity and predictability. It is, therefore, a conception shaped by persistent [distrust]”*”.

Police officials aren’t just distrustful of citizens they equally engage greenhorns with suspicion. Old hands perceive novices as an added risk to coterie cohesion. “[Do not] *trust a new [police official] until you have checked [her or him] out ...*” (Reuss-Ianni, 1983:268). In other words, assenting is dependent on the demonstration of loyalty to colleagues.

Sustaining superiority is a utility of the hazard characteristic in police officials’ occupational setting, and is likewise connected to the proficiency of officials to demonstrate their authority (Paoline III, 2003). Police officials believe that they can curtail the possibility of harm in their everyday public encounters, in addition to appropriately exhibiting their license to use force, by being primed for anything and everything from the populace (Paoline III, 2003).

Sustaining superiority relates broadly to construing individuals and circumstances. Construing individuals and circumstances also includes the ability to categorise clientéle (“...*dubious individuals, assholes and know-nothings...*”), constructed on the possible risk that they could offer (Paoline III, 2003). Adding to the adaptive strategies imposed by the

police culture as a product of populace dealings in the occupational setting, the organisational setting in which officials are employed creates pressure and angst that are thought to be dispelled by police culture. As Manning (1994b:5) points out, “*As an adaptive modality, the occupational culture mediates external pressures and demands internal expectations for performance and production*”. A particular aftereffect of police overseers’ emphasis on regulatory infringements is the self-preservation mind-set. This adaptive strategy dissuades police officials from initiating behaviours that could possibly attract criticism. Herbert (1997:805) explains how the self-preservation mentality can have debilitating consequences on the application of policing: “*The [self-preservation mentality] afflicts [police officials] who live primarily in fear of administrative censure and thus avoid all situations that involve risk that might later be second guessed*”.

Another adaptive strategy is a firm devotion to the anti-crime warrior semblance or criminal law execution proclivity. Some police officials address task vagueness by associating with the task superiors have traditionally valued (Paoline III, 2003).

Police culture is understood to accentuate law enforcement or genuine police graft above preservation of the peace and the provision of public assistance. “*As such, the inner-directed aggressive street cop is somewhat of the cultural ideal that officers are expected to follow*” (Paoline III, 2003).

True adherence to the law enforcement proclivity could clash with self-preservation dexterity, which may result in police officials making use of discriminatory tactics in relation to law enforcement, or in other words concentrate on priority criminal offences.

Police culture adaptive strategies are cohortly passed on via predisposition and socialisation practices, and persist the span of a police officials' career.

2.4 IMPLICATIONS OF POLICE CULTURE

According to the police world-view, no one else understands the real nature of police work. That is, no one outside the police organisation - academics, politicians, and lawyers in particular - can comprehend what they have to do. Further, police officials believe that the public is generally naive about police work and that populace is basically unsupportive and unreasonably demanding.

From the police perspective inhabitants seem to think they know their job better than the police. *“They only want us when they need something done (‘building blocks’ of police culture)” (Sparrow et al., 1990:51). Other themes / beliefs of the police include “watch out for your ‘budy’ first and then the rest of the officers working with you. . . Don’t give up on another cop . . . Hold up your end of the work... If you get caught off-base, don’t implicate anyone else. . . Make sure the other guys know if another cop is dangerous or ‘crazy’. . . Don’t leave work for the next shift-group (street cop codes)” (Reuss-Ianni, 1983:15–16).*

Community service-orientated policing requires patrolmen to trust citizens – whom they see as their chief source of danger. This situation, due to a lack of a term, can be described as “... *Catch-22-Policing* ...”, and leads to inconsistency between patrolmen’s beliefs and actions, according to Steyn (2008). Steyn (2004) further states that police officials will consequently attempt to reduce the accompanying anxiety by making use of police culture adaptive strategies and even worse, “... *policethink* ...”. More specifically, patrolmen will regress to the law enforcement or ‘genuine’ police work orientation. In essence, the ‘ideal marriage’ between law enforcement and community service-orientated policing cannot be achieved because the police occupational and organisational (sub) culture will not allow it to (Steyn, 2008). For the ‘ideal marriage’ to be achieved the ‘heart’ of police (sub) culture must be removed (Steyn, 2008). In other words, the mandate of police must change (Steyn, 2008). Some might argue that is an unrealistic expectation, however in retrospect some said ‘man’ would never walk on the moon.

2.5 CONCLUSION

The current chapter provided a peek at the origins, maintenance, and implications of police culture literature. The image of culture carried by this author is that culture exists in varying degrees at all levels. People are embedded in culture, as Geertz (1973:5) puts it: “*Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs ...*”. The next chapter of this dissertation provides a reflection on two (2) schools of thought on police culture, namely, predisposition and socialisation.

CHAPTER THREE POLICE CULTURE SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT – PREDISPOSITION AND SOCIALISATION

Which came first, the chicken or the egg?

Chinese proverb

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Community-oriented-policing emphasises police discretion, problem solving, decentralisation of authority and community involvement. These characteristics are in direct contradiction to the traditional way that police organisations have been functioning in the past and the definition requires employment of the so-called ‘right’ kind of police official. In turn, much of the idea of the ‘right’ kind of police official is based on the premise that the ‘right’ kind of official has the ‘right’ kind of values and attitudes (Steyn, 2006). Central to the notion of employing the ‘right’ kind of police official, is the age-old question of where police officials attitudes and values come from. Two opposing schools of thought have developed over the years in an attempt to answer this question, namely the predisposition school and the socialisation school.

3.2 PREDISPOSITION

Supporters of the predispositional school of thought believe that police official (officer) behaviour can primarily be explained by the personality characteristics (traits), values and

attitudes that the individual had prior to being employed by a police organisation. The theory further emphasises that the police occupation attracts people with certain values and attitudes (Roberg, Novak & Cordner, 2005). Since the 1970's several researchers (Rokeach, Miller, & Snyder, 1971; Rokeach, 1973; Lefkowitz, 1975; Cook, 1977; Fenster & Locke, 1973; Reiner, 1978; Adlam, 1980; Colman & Gorman, 1982; Cochrane & Butler, 1980; Adlam, 1982; Brown & Willis, 1985; Gudjonsson & Clark, 1986; Carpenter & Raza, 1987; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Caldero, 1997; Zhao, He & Lovrich, 1998; Crank & Caldero, 1999; Caldero & Crank, 2000; Caldero & Larose, 2001; Steyn, 2006, 2015), have found support for the predispositional model. In summary these researchers describe the police personality as being:

- authoritarian;
- suspicious;
- conservative, and
- cynical.

Most of these personality characteristics are in direct contrast to what Miller and Hess (2005:115) identify as community policing skills that police officials of today should have:

- Creativity
- Flexibility
- Imagination
- Intelligence

- Ability to function interdependently
- Problem-solving ability
- Critical reasoning ability
- Conflict mediation
- Capacity to relate to others
- Sensitivity to problems of urban life and community organisation
- Ability to consider the chief task of the job to be relating to people

It is contradictory then that the selection process for new recruits of police agencies/departments around the world is designed to assure that recruits are fit for police work (Crank, 2004:26).

Most police departments around the world make use (in different variations and sequence) of the following selection process (Crank, 2004):

- Screening of the application form. With the purpose of determining whether the applicant has completed the application form correctly and meets predetermined minimum requirements, such as applicants must be citizens, have no criminal record, not be over a certain age, have obtained a senior certificate (high school Diploma – grade 12) and have a valid motor vehicle driver's licence.
- Determining the truthfulness of the application form content as well as curriculum vitae through a background check. The primary purpose of the

background check is to determine whether the applicant complies with the predetermined moral character criteria.

- Reading, writing and comprehension tests. With the purpose of determining whether the candidate meets specific reading, writing and comprehension skills (including basic mathematics, factual memorising, logic and reasoning, and scenario analysing).
- Interviewing. With the purpose of assessing the candidate's professionalism, social and communication skills, level of reasoning, appearance, composure and poise.
- Psychological testing. The purpose of the psychological screening process is to assess the candidate's cognitive functioning (intelligence, abilities and skills), for example the Wechler Adult Intelligence Scale III; affective behaviour (emotions, adjustment and well-being), for example the Anxiety Scale (IPAT); normal personality traits, for example the 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire (16PF), and abnormal personality traits, for example the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), to compare the applicant with the job specifications and required outputs.
- Physical agility assessment. With the purpose of ensuring that the applicant will be able to perform the job-related activities and requirements effectively and efficiently.

The SAPS also make use of these selection steps. The outcome of the selection process is intended to ensure that only the most-fit will ultimately be employed. Persons who can

demonstrate characteristics and traits similar to those possessed by the officials already in the police service stand a greater chance of being hired.

3.3 SOCIALISATION

As the body of knowledge about police behaviour increased, social scientists suggested as early as the 1960's that police behaviour was determined more by work experiences and peers than by pre-employment values and attitudes (Roberg et al., 2005). This is called the socialisation theory – that is, *individuals are socialised as a result of their occupational experiences*. If a police official becomes corrupt, it is because the police occupation contributes in some way to weaken values; in other words, corruption is learned within the department. This theory applies to any type of police behaviour, good or bad (Roberg et al., 2005).

There have not been many systematic studies of police socialisation (Fielding, 1988; Van Maanen, 1975, 1977; Genz & Lester 1976; Westley, 1970; Niederhoffer, 1967; Kirkham, 1963), although there is substantial literature on professional or organisational socialisation in other fields (Saks & Ashforth, 1997; Ashforth & Saks, 1996; Adkins, 1995; Morrison, 1993; Jones, 1986; Van Maanen & Schein, 1979).

Traditionally, socialisation is conceived as the process through which a novice learns the skills, knowledge and values necessary to become a competent member of an organisation or occupation (Chan, 2003:3). In policing this involves not only learning the laws,

procedures and techniques of law enforcement and order maintenance, but also acquiring a range of organisational skills, attitudes and assumptions that are compatible with those of other members of the occupation. The socialisation process starts with the selection of new recruits and steps into higher gear the moment the new recruit arrives at the basic training college and continues for some time after he or she has been appointed officially as a constable. Successful socialisation often involves a personal metamorphosis (Van Maanen, 1975) – and not always a positive one.

Research has consistently shown that most recruits join the police with high expectations and lofty ideals, but by the time they graduate as police constables, many have become disillusioned and cynical about police work and the organisation, although they remain firmly committed to their vocation and bonded with their colleagues (Chan, 2003:3). Through socialisation, new recruits acquire various types of dimensions of cultural knowledge (Schein, 1985; Sackman, 1991).

New police recruits go through various stages of socialisation (Van Maanen, 1976). Often there is a phase of *anticipatory socialisation* during which people prepare themselves before entering an organisation by taking on its values, attitudes, skills and knowledge. This is followed by an initial period of *introduction* with the organisation, which can be a difficult phase if new recruits' expectations of their job and the organisation are unrealistic. The newcomer's experience at this phase is mediated by environmental, organisational, as well as relevant group, task and individual factors (Van Maanen, 1976). The *encounter phase* follows the introduction wherein the newcomer first experiences 'the street'. Finally

continued membership in the organisation, as mentioned before, demands some form of *metamorphosis* on the part of the newcomer. The extent of individual change is 'situationally determined and dependent upon both organisational and individual characteristics' (Van Maanen, 1976:115).

The consequences of socialisation often depend on the 'socialisation tactics' (Van Maanen & Schein, 1979) adopted by the organisation. Socialisation tactics can be 'institutionalised' or 'individualised' (Jones, 1986). The socialisation of police recruits is institutionalised in that it is typically *collective, formal, sequential* and *fixed* in duration at the police college stage, and *serial* (where experienced members groom newcomers) at the field training stage. Typically, it involves *divestiture* processes that strip away certain personal characteristics of the newcomer. Institutionalised socialisation tends to encourage conformity rather than innovation (Jones, 1986), although this depends on whether innovation is expected of organisational members (Ashforth & Saks, 1996).

Schein has written extensively on organisational culture and has reviewed the theories explaining how culture develops among groups. These theories are also useful for explaining how organisational culture is reproduced or transformed. Schein (1985) suggests that theories of culture formation fall into three broad types: *sociodynamic theory*, which is concerned with group dynamics and shared understandings; *leadership theory*, which describes the role of leaders in creating and embedding their assumptions in organisations; and *learning theory*, which deals with cognitive learning and explains how some cultural features become entrenched while others disappear. Though leadership

theory is useful for understanding cultural formation and cultural change in organisations, sociodynamic theory and learning theory are more relevant for understanding how police culture is transmitted to new recruits. These two are briefly discussed below.

3.3.1 SOCIODYNAMIC THEORY

This type of theory focuses on the ‘underlying interpersonal and emotional processes’ that explain how and why ‘shared’ solutions, understandings and worldviews develop within a group: “... *how each individual comes to feel that he is a member of the group in the first place and how each member resolves the core conflict between the wish to be enveloped by and fused with the group, thereby completely losing personal identity, and the wish to be completely autonomous and free of the group, thereby potentially becoming estranged from and losing potential membership in the group*” (Schein, 1985:149-150).

Although not tied to Van Maanen’s concept of metamorphosis, this quote also captures what Van Maanen meant when he explained the processes when and if personal identity is fused with group identity. The hypothesis is that people have three primary needs in a social context: the need to be included and to ‘develop a viable role or identity within a group’ (inclusion); the need to ‘master the environment’ (influence and control); and the need ‘to feel accepted and secure’ (acceptance and intimacy). When thwarted, these needs generate strong anxiety; when fulfilled, they generate ‘positive energy’. ‘The first and most powerful experience of ‘sharing’ thus comes with the discovery that ‘every member has similar feelings of anxiety and alienation’ (Schein, 1985:151).

Studies of police socialisation have found similar processes operating among new recruits. Van Maanen (1973:410) describes how the ‘harsh and often arbitrary discipline’ encountered at the police college gave rise to a collective consciousness among recruits of being ‘in the same boat,’ and how this helped develop group solidarity among members of the same class/platoon and increased distance from old acquaintances: *“The main result of such stress training is that the recruit soon learns it is his peer group rather than the ‘commanders’ who will support him and whom he, in turn, must support. For example, the newcomers adopt covering tactics to shield the tardy colleague, develop cribbing techniques to pass exams, and become proficient at constructing consensual ad hoc explanations of a fellow-recruit’s mistake. Furthermore, the long hours, new friends and ordeal aspects of the recruit school serve to detach the newcomer from his old attitudes and acquaintances. In short, the college impresses upon the recruit that he must now identify with a new group – his fellow officers”* (Van Maanen, 1973:411).

Fielding (1988:61-62) makes a similar observation about the role of drill training in building up group consciousness among recruits. However, individuals working in the same environment bring into the job different emotional coping styles from those they developed in past cultural settings. Over time, members learn to accommodate one another’s styles, especially when working together is essential for survival in the organisation. Some may decide to leave because their needs are not being met; those who remain ‘gradually develop common conceptual categories and a language geared to mutual understanding and acceptance’ (Schein, 1985:154). For example, Fielding (1988:92) observes that recruits who confront ‘how great their ignorance of practice is’ in the field

are strongly influenced by experienced officials, who pass on ‘subversive knowledge’ about coping strategies and an ‘operating ideology’ justifying these practices, which may or may not be in line with ‘approved procedures’. Recruits begin to see the limitations of ‘formal, by-the-book’ knowledge, compared with the useful, practical procedures they learn from experienced officers. In time, recruits develop a degree of contempt for ‘academic knowledge’, as contrasted with practical, common-sense knowledge (Fielding, 1988:140). Similarly, Van Maanen (1973:415) describes how recruits cope with the realities of police work by learning to ‘stay out of trouble’ and follow ‘the line of least resistance’ for organisational survival. As Fielding points out (in Ahern, 1972:3), a recruit, after joining the police, begins renegotiating his sense of self-identity through interaction with others, so that eventually ‘he leaves society behind to enter a profession that does more than give him a job, it defines who he is’ (Ahern, 1972:3).

These processes of negotiating self-identity in a new occupational setting are not driven entirely by needs satisfaction and organisational survival. Rather, members in organisations develop shared understandings and defence mechanisms in both conscious and unconscious ways: *“The process of ‘getting acquainted,’ ‘testing the waters,’ and ‘finding one’s place in the group’ can ... be seen as a highly complex interaction involving both conscious and unconscious elements, both rational assessments of the situation and irrational projective identifications elicited by one’s own unconscious needs and the characteristics of particular other people in the group”* (Schein, 1985:156-157).

3.3.2 LEARNING THEORY

Schein (1985:174) also proposes that culture is learned in organisations through a complex process that involves absorbing not only ‘overt behaviour patterns’ but also cognitions and emotions. According to Schein, culture is transmitted by a group-based learning process either through positive reinforcement of successful solutions to problems (‘problem solving’) or through successful avoidance of painful situations (‘anxiety avoidance’). This distinction between problem-solving learning and anxiety-avoidance learning is an important one for understanding police culture.

Problem-solving learning is considered positive and rewarding, whereas anxiety-avoidance learning is negative and defensive: ‘Avoidance learning is often *one*-trial learning. Once something works, it will be repeated indefinitely, even if the source of pain is no longer active’ (Schein, 1985:177).

Many of the negative aspects of police culture seem to have developed as anxiety-avoidance mechanisms rather than as innovative problem-solving strategies. For example, perceptual stereotypes and operational shortcuts enable officials to place people and situations they encounter into ready-made categories, and to apply standard operational methods. Schein (1985:179) considers ‘cognitive overload and/ or an inability to decipher and categorise the multitude of stimuli imprinting on the sense’ as a major source of anxiety (*cognitive* anxiety) for people; thus, a stable system of cognitions is ‘absolutely necessary’ for their own protection and survival. Furthermore, police officials’ work

involves considerable potential for risk and danger, which are sources of *role-related* anxiety. Hence, operational ‘rules of thumb’ reduce the level of uncertainty and anxiety in police work and make unfamiliar situations seem more predictable. Police officials are often required to ‘form a rapid first impression, to a group of people quickly according to whether they were likely to behave rebelliously or cooperatively’ (Muir, 1977:157). Fielding (1988:42-45) suggests that ‘making work’ – ‘converting boredom to excitement by generating one’s own activity’ such as car stops and high-speed car pursuit – is another way of coping with the danger and boredom of police work. Besides dealing with external risks related to street work, officials also learn to deal with the anxieties generated by ‘paperwork’ requirements within the organisation. This often involves ‘backcovering’ activities. One of Fielding’s new recruits observed that producing ‘appropriate paperwork’ to satisfy the demand for accountability became an end in itself and a significant factor in determining action: *“You’ve got a crime report to fill in as soon as a crime’s happened and if you’re not very careful, you start thinking of the paperwork before you think of what you’re doing. There could be a criminal there and you’re getting your paperwork out before you’ve assessed the job. In the long term the paperwork is more important because I’m in my basic training and you can get in trouble over your paperwork a lot easier than if you arrest somebody unlawfully”* (Fielding, 1988:118). Similarly, occupational solidarity helps police officials reduce their *social* anxiety by offering recipes for avoiding trouble and preventing isolation within the police service. For example, by observing the ‘code of silence’, officers avoid the threat of being ostracised by colleagues as well as the danger that assistance will be withheld during emergencies. As noted earlier by Schein, the consequence of anxiety-avoidance learning is that the group tends not to question any

original assumptions, even if those assumptions were incorrect. This is because such questioning would itself be anxiety-provoking or painful. For example, Muir (1977) found that police officials preferred to be overly suspicious rather than overtly trusting when approaching citizens. Officials used a ‘minimax’ strategy to minimise the maximum risk in their work: *“In the event that an assumption was erroneously suspicious, the policeman ended up unhappy but at least had the consolation that he was alive to appreciate his unhappiness. In the instance where the mistaken assumption was initially trusting, the policeman’s mistake was not redeemed by the fact of personal survival. The mistaken over suspicion meant killing a citizen; the mistaken over trust meant death”* (1977:166-167).

As Muir points out, this type of strategy offers no incentive for checking the correctness of the initial assumption; such checking would be considered a waste of time. Anxiety-avoidance learning can also result in the group being overprotective of their accepted rituals, beliefs and assumptions. The group may eventually lose any ability to change and innovate. As Sparrow and colleagues (1990) point out, mistake avoidance and resistance to change seem to go hand in hand.

3.4 PREDISPOSITION STUDIES OF POLICE NEWCOMERS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Besides the current study, only two (2) empirical police culture predisposition studies have been conducted in the Republic of South Africa. The two (2) cannot be compared as the first was conducted in the apartheid South African Police (SAP) in January 1977 by Smit (1979), whilst the second was conducted in the democratic South African Police Service

(SAPS) in January 2005 by Steyn (2006). The 1977 study quantitatively measured the expectations and attitudes of a group of five hundred (500) newcomers to the SAP force, and found socialisation dysfunctions such as cynicism, alienation and marginality already in place, at enrolment. The 2005 study measured indicators evincing police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism, amongst a representative sample (1453) of all new SAPS recruits that started their basic training at the six (6) SAPS basic training institutes (Pretoria, Chatsworth, Oudtshoorn, Graaff-Reinett, Phillippi and Bisho) (at the time) in January 2005. The 2005 study by Steyn (2006) found that SAPS cadets that commenced their basic training in January 2005, entered the organisation with predispositions in furtherance of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism.

3.5 CONCLUSION

The contents of chapter three of this dissertation discussed two opposing schools of thought on police culture, namely, predisposition and socialisation. The next chapter reflects on three (3) coping police culture themes – solidarity, isolation, and cynicism.

CHAPTER FOUR POLICE CULTURE THEMES OF SOLIDARITY, ISOLATION, AND CYNICISM

Wonderful reminder of a great man who overcame great odds and left an equally impressive legacy.

Howard Therman

4.1 INTRODUCTION

There are numerous themes identified and discussed in police culture literature epochs but three (3) loose-coupling themes appear more salient in relation to traits of police culture that accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public. These are police culture theme of solidarity, police culture theme of isolation, and police culture theme of cynicism.

4.2 POLICE CULTURE FRAMES

There are three frames commonly used in literature on public police culture (Crank, 2004:29). Framing means the identification of sources with regards to values, social structures and other elements that make up some organisational “culture” (Crank, 2004:29). The first frame is interactionist, and locates culture and cultural emergence in the face-to-face interactions of police officials in local settings. The idea that the police are a ‘local culture’ suggests that the outlooks and predispositions of police officials emerge from their work setting and occupational environment. The second frame looks at police establishments in terms of subcultures, that is, whose values and cultural predispositions

are imported from outside, and uses an institutional perspective to identify common subcultural elements. According to the institutional perspective, one looks at broad institutional or national patterns and their effects on local structures and the values carried by local role players. The third frame draws from a variety of contemporary writings to argue that multiple cultures co-exist in public police institutions.

4.3 CULTURE AND SUBCULTURE

The terms ‘culture’ and ‘subculture’ are commonly used interchangeably to describe particular police subgroups and the way they do and think about their work. However, the choice of term one makes carries important implications for how people think about police work and the values and ethics police have. This distinction between culture and subculture, is practical for reform-minded professionals, because it permits one to both view how values are adopted from broader society (public police as a subculture) and how public police recruits are socialised into a prevailing way of thinking about public police work (hence culture). If problems are cultural, they can be addressed by changing the organisation or its formal and informal socialisation processes. If problems are subcultural, they can be addressed by changing recruitment practices.

This way of distinguishing between culture and subculture, however, is limited. First, it does not recognise complexity in the relationship between culture and subculture. Municipal police departments across the Republic of South Africa (RSA), for example, are characterised by similar patterns of rank-structure, occupational differentiation and patrol

practices, suggesting that all subgroups in these organisations can be described by a similar material culture. Similarly, research on the police as a culture, particularly research focusing on cultural themes or attitudes, often fail to notice subtle patterns of subcultural differentiation (Fine & Kleinman, 1979:7). Christensen and Crank (2001), for example, noted that police tended to display a general pattern of themes. However, on closer inspection, subtle differences were noted. They concluded that: *“An outsider visiting police organisations in two jurisdictions may encounter the same theme concepts ... However, our research also suggests that the conclusion of equivalence is too facile and overlooks nuanced but important differences in the way officers think about their work”* (Christensen & Crank, 2001: 94).

In other words, the presence of similar police ‘themes’ may hide important differences in local meanings appending to those themes. Second, when one examines only ideational components – values, beliefs and ethics – associated with different police institutions, one might observe that some elements seem to be present in all, suggesting the presence of a general ‘culture’ of policing, while others appear to be local, suggesting subcultural variation. In other words, depending on which elements one looks at, ideational elements can both be cultural and subcultural at the same time (Steyn, 2006).

Third, cultural aspects are complicated by the predispositions of the observer. One observer might look at a pattern of similarity or divergence in some practice, value, or organisational element, and conclude that they are quite similar, while another might conclude that they, in fact, reveal startling differences. There is no such thing as police

culture in the objective 'out there' (DiCristina, 1995). It does not exist independently of the observer. When academics write about police culture, their values and predispositions are completely intertwined with the standpoints of the membership of whatever police group they are studying. In writing about police culture, academics authenticate it. The values of the observer are not separable from the object of the research, and are fully in place from the moment the researcher uses the word 'culture' to describe a group of police officials. In a real sense, the researcher is always investigating his or her interaction with the people being studied. Fourth, to identify a subculture begs the question: What is the larger culture of which the police are a subculture? Should one define culture geographically, using nation-states or political units as boundaries? Some themes seem to have international scope (Waddington, 1999).

4.4 POLICE CULTURAL THEMES

That the police share a culture united by common themes has been noted by many observers such as Manning, 1989, 1977; Reuss-Ianni, 1983; Shearing and Ericson, 1991; McNulty, 1994; and Bayley and Bittner, 1984, to name but a few. Shared cultural themes e.g. unpredictability (Skolnick, 1994), "Assholes" (Van Maanen, 1978), management brass (Ianni and Ianni, 1983), and the liberal court system (Niederhoffer, 1967) have been cited so frequently as to seem ubiquitous in literature on police culture.

The term theme can be defined as recurring patterns of behaviour and values (Steyn, 2006). According to Steyn: *"The concept cultural theme represents the joining of cultural*

elements in ways that, as Manning (1989) observed, highlight areas of shared occupational activity. These themes tend to mix together many cultural elements. First, they are behavioural i.e. they occur on the ordinary “doing” of police work, and derive their meaning from routine, ordinary police activity. Second, themes are a way of thinking about that activity, the sentiments that are associated with the activity. Kappeler, Sluder and Albert (1994:108) use the term dynamic affirmation to describe the linkage of behaviour and sentiment. Put another way, police do not approach each aspect of their work as if they had never done it before. There are traditions and ways of thinking that are associated with their many activities. Nor are the themes rule bound, but they are predisposive, applying appropriate customs and taken for granted assumptions to, in Shearing and Ericson’s (1991) colourful phrasing, provide the sensibility for thinking about particular routine activities. Third, themes imply social and organisational structure”.

When one thinks about culture, one tends to think in imaginatively primitive terms, such as some small group geographically isolated from other groups. The principle of geographic remoteness does not apply to the police as they are embedded in and surrounded by other groups. How can one then describe boundaries for police culture? According to Crank (2004:54) a boundary central to police culture is rank. That a police organisation may contain multiple cultures has been suggested by various scholars (Chan, 2003; Gregory, 1983; Van Maanen & Barley, 1982). Manning (1976) describes a three-tier image of police culture segmented by rank. Distinguishing cultural characteristics, he observes, can be noted at the ranks of line officers, at the middle-management ranks, and at the level of top-

management. While granting that there are core values that mobilise all levels of the police, the researcher in this study limited the focus to elements associated with the segment at the bottom of the chain-of-command, namely line-police-official culture in the SAPS.

According to Steyn (2006) police tend to operate in similar institutional environments and face similar functional problems in those environments. That is, they have to deal with the courts, the law, suspects and the public everywhere. Hence, compatibilities are evident across police agencies and departments and one can describe police in terms of themes. Yet the apparent pervasiveness of some of these themes undoubtedly derives from the process of academic reproduction of knowledge rather than from one's knowledge of police culture in different settings.

Contemporary research on police culture has been focusing on themes that are termed as 'coping mechanism themes' (Steyn, 2015). What is meant by coping mechanism themes is that these police cultural themes emerge when line police officials think that particular groups interfere with their ability to do their day-to-day work (Steyn, 2008). Such themes (solidarity, isolation and cynicism) are used by line-police-officials to protect themselves from external oversight.

4.4.1 POLICE CULTURE THEME OF SOLIDARITY

One of the most powerful aesthetics (aesthetics resemble typifications of how meaning and common sense arise from everyday experience) of police culture is the sense of solidarity shared by its members (Willis, 1990).

According to (Crank, 2004; Chan, 2003; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993; Christopher, 1991; Manning, 1978), solidarity is the powerful bond between police officials that can be described as the glue that holds police culture together. Solidarity serves to sustain police group identity, mark group boundaries and protect police officials from external oversight (Crank, 2004; Chan, 2003). Crank (2004) and Coser (1956) further state that police solidarity is a product of conflicts and antagonisms with diverse out-groups that perceivably challenge police authority on how they do their day-to-day work such as the public, courts, the media, politicians and police commanders themselves (referred to as brass). Moreover, the sheer danger of police work, like combat, encourages strong loyalties in an 'all for one and one for all' sense of camaraderie, and a military sense of combat-readiness and general spiritedness. Powerful loyalties emerge in the commonly shared and perilous effort to control dangerous crimes. Central to the police cultural theme of solidarity is the sense of high-minded morality amongst its members. High-minded morality requires the elementary logic that the enemy (out-groups in conflict with the police such as the public, courts, criminals, politicians, administrative brass) is totally evil and the police members are totally good. Police officials view themselves as moral agents whose responsibility is not simply to make arrests, but to roust out society's trouble-makers

(Sykes & Brent, 1980). They perceive themselves to be a superior class (Hunt & Magenau, 1993), or as Bouza notes (1990:17), people 'on the side of angels'. Police officials morality thus carries with it a judgment of citizens as different. This sense of high-minded morality amongst police officials typifies the often uncritical way in which the police are presented to the outside world as good guys, waging a war against the bad guys, criminals, or whoever fails to unequivocally support the police (Fussell, 1989:164). The moral dimension of police solidarity is the heart of police culture and justifies all that the police do to protect their identity, including righteous abuse of suspects and malcontents (Caldero, 1995).

Perceived differences between the police and out-groups are emphasized through irony and the art of irony amongst police officials is suspicion (Crank, 2004:225). Suspicion is a central element of police work and more specifically cultural solidarity. Suspicion derives from the ability to transform a safe environment such as the beat patrol, colourfully described as 'the street', where the central organising theme of police work is carried out. Suspicion is a true foundational or root metaphor, providing the basis for much of police behaviour.

The consequences of police behaviour in turn justify the suspicion. A bad guy does not have to be found every time a police official is suspicious, but each time one is apprehended the mythos of irony and suspicion is sustained by police stories. Ironic training is highly visible in police-college and field training. Stories of peril and danger, role-plays and films emphasize the threat and hidden danger in police work. Recruits, when

taught the lore of police work, are simultaneously provided with a vocabulary of irony, danger, suspicion and officer safety. College instructors are members of the police service, and as such are participants in the common-sense language of the organisational culture. Their natural language is metaphoric and story-based (Crank, 1996; McNulty, 1994). Instructors provide insight into organisational culture when they are asked the question or when they feel compelled to provide an explanation during a class. The recruits are told to make use of this cultural knowledge so as to stay out of trouble. Instructors give group rather than individual punishment, when recruits do not conform to these cultural values and norms (Van Maanen, 1973). Group punishments and rewards intentionally reinforce solidarity. The latent or unintended consequence of punishment for trivial behaviour is an atmosphere in which recruits need to cover for each other, thus validating secrecy as a central element of solidarity (Crank, 2004:246).

The intense focus on officer safety that characterises police-college training today reinforces the ‘we-them’ attitude where the ‘them’ is the public. Police officials are expected to watch out for their partner before all others (Reuss-Ianni, 1983). The entire outside world is dangerous, and only officers can identify the dangers out there (Crank, 2004:247).

4.4.2 POLICE CULTURE THEME OF ISOLATION

A considerable amount of police research over the past thirty years has chronicled the tendency for police to become isolated. They are isolated from previous friends, isolated

from the community, isolated from the legal system, and even isolated from their spouses and families (Drummond, 1976; Skolnick, 1966). Police impose social isolation upon themselves as a means of protection against real and perceived dangers, loss of personal and professional autonomy, and social rejection (Skolnick, 1966:18). Skolnick found: *“In an attempt to be attentive to any possible violence, the officer becomes generally suspicious of everyone. Likewise, many officers begin to distance themselves from previous friends as they do not seem to understand and appreciate the rigors of being a cop”*.

Likewise, administrative factors such as shift work, days-off during the week and court time tend to isolate the police official from persons other than other police. Police also become isolated due to their authority. They are required to enforce many laws representing puritanical morality, such as those prohibiting drunkenness. Many police officials have been drunk themselves and become sensitive to the charge of hypocrisy. In order to protect themselves they tend to socialise with other police or spend time alone, again leading to social isolation (Kingshott & Prinsloo, 2004).

Ruess-Ianni has identified several postulates that are reflective of a ‘we-they’ worldview by police. The postulates tend to be a means of creating, and maintaining, a police culture in which the members believe that non-police simply do not understand the true nature of police work.

Police have a strong view of the uniqueness of their profession and generally believe that non-police could not possibly grasp the problems that exist in police work (Kappeler et al., 1994). Eventually, this 'us-them' outlook could increase police isolation from the citizens. Isolation also is a factor in some cases between the police and legal institutions. Many police officials believe that legal institutions are uncooperative and non-supportive. They see the courts as 'soft' on offenders and out of touch with the reality of the street. Research has found that while some police officials resent legal restrictions on police practices and are willing to violate them, other police officials are willing to work within such restrictions and do not even feel unduly constrained by them (Brown, 1981).

4.4.3 POLICE CULTURE THEME OF CYNICISM

In 1967, Arthur Niederhoffer wrote about a pervasive cynicism he had observed during his career in the New York City Police Department. Niederhoffer (1967:98) describes police cynicism as diffuse feelings of hate, envy, impotent hostility and a sour-grapes pattern which are reflected as a state of mind in the individual police official. Niederhoffer states further that police cynicism is directed towards life, the world, people in general, and the police system itself.

Niederhoffer believed that cynicism is the root of many problems associated with the police. Left unchecked, a brooding cynicism and its accompanying loss of faith in police work contributes to alienation, job dissatisfaction and corruption. Wilt and Bannon (1976) argue that measures of police cynicism tap the argot of police culture, a language nuanced

with frustration towards administrators, police work and the organisation. Cynicism emerges early on from language and attitude modelling in college training, partly because of a desire among newcomers to emulate experienced police officials in an effort to shed their status as novices (Wilt & Bannon, 1976:40), and partly because new recruits have the motivational desire to quickly learn how to cover their ‘butts’, like more experienced police officials do (Crank, 2004:325).

“Their cynicism is driven by too keen an awareness of us. They recognise us for what we are; dangerous, unpredictable, violent, savagely cunning, a thin veneer of self-deluding civilisation over an ontology that created a genuinely vicious top dog in a world of capable and talented reptilian, mammalian and pescian predators. They know that there is only one way to control the alien. Only direct coercion can control it. That, alone, it understands. The alien is deterred, not by reason or foresight, but by force. Superior firepower deters the alien. Deterrence is through power, by immediate implementation of overwhelming counter force before the alien has a chance to respond” (Crank, 2004:306).

4.5 CONCLUSION

Police culture solidarity, isolation and cynicism are viewed as conscious/normal coping strategies (or coping police culture themes) utilised by police officials (male or female) to minimise physical and psychological harm. These coping police culture themes should be embraced rather than defied.

CHAPTER FIVE POLICE TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

No great discovery was ever made without a bold guess.

Isaac Newton

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the few police culture transformations that have occurred over the past few years in South Africa. These include community orientated policing and the SAPS new recruitment approach.

5.2 COMMUNITY-ORIENTED POLICING

Marks (2000) pronounce that in various ways, the police do not only reflect the nature of the state, but are also accountable for the prevention or promotion of state change. The transformation of the SAP into the SAPS by the country's first elected democratic government commenced over two decades ago in 1994. For a prior period of decades South Africans were facing a challenge of living in a country whereby the policing culture was extremely brutal and racist in nature. With the birth of democracy, one of the world's largest police transformations was launched. The Green Paper (2013) alludes that "*... from a militant and racist organisation serving the interests of a numerically small white elite, moves were made to transform the SAPS into a democratic institution that would reflect the demographic diversity of the country and serve the interests of all South Africans ...*".

The Green Paper on Policing (2013) further proclaims that moving away from past practices of police brutality and extreme use of force meant that the SAPS's approach to policing had to center on protecting important human rights as enshrined in the constitution. For a numerous number of international experts; the process of police transformation in South Africa is perceived as a model of success.

Community policing can be regarded as a renowned initiative of attempting to change the public police culture in South Africa; this typically involves the building of direct links between the public police and the community (Steyn, 2013). According to Masuku, Newham and Dlamini (2013), community policing signifies a key philosophy underpinning the policing style of the post-apartheid SAPS. The notion behind this transformation itinerary is to produce a police service that could effectively combat crime and ensure that all South Africans are safe and secure. Achieving this would however be dependent on the SAPS enjoying the trust and support of the communities they serve (Green Paper, 2013). Consequently, this necessitated a fundamental shift in the culture and style of policing with the introduction of democratic policing along with a myriad methods aimed at indoctrinating a culture of transparency and accountability within the organisation (Green Paper, 2013).

SAPS officials themselves acknowledge and promote the necessity for the community's participation in the fight against crime, and there have been recurrent calls for such involvement from the executive and management of the SAPS for the mobilising of communities in the fight (Masuku, Newham and Dlamini 2013). Masuku, Newham and Dlamini (2013) pronounce that most police officials are of the opinion that community policing is generally supported throughout the organisation.

A number of platforms are in existence for such community involvement, the majority of which have been initiated by the SAPS, including the Community Police Forums (CPFs), Community Crime Prevention Associations (CCPAs), the Crime Stoppers reporting line, the recently established Crime Line, the Police Reservists and various community-based crime prevention initiatives such as the Youth Crime Prevention Capacity-building Programmes, the Anti-Rape Strategy and Local Crime Prevention Development Programmes as clearly outlined by the 2010-2014 Strategic Plan. These programmes have been recognised as a significant police strategy by various academics (Steyn, 2013; Cockcroft, 2013; Meyer, Steyn & Gopal, 2013; Loftus, 2010; O'Neil, Marks & Singh, 2007; Sklansky, 2005; Bayley, 1989; Weatheritt, 1987; Alderson, 1983; Goldstein, 1979). However, it is worth noting that community policing is not only a task to be executed by the police and the community in isolation, but also refers to a variety of role players within government, businesses, municipalities, interest groups, etc., in partnership with the police and the community in order to successfully achieve community orientated policing in this country. The creation of partnerships has to occur at all levels, from a national level right down to sector level at every police station.

The KwaZulu-Natal Province Department of Community Safety and Liaison, which is currently lead by, MEC W. Mchunu, can be regarded as an active role player in partnership with both the community and the police at large, ensuring that community policing is successfully achieved throughout the Province. Primarily, one of its strategic goals is to advocate democratic transparency and accountability in the police service and direct the SAPS towards efficiently addressing provincial needs and priorities. Their central objectives aimed at achieving these goals is through evaluating police service delivery and

compliance with national policy standards and making recommendations for redress where required, addressing service delivery complaints against the police to support the raising of service standards and to assess the effectiveness of visible policing in the province (KwaZulu-Natal Province Department of Community Safety and Liaison , 2011).

An additional strategic goal for this department is to promote good relations and establish partnerships between the police and the communities. Their role in achieving this goal is through having the following objectives: oversee the establishment and functioning of community policing forums at all police stations in the province, enhance the capacity of the community police structures to improve cooperation between the police and the community and to promote community dialogues and participation in support of crime prevention initiatives and activities (KwaZulu-Natal Province Department of Community Safety and Liaison, 2011).

Although community policing is regarded as an ideal approach by various scholars, opposing sentiments have been raised to critique the widespread support of community policing. The first argument brought forward is that community policing is rarely accomplished (Steyn, 2013). The argument provided for its ineffectiveness is the general idea of it being a lenient alternative, an inability of its advocates to create persuasive arguments for its acceptance, and a tendency to regard community policing as a trivial forte instead of an essential component of all public policing components (Steyn, 2013). It can be further argued that with the community policing strategy in practice, there is an inevitable certain proportion of police officials who will have discriminatory attitudes and behaviour towards different community members as police officers are drawn from the broader society (Masuku, Newham and Dlamini, 2013). However, a significant majority of

police officials are cognisant of the fact that any form of discrimination against members of the public on the basis of race, ethnicity or class is equally unreasonable and undesirable at any given circumstance. Brodgen (1998) further contends that it is an established truism that community orientated policing works best in homogeneous, common-interest, wealthy suburbs, where it is least needed. Similarly, it works worse in heterogeneous, lower class urban contexts where it is most needed. On the other hand, it can be noted that the aforementioned police culture behaviours can be controlled and monitored by the Independent Police Investigating Directorate (IPID), which is an additional significant governmental department identified which plays a crucial role with the transformation of police culture in South Africa, both with the community at large and the SAPS organisation. IPID's role is to promote correct police conduct in accordance with the principles of the Constitution. Furthermore, the aim of the IPID is to ensure independent oversight over SAPS and the Municipal Police Services (MPS), and to conduct independent and impartial investigations of identified criminal offences allegedly committed by members of the SAPS and the MPS, and construct suitable recommendations.

5.3 SAPS NEW RECRUITS ASSESSMENT APPROACH

The necessity for an improved recruitment and training approach to be adopted was identified as a fundamental approach across the globe, in order for police professionalism of the public police to be achieved (Steyn, 2013). The Green Paper on Policing (2013) further concurs by declaring that training forms an integral part in developing the right type

of police official, and in contributing to the broader transformation goals of the police. It must be based on modern techniques and principles of policing, and be a deliberate approach to improving the quality of the police. Therefore the idea of an amended recruitment and training approach is essential; to attract a different category of recruits and provide better public police training so that public police officials become more responsive to community needs (Steyn, 2013).

Various public police organisations have revised their recruitment and training methods and therefore it can be affirmed that police education and training has in effect boomed countrywide (Chan, 1997). South Africa can also be identified to be among the nationwide states that has adopted an improved police training and recruitment curriculum. The South African government has indeed recognized that the caliber of some of the SAPS officials recruited are not of an excellent standard, as expected to be, and still possess attitudes that adhere to the broader public police culture. As per the objective of bringing about progressive change within the SAPS, there has been an amended SAPS recruitment and training curriculum. Some of these amended developments are to be achieved through implementing a longer and more intensive training program, assessments by community policing forums, and a raft of background checks (Green Paper, 2013). With regards to the abovementioned intensive training program, it is proposed that trainees now undergo 12-24 months of basic training at the SAPS training academy, as compared to the previous six months training period (Green Paper, 2013). Furthermore, the field training that trainees undergo at police stations has also been extended to 12 months. The former South African MEC for Transport, and Community Safety and Liaison, Bheki Cele respectively had

confidently believed that an extended training period will yield a better quality of police officials in various ways, one of the ways being improved statement-taking and investigation skills (KwaZulu-Natal Province Department of Community Safety and Liaison, 2011).

The Green Paper (2013) suggests that the addition of basic investigative skills for all newly trained police officials, as well as the advancement of a detective training academy, are all steps aimed at improving police training. Crime scene management training has also been proposed to be provided to all uniform members.

The addition of an extra module to the police training curriculum has been implemented, in belief that it will instill patriotism and reliability into the organisation. Moreover, the opening of the Paarl Police University has also been expected to enhance the training of recruits to produce an improved breed of SAPS officials and to assist with dissolving the existing police culture in South Africa. This police university was officially opened and received its first intake in the previous 2014 year (SAPS Strategic Plan, 2013). It's partnership with the internationally accredited University of South Africa has been anticipated to assist the organisation to implement internationally accredited programs (SAPS Strategic Plan, 2013).

What is also significant to mention is that the management of training facilities and the custom in which training occurs can and will have an impact on the quality of police officers. If a police recruit's first experience of the police is a poorly run and managed

training facility, this will impact on the character of such an officer and will obstruct the development a professional police officer (Green Paper, 2013).

Due to the extended training period at the SAPS academy, the monthly stipend has also increased from the previous R1 600 to now R3 175. In addition to these aforementioned developments, another commendable change was that the process of recruiting novices will be supervised by a committee instead of individuals, and that Community Policing Forums, religious organisations and even schools will become intensely involved in the screening process (SA News, 2010). This concept particularly supports Chan's preceding recommendation that training must also be armored and supported by peer groups and senior police officials to have any long-term influence on behaviour (Chan, 1997). It was further highlighted that the prospective recruits will be subjected to a raft of screening background checks, comprising compulsory rigorous vetting to prevent enlisting applicants that have pending criminal cases (SA News, 2010).

5.4 CONCLUSION

The relationship between formal rules and informal culture is rarely straightforward. Reformers have advocated many strategies for improving police-community relations over the years and agree that general deficiencies in the nature, structure and culture of a police force are at the heart of poor police-community relations (Chan, 1997:49). In order to achieve fundamental change, these deficiencies need to be dealt with, not as isolated problems, but systematically. In the next chapter the research methodology and procedures

that were used in addressing the research problem and objectives for this thesis are discussed.

CHAPTER SIX RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Not everything that can be counted counts and not everything that counts can be counted.

Albert Einstein

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous five chapters of this thesis provided a theoretical and philosophical background to understanding the rationale and research problem of the study at hand. In this chapter the researcher will be discussing what process was followed to address the study research questions and hypotheses. More specifically, the chapter reflects on the research approach and design, sampling, data collection method, procedure, and problems encountered.

6.2 RESEARCH APPROACH AND DESIGN

The research approach and design are dependent on the purpose of the study, which is to answer the research questions and hypotheses.

Research questions

- Have new developments in the SAPS counteracted many of the traits of police culture that accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public?

- Did a representative sample of new SAPS recruits that started their basic training in July 2015 at the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute have similar or different attitudes in support of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism, compared to a study conducted by Steyn (2006) ten years ago (2005) in the SAPS amongst a representative sample of all new recruits in the SAPS that commenced their basic training in January 2005?

Research hypotheses:

- A representative sample of all SAPS recruits that commenced their basic police training at the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute in July 2015 have indicators evincing of police culture theme of solidarity, police culture theme of isolation, and police culture theme of cynicism.
- A representative sample of all SAPS recruits that commenced their basic police training at the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute in July 2015 have weaker attitudes in support of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism, compared to a study conducted by Steyn (2006) ten (10) years ago amongst a representative sample of all new SAPS recruits that commenced their basic police training in January 2005.

The researcher chose a quantitative research approach (within the ambit of the Positivist Research Paradigm) for the reasons that the research question and hypotheses required a research approach that could accommodate statistical analysis, a large research sample (external validity) and at the same time measure causal construct/variable relationships (existence, direction and significance), and theory, between different groups, over a single period of time.

6.3 DATA COLLECTION METHOD

The research problem required a measuring instrument that would translate the research hypotheses into numerical variables that would represent data that could be collected in a standardised way and that could then be analysed via statistical procedures. The only appropriate measuring instrument available in the world currently is the Thirty-Item Police Culture Questionnaire, developed by Steyn (2006). Permission was obtained (from the developer, who is also the candidate's thesis supervisor) to use the Thirty-Item Police Culture Questionnaire.

The Thirty-Item Police Culture Questionnaire was developed through an extensive literature review and the engagement of a focus group that comprised of senior SAPS managers and police science academics in South Africa, to measure attitudes evincing police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst police officials (Steyn, 2015). The questionnaire consists of seven (7) sections:

Section A: Purpose of the questionnaire

Section B: Voluntary participation permission

Section C: Instructions and guidelines on how to complete the questionnaire

Section D: Participant biographical information

Section E: Police culture solidarity items (1-10)

Section F: Police culture isolation items (11-20)

Section G: Police culture cynicism items (21-30)

SOLIDARITY THEME ITEMS

- [1] I think that a police official should be one of the highest paid vocations
- [2] I feel it is my duty to rid the country of its bad elements
- [3] Police officials are careful of how they behave in public
- [4] You don't understand what it is to be a police official until you are a police official
- [5] Police officials have to look out for each other
- [6] Members of the public, media and politicians are quick to criticise the police but seldom recognise the good that police officials do
- [7] What does not kill a police official makes him or her stronger
- [8] Most members of the public don't really know what is going on 'out there'
- [9] A good police official takes nothing at face value
- [10] To be a police official is not just another job it is a 'higher calling'

ISOLATION THEME ITEMS

- [11] I tend to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I have become a police official
- [12] I prefer socialising with my colleagues to socialising with non-members
- [13] I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the police organisation about my work
- [14] Being a police official made me realise how uncooperative and non-supportive the courts are
- [15] My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what being a police official is all about
- [16] Shift work and special duties influence my socialising with friends outside the police organisation
- [17] I feel like I belong with my work colleagues more every day, and less with people that I have to police
- [18] As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the community, even in my social life
- [19] I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public
- [20] Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level

CYNICISM THEME ITEMS

- [21] Most people lie when answering questions posed by police officials
- [22] Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble
- [23] Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest

- [24] Most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught
- [25] Most people respect the authority of police officials
- [26] Most people lack the proper level of respect for police officials
- [27] Police officials will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively
- [28] Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officials
- [29] Members of the community will not trust police officials enough to work together effectively
- [30] The community does not support the police and the police do not trust the public

Response choices on the individual items were structured and close-ended with a five-point Likert-type option, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The level of measurement on scales of the 30-item self-report questionnaire was of an ordinal nature, meaning that the scales (categories) were mutually exclusive, mutually exhaustive and rank-ordered. Each scale was assigned a numerical value to identify differences (magnitude) in participants' responses. Only items 22, 25 and 28 were assigned differently due to the direction of the statements. Although the item scales were of an ordinal nature the numerical data were analysed on an interval scale for the purpose of determining the category order of participants' responses.

The Thirty-Item Police Culture Questionnaire was piloted in December 2004 amongst 100 SAPS functional police officials stationed within the city of Durban, Republic of

South Africa, and the factor analysis (VARIMAX technique) identified nine factors of which four met the latent root criterion (also known as the eigenvalue-one criterion or the Kaiser criterion) of eigenvalue greater than 1.0 (as indicated in Table 2). The rationale being that each observed variable contributes one unit of variance in the data set. Any factor that displays an eigenvalue greater than 1.0 accounts for a greater amount of variance than was contributed by one variable. Williams, Hollan, and Stevens (1983) noted that the latent root criterion has shown to produce the correct number of factors when the number of variables included in the analysis is small (10 to 15) or moderate (20 to 30). The reliability coefficient (*Cronbach alpha*) of 0.77 for the Thirty-Item Police Culture Questionnaire is also within the 0.7 acceptable indicator level.

Table 2
Study measuring instrument Factor Loadings

Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4
3.4625324	2.1932821	1.7459078	1.5539314

The factor analysis discovered statistically significant loadings (with >0.70 communality) for items (measures/questions) 30, 24, 21, 29, 27 and 30, on Factor 1. More specifically, items 21, 23, and 24 can be grouped into respondents' viewpoints apropos truthfulness and fidelity in the populace, whilst items 27, 29, and 30, gauges participants' beliefs about the corollaries of these traits for police community interactions. The relational direction between the Factor 1 loadings signify that partakers who deemed the public as commonly deceitful and untrustworthy, correspondingly did not imagine that the police and the public can work well together, and *vice-versa*.

Questions that loaded with statistical significance on Factor 2, were items 29 and 30 (which was the case on Factor 1), as well as 25. The latter is a determinant of respondents' creeds pertaining veneration for the police by the civic, and the former (29 and 30) measure contributors' attitudes *vis-à-vis* the upshots of these features for police public dealings. Participants' that thought that people do not respect the police were also of the opinion that the police and the public do not trust each other, and *vice-versa*.

Factor 3 is constituted by high loadings (with >0.70 communality) from measures 12, 11, 2, 5, and 6. These items largely elucidate why respondents believe that police officials have to look out for each other. Participants' who consider a collective purpose (rid the country of it's bad elements) and view outsiders as hasty criticizers of the police, likewise believe that police officials have to look after each other, and as a result prefer to mingle more with police peers and less with folks distanced of the police, and *vice-versa*.

Measures 23, 16, 28, 24, and 14, loaded statistically significantly on Factor 4. These items appear to measure the extent to which respondents socialise with others outside of the police and justifications thereof. Respondents' that indicated that they were socialising less with those outside of the police since becoming trainee police officials were also of the opinion that this was due to uncooperative and non-supportive courts, shift work and special duties, and the belief that even though members of the public are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officials – they are not to be trusted and are generally dishonest, and *vice-versa*.

In general (factor analysis), several of the study measuring instrument questions did not load on any of the four factors (with eigenvalues >1.0), and some of the items loaded (statistically significant) on more than one factor; thus indicating a composite of a more generalised multi-dimensional and categorical (behavioural and attitudinal) measure.

A challenge for operationalising the constructs of police culture solidarity, police culture isolation and police culture cynicism, is their amorphous nature, as the constructs are multi-dimensional. As a consequence it was originally decided (pre-test, first post-test and second post-test) to create a composite measure of each scale (scale of solidarity [items 1-10]; scale of isolation [items 11-20]; scale of cynicism [items 21-30]) as the literature does not clearly indicate how each item relates. Obviously the longitudinal makes the argument that each individual item measures perceived solidarity, isolation and cynicism. The same procedure is followed for the third post-test (September 2013 – June 2014). The critical question regarding the measurement of the constructs is whether each item, based on the literature, is valid on its face as a measure of a dimension of the constructs of solidarity, isolation and cynicism.

6.4 PROCEDURE

Prior to commencing with the project, the researcher had to await for the research proposal and ethical clearance to be approved by the University of KwaZulu-Natal Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC), (Annexure 1). Thereafter, an application was made for gate-keeper approval to the Chatsworth Training

Academy Commanding officer (Colonel Chunilall), the research proposal was attached and forwarded along with the gate-keeper application letter. A few months later, approval was obtained by the researcher from the Chatsworth Training Academy commanding officer to conduct the research.

The researcher, together with the assistance of Mr S. Mkhize used the following procedure in administering the 30-item questionnaire measuring police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism:

- (1) All recruits were assembled in a hall and were equipped with a table, chair and a black writing pen.
- (2) Participants were then informed about the survey and the voluntary nature of their participation as well as the confidentiality of their answers and that the data would be used for research purposes only.
- (3) Recruits who signed the voluntary permission form were then provided with and completed the questionnaire with no time limit.
- (4) Upon completion of the survey the questionnaires were collected and thereafter all the participants were thanked for their cooperation and assistance by the researcher.

6.5 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

The problems that the researcher encountered were mainly pertaining to the participants at the training academy. After they had been assembled at the hall and addressed by the researcher, a large number of the recruits were thereafter reluctant to partake in filling out the 30-item questionnaire. The reasons they provided for their reluctance was due to the fact that firstly they were not benefiting in any way from participating, secondly the Academy was visited on a Saturday, which commonly is their rest day. They therefore felt rather irritated as a result, as their rest day was disturbed. The researcher addressed them once again, elaborating that the study was not only significant to the researcher alone, but at large the study is also beneficial to the entire SAPS organisation.

6.6 CONCLUSION

By following the research methodology and procedure that was discussed in this chapter, it was possible to measure indicators evincing the presence or absence of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism, amongst a representative sample of SAPS lateral recruits.

The goal is to turn data into information, and information into insight.

Carly Fiorina

7.1 INTRODUCTION

Every step in the research process not only follows a systematic sequence but also overlaps and is interrelated. The research process followed in this study was no different. In the previous chapter the research paradigm, approach and design were discussed. The current chapter presents the data analysis procedures that were followed using the data obtained through the self-report 30-item questionnaire. An interpretation of the results is provided in chapter 8.

7.2 BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION OF PARTICIPANTS

The following biographical data were obtained from the research participants as shown in Table 3.

Table 3
Comparative biographical information of participants

Gender									
2005					2015				
	♀		♂		♀		♂		
	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	<i>N</i>	%	
	498	34	955	66	59	43	79	57	
Age									
Sample	Valid <i>N</i>	Mean	Median	Mode	Minimum	Maximum	Std Dev		
2005	1229	25.84	26.00	27.00	19.00	35.00	2.99		
2015	138	24	24	24	18	30			
Race									
Sample		Black	Indian	Coloured	White				
2005	<i>N</i>	1256	20	146	33				
	%	84.70	01.50	11.20	02.50				
2015	<i>N</i>	124	5	7	2				
	%	90	4	5	1				
Marital status									
Sample		Married	Divorced	Single	Widowed				
2005	%	07.80	00.50	91.10	00.10				
2015	%	00.72	00.00	00.00	00.00				
Qualifications									
2005					2015				
Qualification	Percentage of participants				Qualification	Percentage of participants			
Less than Grade 12	00.00%				Less than Grade 12	00.00%			
Grade 12	48.90%				Grade 12	70.29%			
Grade 12+1	24.60%				Grade 12+1	01.45%			
Grade 12+2	09.70%				Grade 12+2	10.14%			
Grade 12+3	16.10%				Grade 12+3	00.00%			
Grade 12+4	00.50%				Grade 12+4	00.00%			
Grade 12+5	00.10%				Grade 12+5	00.00%			
Reservist experience									
2005					2015				
Number of years	Percentage of participants				Number of years	Percentage of participants			
No experience	89.70%				No experience	99.28%			
One year	02.50%				One year	00.72%			
Two years	02.90%				Two years	00.00%			
Three years	02.20%				Three years	00.00%			
Four years	01.20%				Four years	00.00%			
Five years and more	01.30%				Five years and more	00.00%			

Note. *N* denotes number; '%' reflects percentage.

Overall, generally, Table 3 reflects that the total 2015 sample size was 138. The Table further indicates that majority of the participants are males however, it can be mentioned that there is a relatively even male-female ratio between the participant's genders as 57% of the participants consists of males and 43% of the participants were females. A relatively significant number of the participants (90%) indicated that they were from a Black ethnic group, 5% were from the coloured ethnic group, 4% were from the Indian ethnic group and relatively few participants (1%) indicated that they are from the White ethnic group. Majority of the participants indicated that their highest obtained qualification is Matric (Grade 12) whilst approximately 12% of the participants had obtained a post High School qualification. All of the participants fell into the age 18- 30 category; none of the participants were above the age of 30. Only one participant indicated that they were married, leaving the rest of the reporting that their marital status was single. Majority of the participants indicated to having 1- 11 months' work experience with SAPS (in line with the fact that they were in training), and 2 participants indicated to having 5 years and more working experience with SAPS. The responses of participants who indicated longer lengths of experience with the SAPS can be attributed either to errors in answering, or they could have been to transferred within the SAPS from previous civilian vacancies.

It needs to be mentioned that Table 3 above specifically reflects the number of recruits that voluntarily participated. However, the actual number of the participants is less than the sample present at the training academy. This can be attributed to fact that some of the

recruits decided not to partake with the survey. A total of 12 trainees didn't participate, which in itself can also be interpreted as precursor to adherence to the police culture.

Table 3 further indicates that gender was evenly represented as the males consisted of 57% of the sample and the females comprised of 43% of the sample. Comparatively speaking, gender was more evenly distributed with the 2015 recruits than it was with the 2005 sample. In the 2005 sample gender was unevenly distributed; females (34% of the sample) were significantly under represented compared to males (66%). This can be attributed to the fact that SAPS was previously a predominantly male organisation, and at this point women were primarily employed to execute administrative or supportive duties (rather than carrying out functional policing tasks).

Table 3 also reveals that a relatively significant number of the 2015 participants (90%) indicated that they were from the Black ethnic group. With regards to the 2005 sample, it can be noted that 87.7% participants indicated to be from the black ethnic group. In relation to race this can be interpreted that the SAPS organisation has not significantly changed its recruitment strategies during the last ten years as this organisation is still recruiting cadets that are predominantly from the Black ethnic group. There is an under representation of the other races (Indian, Coloured and Whites) and this resulted to a disproportionate match when the Chatsworth population is compared to the KZN SAPS population. This disproportionate match could be attributed to random error as the Chatsworth population is relatively smaller in size than the actual KZN SAPS population. It is also important to note that within the KZN population distribution, according to the 2011 South African Census, 86.9% of the population to belong to the 'Black' population group. Thus while the distribution of incoming recruits is not in line with the distribution

of the KZN SAPS population, it is consistent with the provinces population demographics.

With regards to their age, it can be noted that most of the participants fell within the 18-30 age group. Most of the 2015 sample participants also indicated to fall within the 18-30 age category. However, it can be mentioned that with the 2015 sample, the specific ages of participants is unknown as this information was requested as a set of age ranges in the instrument rather than allowing participants to answer with specifics.

Twelve percent (12%) of the participants indicated that they had obtained post matric qualifications, however the majority participants (70.3%) indicated that matric (NQF level 4) was their highest obtained qualification. It can be understood that some of the trainees had explored other career paths before applying to SAPS as they indicated to having Diplomas and Advanced Certificate qualifications. It is also import to note that most of the trainees only have matric (Grade 12) as their highest qualification because it is the minimum entry qualification requirement for the SAPS. The educational background section appeared to be a highly sensitive section as 25 participants did not answer their highest qualification question. This high level of sensitivity can be attributed to that the trainees might feel that they are being investigated if they are sufficiently qualified to be employed as an official SAPS member, therefore did not see reasons to complete this question.

Only one (1) participant indicated that they were married from the 2015 sample whereas with the 2005 sample, 7.8% participants had indicated that they were married. None of

the 2015 participants had indicated that they were divorced or widowed, whereas in the 2005 sample 0.5% were divorced and a further 0.1% of participants were widowed.

7.3 FREQUENCY COMPARISON OF PARTICIPANTS' RESPONSES

Overall, Table 4 indicates that both samples (2005 and 2015) tended towards answering *Agree* or *Strongly Agree*, notable with 24 out of the 30 items (80%). However, the 2015 sample inclined to answer *Agree* or *Strongly Agree* more (by 13.34%) when compared to the 2005 sample.

In general, in terms of the solidarity items (1-10), both sets of participants (2005 and 2015) either strongly agreed or agreed with all of the items. In other words, there were no differences of kind but rather of degree. More specifically, the difference of degree can be noted on item 7, where the 2005 sample mostly answered *Agree* followed by *Strongly Agree*, whereas the 2015 sample answered primarily *Strongly Agree* followed by *Agree*. The 2005 sample tended to agree with the statement that difficult challenges only makes one stronger (item 7), whilst the 2015 sample strongly agreed. In terms of the isolation items (11-20), broadly, both samples tended to agree or strongly agree with most of the items (2005 [7 items], 2015 sample [9 items]), however the 2015 sample more so. Differences of kind can be discerned on items 14, 16, and 20, differences of degree on item 13.

With regards to the former, the 2005 sample either disagreed or strongly disagreed about the uncooperative and unsupportive statement about courts, whilst the 2015 participants mostly (50%) indicated that they had no opinion on the matter (item 14). Most of the 2005 new SAPS recruits strongly disagreed or disagreed that shift work and special duties influence their socialising with friends external to SAPS (item 16), whilst 2015 cadets held the opposite opinion. The 2015 cohort agreed or strongly agreed that generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level, whereas the 2005 group felt that they did (item 20).

Commonly, one can spot differences of kind between the two sets of samples, in relation to the cynicism items (21-30). The 2005 group had middle ground between agreeing and disagreeing (5/5), whilst the 2015 group mostly agreed (7 items). More specifically, the differences in kind can be noted for items 25 and 28. The 2005 new SAPS recruits were of the opinion that most people respect the authority of police officials, whilst the 2015 new SAPS recruits disagreed or strongly disagreed that most people respect the authority of police officials. The 2005 cadets also had a more optimistic perception about the openness of the community with regards to police opinions and suggestions, compared to the 2015 student constables. The 2015 sample disagreed or strongly disagreed that members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officials.

Table 4

Frequency comparison of participants' responses between the 2005 sample (SAPS Basic Training Institute participants conducted by Steyn [2005]) and the 2015 sample (SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute participants conducted by Maweni [2015]) to the 30-item classical police culture themes questionnaire

Item	Sample category	Strongly Agree	Agree	No Opinion	Disagree	Strongly Disagree	Did Not Complete	
Police culture theme of solidarity								
1	I think that a police official should be one of the highest paid careers.	2005 sample N	871	479	21	71	13	0
		2005 sample %	59.86%	32.92%	01.44%	04.88%	00.89%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	100	32	2	2	0	0
		2015 sample %	73.52%	23.53%	01.47%	01.47%	00.00%	00.00%
2	I feel it is my duty to rid the country of its bad elements.	2005 sample N	839	554	14	33	9	0
		2005 sample %	57.90%	38.23%	00.97%	02.28%	00.62%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	80	52	1	3	0	2
		2015 sample %	58.82%	38.25%	00.74%	2.20%	00.00%	1.44%
3	Police officials are careful of how they behave in public.	2005 sample N	502	734	11	186	27	0
		2005 sample %	34.38%	50.27%	00.75%	12.74%	1.85%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	37	65	15	17	1	3
		2015 sample %	26.81%	47.10%	10.86%	12.31%	00.72%	02.17
4	You don't understand what it is to be a police official until you are a police official.	2005 sample N	658	527	7	209	59	0
		2005 sample %	45.07%	36.10%	00.48%	14.32%	04.04%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	90	37	2	7	1	1
		2015 sample %	65.21%	26.81%	01.44%	05.07%	00.72%	00.72%
5	Police officials have to look out for each other.	2005 sample N	1040	382	4	21	10	0
		2005 sample %	71.38%	26.22%	00.27%	01.44%	00.69%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	103	30	3	0	0	2
		2015 sample %	74.63%	21.73%	02.17%	00.00%	00.00%	01.45%
6	Members of the public, media and politicians are quick to criticise the police but seldom recognise the good that SAPS members do.	2005 sample N	805	593	20	34	2	0
		2005 sample %	55.36%	40.78%	01.38%	02.34%	00.14%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	68	58	8	3	1	0
		2015 sample %	49.27%	42.03%	05.79%	02.17%	00.72%	00.00%
7	What does not kill a police official makes him or her stronger.	2005 sample N	390	627	243	130	29	0
		2005 sample %	27.48%	44.19%	17.12%	09.16%	02.04%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	59	56	12	7	3	1
		2015 sample %	42.75%	40.58%	08.69%	12.31%	02.17%	00.72
8	Most members of the public don't really know what is going on 'out there'.	2005 sample N	559	723	15	132	28	0
		2005 sample %	38.37%	49.62%	01.03%	09.06%	01.92%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	48	65	8	16	1	0
		2015 sample %	34.78%	47.10%	05.79%	11.59%	00.72%	00.00%
9	A good police official takes nothing at face value.	2005 sample N	535	672	76	142	19	0
		2005 sample %	37.05%	46.54%	05.26%	09.83%	01.32%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	49	62	20	3	1	3
		2015 sample %	35.51%	44.93%	14.49%	02.17%	00.72%	02.17%
10	To be a police official is not just another job it is a 'higher calling'.	2005 sample N	942	453	15	35	13	0
		2005 sample %	64.61%	31.07%	01.03%	02.40%	00.89%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	75	49	6	7	1	0
		2015 sample %	54.35%	35.51%	04.34%	05.07%	00.72%	00.00%

Police culture theme of isolation

11	I tend to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I have become a	2005 sample N	289	607	41	391	131	0
		2005 sample %	19.81%	41.60%	02.81%	26.80%	08.98%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	25	71	6	24	10	2
		2015 sample %	18.12%	51.45%	04.35%	17.39%	07.25%	01.45%

	police official.							
12	I prefer socialising with my colleagues to socialising with non-members.	2005 sample N	252	517	45	536	108	0
		2005 sample %	17.28%	35.46%	03.09%	36.76%	07.41%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	22	53	15	43	4	1
		2015 sample %	15.94%	38.41%	10.87%	31.16%	02.89%	00.72%
13	I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the SAPS about my work.	2005 sample N	666	634	23	100	36	0
		2005 sample %	45.65%	43.45%	01.58%	06.85%	02.47%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	56	69	1	6	5	1
		2015 sample %	40.57%	50.00%	00.72%	04.35%	03.62%	00.72%
14	Being a police official made me realise how uncooperative and non-supportive the courts are.	2005 sample N	118	309	298	541	188	0
		2005 sample %	08.12%	21.25%	20.50%	37.21%	12.93%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	7	19	69	35	7	1
		2015 sample %	05.07%	13.97%	50.00%	25.36%	05.07%	00.72%
15	My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what being a police official is all about.	2005 sample N	255	611	71	394	128	0
		2005 sample %	17.48%	41.88%	04.87%	27.00%	08.77%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	19	56	12	37	13	1
		2015 sample %	13.77%	40.58%	08.69%	26.81%	09.42%	00.72%
16	Shift work and special duties influence my socialising with friends outside the SAPS.	2005 sample N	106	366	127	216	641	0
		2005 sample %	07.28%	25.14%	08.72%	14.84%	44.02%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	17	45	20	45	9	2
		2015 sample %	12.31%	32.61%	14.49%	32.61%	06.52%	01.44%
17	I feel like I belong with my work colleagues more every day, and less with people that I have to police.	2005 sample N	172	623	82	492	87	0
		2005 sample %	11.81%	42.79%	05.63%	33.79%	05.98%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	12	56	15	46	8	1
		2015 sample %	08.69%	40.58%	10.87%	33.33%	05.79%	00.72%
18	As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the community, even in my social life.	2005 sample N	778	520	42	101	18	0
		2005 sample %	53.32%	35.64%	02.88%	06.92%	01.23%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	65	53	14	4	1	1
		2015 sample %	47.10%	38.40%	10.14%	02.89%	00.72%	00.72%
19	I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public.	2005 sample N	414	679	47	258	57	0
		2005 sample %	28.45%	46.67%	03.23%	17.73%	03.92%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	36	63	13	22	3	1
		2015 sample %	26.08%	45.65%	09.42%	15.94%	02.17%	00.72%
20	Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level.	2005 sample N	275	344	155	498	188	0
		2005 sample %	18.84%	23.56%	10.62%	34.11%	12.88%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	23	35	39	29	10	2
		2015 sample %	16.66%	25.36%	28.26%	21.01%	07.25%	01.45%

Police culture theme of cynicism

21	Most people lie when answering questions posed by police officials.	2005 sample N	357	877	73	129	22	0
		2005 sample %	24.49%	60.15%	05.01%	08.85%	01.51%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	21	74	27	14	2	0
		2015 sample %	15.22%	53.62%	19.57%	10.14%	01.45%	00.00%
22	Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble.	2005 sample N	152	648	33	538	87	0
		2005 sample %	10.43%	44.44%	02.26%	36.90%	05.97%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	11	57	12	53	4	1
		2015 sample %	07.97%	41.30%	08.69%	38.40%	02.89%	00.72%
23	Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest.	2005 sample N	313	779	29	301	38	0
		2005 sample %	21.44%	53.36%	01.99%	20.62%	02.60%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	15	61	21	39	0	2

24	Most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught.	2015 sample %	10.87%	44.20%	15.21%	28.26%	00,00%	01.44%
		2005 sample N	478	747	26	169	39	0
		2005 sample %	32.76%	51.20%	01.78%	11.58%	02.67%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	32	65	19	20	1	1
25	Most people respect the authority of police officials.	2015 sample %	23.18%	47.10%	01.76%	14.49%	00.72%	00.72%
		2005 sample N	246	798	16	358	38	0
		2005 sample %	16.90%	54.81%	01.10%	24.59%	02.61%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	6	43	6	70	12	1
26	Most people lack the proper level of respect for police officials.	2015 sample %	04.35%	31.15%	04.35%	50.72%	08.69%	00.72%
		2005 sample N	249	784	24	348	51	0
		2005 sample %	17.10%	53.85%	01.85%	23.90%	03.50%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	21	66	12	37	2	0
27	Police officials will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively.	2015 sample %	15.21%	47.83%	08.70%	26.81%	01.44%	00.00%
		2005 sample N	148	482	38	636	154	0
		2005 sample %	10.15%	33.06%	02.61%	43.62%	10.56%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	4	48	15	61	10	0
28	Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officials.	2015 sample %	02.89%	34.78%	10.87%	44.20%	07.25%	00.00%
		2005 sample N	175	841	45	363	32	0
		2005 sample %	12.02%	57.76%	03.09%	24.93%	02.20%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	4	39	21	65	9	0
29	Members of the community will not trust police officials enough to work together effectively.	2015 sample %	02.89%	28.26%	15.22%	47.10%	06.52%	00.00%
		2005 sample N	85	586	38	605	143	0
		2005 sample %	05.83%	40.22%	02.61%	41.52%	09.81%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	6	51	14	61	6	0
30	The community does not support the police and the police do not trust the public.	2015 sample %	04.35%	36.95%	10.14%	44.20%	04.35%	00.00%
		2005 sample N	94	419	55	638	248	0
		2005 sample %	06.46%	28.82%	03.78%	43.88%	17.06%	00.00%
		2015 sample N	6	28	26	55	22	1
		2015 sample %	04.35%	20.29%	18.84%	39.86%	15.94%	00.72%

Note. ‘N’ symbolizes number; ‘%’ denotes percentage

7.4 MEASURING POLICE CULTURE SOLIDARITY, ISOLATION AND CYNICISM

The challenge for operationalising the constructs of police culture solidarity, police culture isolation and police culture cynicism, is the amorphous nature, as constructs are multi-dimensional. As a consequence, it was necessary to create a composite measure of each scale (scale of solidarity [items 1-10]; scale of isolation [items 11-20]; scale of cynicism [items 21-30] as the literature does not clearly indicate how each item relates. Obviously the study makes the argument that each individual item measures perceived

solidarity, isolation and cynicism. The critical question regarding the measurement of the constructs is whether each item, based on the literature, is valid on its face as a measure of dimension of the constructs of solidarity, isolation and cynicism.

A decision needs to be made whether to analyse the data at the micro level or to create composite measures of more generalised multi-dimensional constructs. The analysis begins with the macro-level questions, are they indicators evincing the presence of traditional police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst a representative sample of SAPS lateral entry recruits? To be able to answer this question one must ask one self, how isolated or cynical, as a general proposition, must the police be in order to assess whether one is willing to conclude that the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism are sufficiently present? The decision is somewhat capricious but the traits must be present in ample extent to substantiate a compelling assertion. An inclusive mean score of twenty four (24) (60%) or more per individual participant on a particular police culture theme (for example, theme 1: Solidarity [items 1-10], on a scale of ten (10) to a possible forty (40), was selected as criteria, with the higher score demonstrating the greater presence of a particular police culture theme.

Strongly disagree	1	Disagree	2	I do not have an opinion	0	Agree	3	Strongly Agree	4
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In other words, a cut-off mean score of no less than twenty- four (24) (60%), on a scale of zero (0) to a possible forty (40), with the higher score demonstrating the greater presence.

Table 5 below contains the mean scores and mean score percentages of participants' responses per police culture theme.

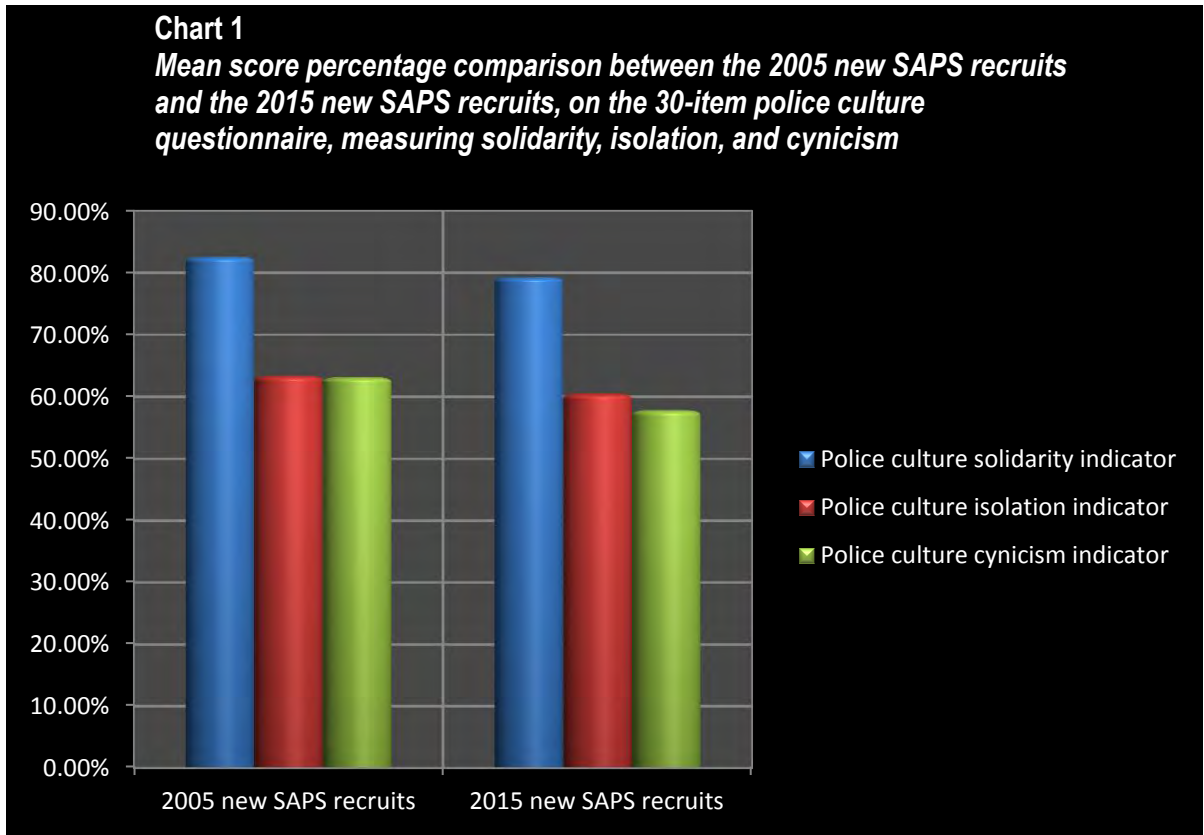
7.5 OVERALL MEAN SCORE COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE 2005 SAMPLE AND THE 2015 SAMPLE

Overall, Table 5 and Chart 1 indicate no statistically significant differences in the responses of participants between the 2005 and 2015 samples. In other words, both sets of new SAPS recruits, even though ten (10) years apart, arrived for SAPS basic police training with predispositions in support of police culture solidarity and isolation. However, a difference in kind, with regards to police culture cynicism can be observed. More specifically, if one would strictly use the 60% cut-off indicator, the 2005 sample entered with cynical attitudes, whilst the 2015 cohort did not. Conversely, it would be meaningful to note that 2% shy of 60% is still a strong marker. Collaterally, more than half of the 2015 SAPS cadets had attitudes in support of police culture cynicism.

Table 5
Mean score and mean score percentage comparison of 2005 SAPS participants and 2015 SAPS participants to the 30-item questionnaire measuring police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism

S	Solidarity mean score	Solidarity mean score %	Isolation mean score	Isolation mean score %	Cynicism mean score	Cynicism mean score %	ROW TOTAL	
							M	%
2005	3.30	82.63%	2.53	63.41%	2.53	63.16%	2.80	70.07%
2015	3.17	79.35%	2.42	60.50%	2.31	57.84%	2.64	66.06%
RT	3.23	80.99%	2.47	61.95%	2.42	60.50%	2.72	68.06%

Note. 'M' reflects mean; '%' denotes percentage; 'S' signposts sample; and 'RT' represents row total.



7.6 MEAN SCORE AND MEAN SCORE PERCENTAGE COMPARISONS BETWEEN THE 2005 SAMPLE AND THE 2015 SAMPLE ON THE BIOGRAPHICAL CATEGORICAL INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

The data analysis indicated no statistically significant differences in terms of the 2015 sample’s responses on the 30-item self-report police culture questionnaire (measuring police culture solidarity, isolation, and cynicism), with due consideration of the five (5) categorical biographical independent variables of the participants.

7.7 CONCLUSION

This marks the end of the data analysis chapter in which the responses of a representative sample of all SAPS 2005 new recruits and 2015 lateral entry recruits on a thirty item self-report questionnaire measuring the presence of attitudes regarding the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. In the next and penultimate chapter of this thesis, the findings of the study will be discussed and some recommendations will be made.

CHAPTER 8 RESEARCH FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

People who are crazy enough to think they can change the world actually do.

Apple Inc.

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of the current study was to establish whether changes in the South African Police Service (SAPS) have made traditional understandings of police culture obsolete. More specifically, to answer the following research question and hypotheses:

Research question:

- Have new developments in the SAPS counteracted many of the traits of police culture that accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public? More specifically, does a representative sample of new SAPS recruits that started their basic training in July 2015 at the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute have similar or different attitudes in support of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism, compared to a study conducted by Steyn (2006) ten years ago (2005) in the SAPS amongst a representative sample of all new recruits in the SAPS that commenced their basic training in January 2005?

Hypotheses

- A representative sample of all SAPS recruits that commenced their basic police training at the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute in July 2015 have indicators evincing of police culture theme of solidarity, police culture theme of isolation, and police culture theme of cynicism.
- A representative sample of all SAPS recruits that commenced their basic police training at the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute in July 2015 have weaker attitudes in support of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism, compared to a study conducted by Steyn (2006) ten (10) years ago amongst a representative sample of all new SAPS recruits that commenced their basic police training in January 2005.

8.2 RELEVANCE OF CONVENTIONAL UNDERSTANDINGS OF POLICE CULTURE AND ANSWERING THE STUDY RESEARCH QUESTION AND HYPOTHESES

The current study acknowledges that there are a myriad of other items that could have been employed to measure police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism but this should not be taken, in and of itself, as a limitation. All choices of measures are ultimately approximations of the true construct. The study furthermore does not assume a direct

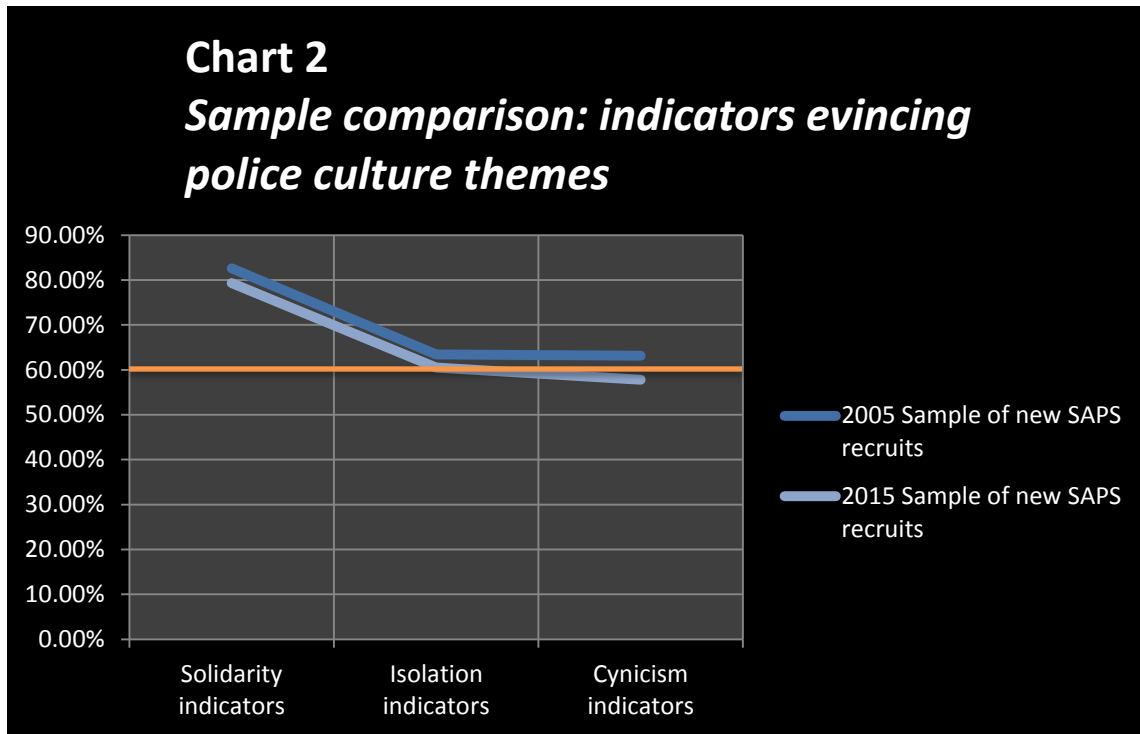
correlation between attitude and overt behaviour nor draw conclusions to all new recruits in the SAPS, not to speak of the SAPS as a whole.

As indicated earlier, some contemporary ethnographers of police culture (Cockcroft, 2013; O'Neill, Marks & Singh, 2007; Sklansky, 2005), in support of the search for nuances, fashionably argue against presumably orthodox characterisations. The premise being novelty to the policing context will drastically change the police culture.

Based on the data analyses the current study accepts both hypotheses. More specifically, a representative sample (138 out of a population of 140) of all new SAPS recruits that started their basic police training at the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute in July 2015 had moderate to strong attitudes in support of police culture themes of solidarity and isolation. Even though the study participants did not meet the predetermined cut-off mean score percentage of sixty (60), on the cynicism scale, the indicator shortfall of two percent (2%) is somewhat above the midpoint (50%), and an argument could be made, within relative terms, for attitudes in support of police culture cynicism. Thus, new SAPS cadets, recruited by the SAPS from other state departments, arrived for basic police training at the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute with traits of police culture that accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public.

The study further found that the indicators evincing of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism, between new SAPS recruits that started their basic police training

in January 2005 (Steyn, 2006), and new SAPS recruits that began their basic police training in July 2015, were remarkably similar, as indicated in Chart 2.



Even though not statistically significant, the 2015 sample of new SAPS recruits arrived for basic police training will slightly weaker attitudes in support of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism, compared to the 2005 sample (Steyn, 2006) of new SAPS recruits. In summary, the two (2) sets of new SAPS recruits, while ten (10) years apart, believe that their vocation, enacted in a dangerous and uncertain environment, is highly skilled and moral purposed, and can only be performed by unique individuals (appropriate for police work with characteristics such as toughness and suspiciousness, etc.) from broader society. Groups outside of the police (public, media and politicians) have very little regard and understanding of ‘coalface’ police work as reflected in

unsatisfactory monetary compensation, cockeyed criticism and ill-considered prescriptions. These police officials isolate themselves from outsiders (erstwhile friends, family members/important others, community, courts, and top ranking officials), and favour mingling with their fellows. They deem that most folks lie when replying to questions tendered by police officials, would thief if they knew they would not get netted, are untrustworthy and dishonest, not perturbed by the help cries of others, dearth the decorous quantity of veneration for police officials, and are obtruded to the sentiments and promptings of police officials.

8.3 CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of the study are theoretically significant, and provide some credence to the Predisposition School of Thought. It is suggestive that SAPS interventions, over the past decade (2005-2015), have not done much to deter a police culture of cynicism of and isolation from the public. On the contrary, it is argued that the SAPS recruit individuals with characteristics in support of the organisations' culture, and as a consequence maintain the status quo. These findings also reflect the relevance of conventional understandings of police culture today, and argues that by emphasising the innovative aspects sight is lost of the striking persistence and inertia of a relative homogeneous police world view, to some degree. Surely it is not just a choice of epistemology as there are rigorous empirical results for keeping, and persisting to think about, the classical conception of police culture.

It is recommended that further research be conducted to establish whether novel recruit from other police agencies across the globe share similar characteristics. It is also suggested that research establish whether the broader South African culture share the same traits.

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Annexure One

**Letter of approval from the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN)
Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) to
conduct the study**



18 June 2015

Ms Vuyelwa Kemiso Maweni 210523379
School of Applied Human Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Ms Maweni

Protocol reference number: HSS/0248/015M
Project title: Old vs New: A SAPS culture themes attitudinal comparison

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received on 23 March 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

Dr Shamila Naidoo
On behalf of Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

/pm

Cc. Supervisor : Dr Jean Steyn
Cc Academic Leader Research; Professor D McCracken
Cc School Administrator: Ms A Ntuli

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building






Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3567/8360/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: shnuks@ukzn.ac.za / shnuksm@ukzn.ac.za / mohung@ukzn.ac.za

Website: www.ukzn.ac.za




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Annexure Two

Letter of approval from the South African Police Service (SAPS) to conduct the study at the SAPS Chatsworth Basic Training Institute

 Chatsworth Training Institution Commander <chats.train.institute@saps.gov.za>

to support, me ▾

Good afternoon

1. Telephonic conversation between Ms Maweni and Lt Col Bhim refers.
2. As per confirmation from Ms Maweni interviews needed in respect of new recruits and not trainees exposed to field.
As a result permission granted for interview over a weekend with the arrival of new intake during April 2015

3. Regards

COLONELL M CHUNILALL
COMMANDER: SAPS ACADEMY-CHATSWORTH
TEL 031 402 7071/2
FAX TO EMAIL 086 620 2129
CELL 082 776 1254

Annexure Three

Steyn's 30-Item Police Culture Themes of Solidarity, Isolation, and Cynicism Questionnaire

THIRTY (30) – ITEM POLICE CULTURE THEME QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION A: Purpose of the study

This questionnaire has been designed to measure the presence and/or absence of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism. The identity of all participants will be strictly held confidential. All participants have the right to withdraw at any stage without any negative consequences. All participants also have the right to a copy of the study report on request.

SECTION B: Voluntary participation

I _____ hereby stipulate that I am voluntarily participating in this study of police culture themes amongst experienced police officials in the South African Police Service (SAPS).

Signature of participant

Date

SECTION C: Instructions and guidelines on how to complete the questionnaire

There are thirty (30) questions. Each question has five (5) options as indicated below:

STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
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You are asked to choose between these five (5) options on each question by indicating your choice with a cross mark, **for example:**

STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
----------------------	----------	-----------------------------	------------------	-------------------

There is no time limit on this questionnaire.

When answering the questions please remember the following:

- 1 Make sure you answer every question.
- 2 Do not spend too much time considering your answer to each question.
- 3 The information given in a question may not be as comprehensive as you would wish, but answer as best you can.
- 4 Try to avoid the option "*I do not have an opinion*" wherever possible.
- 5 Be as honest and truthful as you can. Don't give an answer just because it seems to be the right thing to say.

If you wish to change an answer, please mark it clearly with a double cross and insert your new answer with a single cross, **for example:**

STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	AGREE	STRONGLY AGREE
----------------------	----------	-----------------------------	------------------	-------------------

SECTION D: Biographical information

Please answer the following questions pertaining to yourself.

What is your:

Surname											
Initials											
Persal number											
Province											
Police component	Uniform/Proactive	¹	Civilian Clothing/Reactive	²	Support	³					
	Visible Policing		Detective Service		Personnel Management						
	Crime Intelligence & Protection Services		Criminal Record & Forensic Science Services		Human Resource Development						
	Operational Response Services					Human Resource Utilization					
						Supply Chain Management					
						Financial & Administration Services					
						Corporate Communication					
						Strategic Management					
		Other									
Current rank											
Highest post high school formal qualification											
Number of years' experience in the SAPS	10 years			20 years			30 years				
Age	20 – 30			31 – 40		41 – 50		51-60			
Gender	Female					Male					
Race	Black			Coloured		Indian/Asian		White			
Marital status	Single			Married		Divorced		Widowed			

SECTION E: Police culture theme of solidarity

1	I think that a police official should be one of the highest paid positions.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
2	I feel it is my duty to rid the country of its bad elements.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
3	Police officials are careful of how they behave in public.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
4	You don't understand what it is to be a police official until you are a police official.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
5	Police officials have to look out for each other.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
6	Members of the public, media and politicians are quick to criticise the police but seldom recognise the good that POLICE members do.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
7	What does not kill a police official makes him or her stronger.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
8	Most members of the public don't really know what is going on 'out there'.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
9	A good police official takes nothing at face value.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
10	To be a police official is not just another job it is a 'higher calling.'				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE

SECTION F: Police culture theme of isolation				
11	I tend to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I have become a police official.			
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE
12	I prefer socialising with my colleagues to socialising with non-members.			
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE
13	I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the POLICE about my work.			
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE
14	Being a police official made me realise how uncooperative and non-supportive the courts are.			
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE
15	My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what being a police official is all about.			
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE
16	Shift work and special duties influence my socialising with friends outside the POLICE.			
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE
17	I feel like I belong with my work colleagues more every day, and less with people that I have to police.			
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE
18	As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the community, even in my social life.			
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE
19	I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public.			
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE
20	Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level.			
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE

SECTION G: Police culture theme of cynicism

21	Most people lie when answering questions posed by police officials.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
22	Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble.				
	1 STRONGLY DISAGREE	2 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	3 AGREE	4 STRONGLY AGREE
23	Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
24	Most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
25	Most people respect the authority of police officials.				
	1 STRONGLY DISAGREE	2 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	3 AGREE	4 STRONGLY AGREE
26	Most people lack the proper level of respect for police officials.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
27	Police officials will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
28	Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officials.				
	1 STRONGLY DISAGREE	2 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	3 AGREE	4 STRONGLY AGREE
29	Members of the community will not trust police officials enough to work together effectively.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE
30	The community does not support the police and the police do not trust the public.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	0 I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY AGREE

END OF QUESTIONNAIRE – THANK YOU.