POLICE CULTURE OF ISOLATION, SOLIDARITY AND CYNICISM: AN AFRICAN CRIMINOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON EARLY CAREER POLICE OFFICERS

BY

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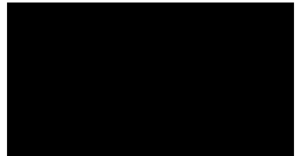
DECLARATION

The research contained in this thesis was completed by the candidate while based in the Discipline of Criminology and Forensic Studies, School of Applied Human Sciences of the College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard campus, Durban, South Africa. The contents of this work have not been submitted in any form to another University and, except where the work of others is acknowledged in the text, the results reported are due to investigations by the candidate.



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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the people of Africa including the police officers employed in various African police institutions.

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ABSTRACT

Police culture plays a crucial role in shaping law enforcement practices and the overall functioning of police organisations. In Africa, the study of police culture holds particular importance due to the unique historical, social, and political contexts that influence policing in the region. Academic research on police organisational culture has been one of the most robust and productive areas in the study of policing, uncovering many of the day-to-day realities, lived experiences and cultural meanings of police work. Since the 1960s, when policing studies first gained traction in the academic community, the concept of police occupational culture, sometimes known as cop culture, has generated attention and discussion. These studies have revealed that police occupational culture can negatively influence service delivery and organisational reform.

The current research aims to examine whether early career police officers with zero-ten years working experience evinced police culture attitudes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. The early career police officers this study focused on were those employed by Kenya Police Services (KPS), Malawi Police Services (MPS) and South African Police Services (SAPS). This study applied the predisposition model and the occupational socialization theory to better conceptualize where police officers' attitudes, values and behaviour originate.

This study adopted a quantitative descriptive research approach to appropriately address the research questions and utilized the 30-item police culture questionnaire, the findings of the current study revealed that solidarity, isolation and cynicism are standard coping strategies among Kenya, Malawi and South African early career police officers. Findings from this research are expected to shed light on the distinct features of police culture on these three African countries. The analysis will identify cultural factors that contribute to positive policing outcomes, such as community engagement, professionalism, and ethical conduct. Additionally, it will address issues related to corruption, abuse of power, and inadequate accountability mechanisms that hinder effective policing.

Key words: Early career police recruit, cynicism, isolation, solidarity, police officer.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

APCOF	African Police Civilian Oversite Forum
APS	Administration Police Service
BBP	Bechuanaland Border Police
BSAP	British South Africa Company
CHRR	Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation
CARER	Centre for Advice, Research and Education on Rights
CiLiC	Civil Liberties Committee
CHRI	Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative
CONGOMA	Council for Non-Governmental Organisations in Malawi
CPC	Community Policing Committees
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CSPS	Civilian Secretariat for Police Service
IAU	Internal Affairs Unit
ICC	Independent Complaints Commission
ICD	Independent Complaints Directorate
IPOA	Independent Policing Oversight Authority
IPID	Independent Police Investigative Directorate
KPS	Kenya Police Services
LMPS	Lesotho Mounted Police Service
MPS	Malawi Police Services
NCCS	National Crime Combating Strategy
NIM	National Intelligence Model
NPSC	National Police Service Commission

POP	Problem-Oriented Policing
PSC	Public Service Commission
SAP	South African Police
SAPS	South African Police Services
SCF	Sector Crime Forums
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

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CHAPTER ONE: GENERAL ORIENTATION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the current study and commences with an elucidation of the background that highlights the magnitude of issues related to police culture from a global perspective. Subsequently, the research aims and objectives are presented followed by the rationale for the study. An overview of the entire thesis is also presented in this introductory chapter to provide a brief summary of what is addressed in all the subsequent chapters. The chapter is concluded with a section that presents definitions of the key terms that are used in this thesis.

1.2 Introducing Police Culture

Police culture can be understood as "a set of shared informal norms, beliefs and values that underpins and informs police outlooks and behaviour towards the citizenry they police as well as their fellow officers" (Loftus, 2008: 757). Paoline (2003) argues that police culture comes, in part, from the occupational environment which is imbued with officers' relationship to the citizenry. Skolnick (1966) states that the two most cited elements of this working environment are the presence of and the potential for danger – i.e., officers' preoccupation with the danger and violence that surround them – and the unique coercive powers and authority they possess over citizens. Furthermore, police culture comes from an organizational environment that is characterized by two key elements: punitive supervisory oversight and the ambiguity of the police role. Both these elements, just like the elements in police officers' occupational environment, create stress and anxiety. According to Paoline (2003), the way in which police officers then cope with these strains and hazards is found in the existence of police culture. He identifies two widely cited coping mechanisms that help officers to regulate their occupational environment, namely suspiciousness and maintaining 'the edge'. He also identifies two other coping mechanisms for protecting them in their organizational environment, namely 'lie-low' and 'cover-your-ass'. A strict adherence to the crime fighter image is also adopted by the police, thereby eliminating the ambiguity of their multiple roles. These mechanisms that are entrenched in the police culture are utilised

to minimise the stress and anxiety that are created by the occupational environment and guide both their attitudes and behaviours. Paoline (2003) points out that the coping mechanisms within police culture are transmitted through a socialization process across occupational generations that are first encountered in the academy and later adhered to throughout officers' tenure in the police force.

1.3 Background to the Study

Most countries in Africa face many difficulties with regard to personal security. Contrary to popular belief, criminality really poses a much greater threat to the safety of the continent's citizen's than the civil wars and intrastate conflicts that are often associated with this continent. For instance, the Armed Conflict and Location Event Data project states that as many as 12 353 Africans lost their lives in conflicts or civil unrest in 2010, yet it estimates that the number of killings in Africa in 2010 was closer to 168 000, which was more than ten times the reported number (Raleigh et al., 2010). In fact, in 2010 more than a third of all homicides worldwide occurred in Africa, according to measurements by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (2011). Africa experiences a high prevalence of other violent crimes as well. In comparison to most other regions, surveys have shown that Africa has greater rates of assault, sexual assault, and property crime than most other areas (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2005). Such high rates of crime affect not only personal security, but development prospects on the continent as well. Crime also generates huge barriers to market entry.

Therefore the police remain a critical agent of crime control in Africa, and citizens act as 'gatekeepers' to crime control when they decide to report an incident to the police (Tyler, 2004; Berg, Slocum & Loeber, 2013). Police officials rely on the cooperation of community members to provide information about crime in their neighbourhoods and to work with them to devise solutions to crime and disorder problems. However, tragic police-community incidents, such as the death of a South African boy who was shot by police officers during a service delivery protest in August 2020 and the death of the Ndwiga brothers in police custody in Kenya, have sparked outrage and raised questions about police culture in African countries. Numerous similar police-community incidents around the globe have urged continued and hardened impetus

for change to public police and policing. Controversial use of force and other incidents can damage relationships between the police and the communities they serve. In some cases, a perceived act of misconduct by a single officer in one city not only damages police-community relationships locally, but it can also gain nationwide attention and reduce trust in the police generally. Consequently, societies require the police to be responsive to the need for change, to perform their duties effectively and efficiently, to be more outward-looking, to be increasingly sensitive to developments and trends in their environments, to be innovative and creative in their approach to problem solving and idea generation, and to be more open and accountable to the community and government (Steyn, 2017). In advancing this need for change, African countries such as Botswana, Kenya, Lesotho, Malawi and South Africa have implemented, with relative variance, policies, strategies, and structural and operational interventions. For such change to be effective and durable, it is essential that the creed of democratic policing be adopted within the police organisational culture to alter the elementary suppositions of each police officer that pertain to this establishment and its setting. This means that the traits that are entrenched in police culture and that accentuate police solidarity, cynicism and isolation from the public should be less prevalent, and even eradicated.

1.4 Rationale

Improved relations between police officers and community members remains an imperative in crime reduction and crime combatting holistically. Various police leaders in African countries concur with this notion. For instance, Dr George Kainja, the Research and Planning head at the Police Headquarters in Kenya, stated that the trust between the public and the police had decreased and that there was therefore an urgent need to strategize on how best mutual trust could be restored. She further urged the strengthening of community policing structures in the country to enhance security at all levels. The current South African Police Minister, Bheki Cele, shared a similar sentiment by announcing that the fight against crime required a healthy relationship between the police and the communities they serve. Cele further argued that Community Policing Forums (CPFs), businesses, and the police must establish and maintain a partnership with the community and promote communication between the police and the community. Conversely, some studies on police organizational culture

have revealed that police officers often isolate themselves from the community and prefer to form strong relations amongst themselves and not with the public or community members (Mkhize & Steyn, 2016). Community service-orientated policing requires police officers to trust citizens, but it seems as if they view them as their chief source of danger, and this situation leads to inconsistencies in police officers' beliefs and their actions (Steyn, 2008). It is therefore against this backdrop that the purpose of the study was to discover whether early career police officers in selected African countries evinced police culture attitudes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism.

Academic research on police organisational culture has been one of the most robust and productive areas in the study of policing, and such projects have uncovered many of the day-to-day realities, lived experiences, and cultural meanings associated with police work. However, although numerous studies have investigated police organisational culture (Sklansky, 2005; Steyn, 2006; O'Neill, Marks & Singh, 2007; Cockcroft, 2013; Mkhize, 2016), none were conducted concurrently and comparatively within the international and African contexts, which was what this study set out to achieve. Moreover, research that explored the police culture attitudes of early career police officers in various African countries is also sparse. This study therefore intended to contribute new knowledge of the broader police culture to the literature. The early career police officers that this study involved were from the Kenya Police Service (KPS), the Malawi Police Service (MPS), and the South African Police Service (SAPS).

1.5 Research Objectives

1. To determine whether early career police officers in the Kenya Police Service, the Malawi Police Service, and the South African Police Service evinced police culture attitudes.
2. To establish the extent of early career police officers' adherence to police culture in the Kenya Police Service, the Malawi Police Service, and the South African Police Service.
3. To compare the police culture attitudes of early career police officers in the Kenya Police Service and the Malawi Police Service with those of officers in the South African Police Service.

1.6 Research Questions

1. Do early career police officials in the Malawi Police Service have attitudes in support of police culture elements solidarity, isolation, and cynicism?
2. Do early career police officials in the Kenya Police Service have attitudes in support of police culture elements solidarity, isolation and cynicism?
3. Do early career police officials in the South African Police Service have attitudes in support of police culture elements solidarity, isolation and cynicism?

1.7 Research Hypotheses

- Early career police officials in the Malawi Police Service, the Kenya Police Service, and the South African Police Service adhere to a police culture and attitudes in support of solidarity.
- Early career police officials in the Malawi Police Service, the Kenya Police Service, and the South African Police Service adhere to a police culture and attitudes in support of isolation.
- Early career police officials in the Malawi Police Service, the Kenya Police Service, and the South African Police Service adhere to a police culture and attitudes in support of cynicism.

1.8 Demarcation of the Study

This study was conducted at research sites in three African countries namely Malawi, Kenya, and South Africa. Primary data were collected in Malawi and Kenya while secondary data were collected in South Africa. A brief description of each research site is provided below.

Malawi: Malawi is located in the Southern African region. It is entirely landlocked and shares its borders with Mozambique, Zambia, and Tanzania. The country's estimated population of 19.65 million (2021) is expected to double by 2038 (World Bank Group,

2021). Malawi has remained one of the poorest countries in the world despite making significant economic and structural reforms to sustain economic growth. The economy is heavily dependent on agriculture, which employs over 80% of the population, and it is vulnerable to external shocks, particularly those that are due to climatic variations (World Bank Group, 2021).

Kenya: The Republic of Kenya is located in the East African region. The population is approximately 54 million people according to UN estimates (World Bank Group, 2021). Nairobi, which lies in the country's south-central region, serves as its capital. Following South Africa and Nigeria, Kenya is the country with one of the highest economies in sub-Saharan Africa. Kenya is a regional hub that provides easy connectivity to other countries in the region. It is bordered by South Sudan to the northwest, Ethiopia to the north, Somalia to the east, Uganda to the west, Tanzania to the south, and the Indian Ocean to the southeast (Kenya Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021). Kenya’s GDP accounts for more than 50% of the region’s total income in terms of current market prices. Kenya's prospects for economic growth are aided by the country's growing middle class and rising demand for high-end goods and services. Due to a thriving business environment, its prospects have increased recently (Kenya Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2021).

South Africa: As the southernmost country on the African continent, South Africa is bordered by Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, and Eswatini. South Africa entirely surrounds Lesotho in the east. A large plateau dominates the centre of the country, with rolling hills falling to plains and the coast. In 2021, Statistics South Africa (Stats SA, 2021) estimated the mid-year population at 60,14 million people. Approximately 51,1% (about 30,75 million) of the population is female and approximately 48,9% (about 29,39 million) is male. South Africa is a multicultural society that is characterised by its rich linguistic diversity. Language is an indispensable tool that can be used to deepen democracy and also contribute to the social, cultural, intellectual, economic, and political life of the South African society. The country is multilingual with 11 official languages, each of which is guaranteed equal status. Most South Africans are multilingual and able to speak at least two or more of the official languages.

1.9 Definition of Key Terms

- Attitudes: In context, this term refers to cognitive evaluations (favourable or unfavourable) of statements made on a 30-item questionnaire that measures the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism.

- Community Policing: This term refers to a philosophy and approach to policing that recognises the independence and shared responsibility of the police and the community (Stevens & Yach, 1995).

- Culture: This term refers to a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration that work 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 (Schein, 2004).

- Malawi Police Service (MPS): The Malawi Police Service was established under sections 152 and 153 of this country's Constitution as an independent organ of the executive for the protection of public safety and the rights of persons in Malawi according to prescriptions by the Constitution and any other law. The Malawi Police Service works in partnership with the community and all stakeholders are committed to provide professional services of quality and magnitude in the protection of public safety and upholding the rights of all persons in Malawi (Malawi Police Service, 2021).

- Kenya National Police Service: The creation of the Kenyan National Police Service is provided for in the Constitution, the National Police Service Act of 2011, and the National Police Service Commission Act of 2011. In accordance with the provisions, the National Police Service consists of the Kenya Police Service (KPS), the Administrative Police Service, and The Directorate for Criminal Investigation. The core functions of the KPS include the maintenance of law and order, the upholding of peace, safeguarding of life and property, the deterrence and detection of crime, the apprehension of offenders, and law enforcement (Kenya Police Services, 2021).

- Police Culture: This term describes 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, refers to the values introduced by the wider civility in which police officials exist (Roberg, Crank, & Kuykendall, 2000).

- Police culture theme of cynicism: Cynicism refers to the upsurge of feelings of hate, envy, impotent hostility, and a sour-grapes pattern of thought. All these emotions are reflected within the state of mind in the individual police officer. These pessimistic feelings are directed towards outgroups such the public, media, the Justice System, and police top ranking officials (Niederhoffer, 1967).

- Police culture theme of isolation: This theme refers to the degree to which police officials feel the need to be isolated from previous friends, the community, the legal system, and even their spouses and families. Isolation is also seen as a consequence of police solidarity (Steyn, 2006).

- Police culture theme of solidarity: This theme speaks to the formation of powerful loyalties among 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 regarding how they do their day-to-day work.

- Police officer/s**:** This term refers to members of a police force who are tasked with upholding the law, investigating crime, and arresting criminals, among many other duties. Most police officers attend a training academy prior to employment and take a written exam before they can join the force.

- South African Police Service (SAPS): The South African Police Service (SAPS) is a South African Government organisation that was established on 27 January 1995 in terms of section 214 of the Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (South Africa, 1993). In the Republic of South Africa (RSA), only the SAPS serves as a national police service. According to the section 205 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 (South Africa, 1996) the

primary functions of SAPS are to deter, combat, and investigate crime, maintain public order, protect and secure the citizens and their property, and uphold and enforce the law.

1.10 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is sectioned into seven chapters that are presented as follows:

Chapter One: General orientation. This is an introductory chapter and offers a general orientation on the topic of African police culture and an outline of the remainder of the thesis. The chapter also presents the research aims, objectives, hypotheses, and rationale for the study. Definitions of key terms that are used in this study thesis are also presented.

Chapter Two: Literature Review on Police Culture Themes. This chapter begins with an overview on police culture and further reviews literature on the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism. It further presents arguments on how these police culture themes have developed and impacted police service officials internationally and in the three countries under investigation.

Chapter Three: **Literature Review on Policing in Africa**: This chapter reviews relevant literature related to the main topic under investigation. The discourse commences with a brief history on the development of African police forces during the colonial period, and then continues to explain police culture reforms up to the present day as well as the nature of democratic policing in countries on the African continent.

Chapter Four: Theoretical Framework: In this chapter, there is a robust discussion on the theories that underpinned this study, namely the predisposition and socialisation schools of thought. These theories assisted the researcher in contextualising the different attitudes that are associated with police officials in their line of work.

Chapter Five: Research Methodology. This chapter provides a detailed

description of the scientific research methodology that was employed to achieve the study's objectives and to address the research questions and confirm or reject the main hypothesis. The chapter begins with an overview of the study site and thereafter discusses the quantitative, cross-sectional research design that was selected for the study. This is followed by details regarding the sample and the sampling techniques that were used. A discussion of the data collection instrument that was used, the process of data collection, as well as the data analysis method that was employed after the data had been gathered also forms part of this chapter.

Chapter Six: **Data Presentation and Analysis*.*** This chapter provides demographic characteristics of the sample and critically discusses the presented data and the results of the analyses.

Chapter Seven: **Conclusions and Recommendations*.*** This chapter elaborates on the main findings and highlights the contribution of this study to scholarly literature. The limitations and implications of the study are discussed and the chapter is concluded by submitting pertinent recommendations.

2.1 Introduction

The majority of the literature on police culture can be divided into two opposing schools of thought: one school views culture as an occupational phenomenon that affects all police officers, and the other emphasizes the differences that exist among police officers. This chapter engages in a review of relevant literature that focuses on various scholarly works that address police culture. The chapter commences with a description of police culture, which is followed by reflections on the origins of this particular culture with additional attention to international, African, and South African perspectives on this phenomenon. Finally, the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism are discussed in some depth.

2.2 Defining Culture

According to Crank (2004:01), culture is a peculiarly extensive topic about which much has been articulated and written in traditional and contemporary literature. The existing body of knowledge on public police culture is not embedded in any kind of definition or concept of culture (Crank, 2004; Hall & Neitz, 1993). Moreover, the latter authors further argue that public police culture has evolved exclusively from its organisational setting, yet the expansive perception of culture is either unaddressed or not adequately explained in early research on this topic. What seems necessary is a detailed description of culture that provides a link to literature on culture generally, and from which descriptions of public police culture make sense. Thus, Crank (2004:15) deems it significant to define culture as follows:

> "Culture is collective sense-making. Sense-making has ideational, behavioural, material, social, structural, and emergent elements as follows: (1) ideas, knowledge (correct, wrong, or unverifiable beliefs) 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."

Although researchers have not succeeded in elucidating culture in a single, comprehensive definition, one of the broad definitions is that it is a form of unspoken communication in an organization (Guiso, Sapienza, & Zingales, 2015: 4). Each organization and institution has a unique culture that influences the individuals involved in it (Linton, 1938: 425). Crank (1998) opines that the culture of any workplace comprises that organization's group of assumptions that govern how employees/respondents perceive and think about themselves, their work, other people, and the organization's goals, and how they then act in relation to them. According to Crank (1998), culture can be viewed as the operating philosophy of an organization. If fundamental philosophies are well ingrained, are honestly believed, and if people are deeply committed to them, then the actions of employees will usually be a proper culture that "…is a confluence of themes of organizational activities" (Crank, 1998: 14).

Woody (2005) similarly pronounces that culture influences every individual, but that there is no single culture. Instead, humans consist of layers of culture as they are influenced by family, religion, occupation, and human interactions (Brough et al., 2016). Moreover, in the police organization each unit in a police department has its unique cultural worldview (Woody, 2005) that varies among different shifts and assignments (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2015; Ingram, Paoline & Terrill, 2013; Myhill & Bradford, 2013). These views and variations are popularly known as the subculture of police organization (Rose & Unnithan, 2015). In the police organization, subculture is always evolving and emerges according to rank, units, work hours, and historical contexts (Duckham & Schreiber, 2016; Glover & Friedman, 2014). Each new generation and technological advancement seems to modify and change the existing culture and subculture continuously.

According to Aamodt (2012), culture is key to an organization's, and specifically police agencies', success or failure. Culture can divide or unite people as it presupposes structures and beliefs that subconsciously direct decision-making (Moran, Abramson, & Moran, 2014). A variety of emotions and emotional responses must be handled by

police officers on a daily basis, and Tamir et al. (2016: 68) argue that, how officers handle these feelings, is determined by the layers of culture that define their lives, because “people desire emotions that are consistent with their core values”. Douglas (2000) and Greitemeyer (2014) argue that, although culture can be altered via education, an individual's prevalent and deeply entrenched views will always remain. However, not all officers conform to every aspect of police culture and subculture because of individual demographics and cultural influences (Ingram et al., 2013), which means training is required to address wide deviations. Advancing technologies can also dramatically alter cultural structures and beliefs, and therefore human decision-making may be more closely integrated with computer assistance that can improve or diminish cultural decisions in the future (Leidner & Kayworth, 2006).

2.3 General Overview of Police Culture

Studies on police culture have endeavoured to define police culture, explain how it manifests, and explore what effects culture has on officers’ attitudes and behaviours. Modern scholars tend to agree that police culture comprises the attitudes, values, and norms that police officers collectively develop in response to the strains of a police officer's occupational and organizational environment (Paoline et al., 2000; Paoline, 2003; Paoline & Terrill, 2005; Campeu, 2015). Earlier studies on police culture used ethnographic methodologies to observe and understand the common values and attitudes shared by police officers (Paoline et al., 2000; Paoline, 2003, 2004; Paoline & Terrill, 2005; Loftus, 2010; Ingram et al., 2013). These studies evaluated the responses developed by officers in their occupational and organizational environments and explained how these responses influenced officer interactions and behaviours (Loftus, 2010). Paoline (2003) asserts that public police culture develops from the conspicuous qualities of two mutually dependent but paradoxical surroundings within which public police officials perform their duties, which are the public police *occupational setting* and the public police *organisational setting*.

The occupational setting refers to public police officials’ connection to the community of people living in a particular country or region. The most referenced components of this setting are the potential for physical harm/risk and the distinctive licence to use force, which is a power that public police officials have over the populace (Paoline,

2003). Public police officials tend to be fixated on the belief that their work setting is loaded with hazards (real or perceived) and they expect to encounter such challenges most of the time (Steyn & de Vries, 2007). The possibility of physical harm/risk is so central to the public police official's world view that being confronted could potentially prompt affective impediments to performing effectively and without violence (Paoline III, 2003). The entrenched fear of physical harm/risk creates a formidable sense of solidarity amongst public police officials, while it isolates them from the public whom they see as the primary cause/source of the physical harm/risk that may be inflicted upon them (Crank, 2004). The public police occupation is dissimilar from any other in that police officials have the legislative right to use force if necessary. This licence and the accompanying need to demonstrate control underscore the acuity of physical harm/risk. This stems from the reality that, regardless of the circumstances, public police officials are compelled to initiate, demonstrate, and uphold control (Paoline III, 2003).

The second setting that public police officials work in is the organization itself, which means that an individual has a personal and professional connection with the establishment (i.e., the overseer) (Paoline, 2003). The two most salient components of this setting that public police officials are faced with are erratic and disciplinary overseeing, and the complexity of their public police role (Paoline, 2003). The connection between public police officials and their managers has been regarded as ambiguous because it is expected of the police to impose the law among delinquents and criminals, yet they are obliged to adhere to enforced bureaucratic rubrics and conventions (Paoline, 2003) that criminals despise. Technical infringements through the inappropriate application of the law can end in punitive proceedings, and novice public police officials soon realise that they become noticed for their mistakes and that they are seldom, if ever, commended for behaving admirably (Steyn & de Vries, 2007). Enthusiastic behaviour by public police officials is evidently not encouraged as it increases the likelihood of blunders and the accompanying detection and reprimand of the culprit. As such, public police officials are constricted by an establishment that commands that all challenges on the 'front line' be controlled with competency and restraint as there is the likelihood of extreme inquiry by critics should the line be overstepped (Paoline, 2003). This institutional ambiguity corresponds to the high likelihood of corporal risks in the public police work setting.

In conjunction with erratic disciplinary overseeing, public police officials also work within an institutional setting that supports vague task affinity. Empirical enquiries have indicated no fewer than three primary roles that public police officials are expected to perform, namely preservation of the peace, upholding the law, and the provision of public assistance, yet this institution traditionally recognised the execution of the law as its primary function. This latter singular focus is exacerbated through police institutional tuition, the formation of specialist sections, the emphasis on crime numbers and arrest success rates, and the assessment of performance for career advancement (Meyer, Steyn & Gopal, 2013).

Over time, two camps emerged in the police culture literature. First, the mono-cultural view posits that the police culture is widely accepted and shared amongst officers across the entire police organization (Cordner, 2017; Ingram et al., 2013; Ingram et al., 2018; Paoline, 2000). The second camp, the multicultural perspective, posits that the organization has a culture that is driven by differing values and attitudes within the policing sphere (Paoline, 2000; Ingram et al., 2013; Cordner, 2017).

Regarding the mono-cultural viewpoint, Paoline and Gau (2018: 671) contend that, "despite the academic debate, police leaders and criminal-justice commentators tend to endorse the notion that police culture is monolithic and characterized by a number of undesirable attitudes [that are] widely shared across the occupation". Due to the homogeneity in the police working environment, the mono-cultural perspective contends that all police officers have similar attitudes (Crank, 2004) and therefore adhere to similar behaviour. Early policing ethnographies also describe police officers' values and norms as homogeneous (Westley, 1953; Skolnick, 1966; van Maanen, 1974). Also, according to some later scholars, the culture of policing remains uni-dimensional because the occupational environment of policing remains consistent (Crank, 2004; Loftus, 2010). For example, Loftus (2010) argues that central cultural themes in the policing environment are resistant to change and therefore quite rigid. According to Loftus (2010), these themes are resistant to change due to the belief that the pressures that officers are exposed to in the work environment have remained consistent over time. However, according to the multi-cultural perspective, there are multiple police cultures that differ both within and among departments.

Early mono-cultural definitions have been criticised for their narrow approach to such a complex construct as culture (Chan, 1996; Campeu, 2015). In essence, Paoline (2003) agrees with this criticism as he argues that culture is a complex phenomenon that can differ across organizations and within them.
The multi-cultural perspective thus shifts the view on policing from a single, distinct culture founded in the occupational work environment to a view that includes the influence of multiple factors that are rooted in the police organizational environment. Moreover, earlier qualitative studies on police officers and their work environment exposed a variety of officer typologies, which supports the claim that officers are not uniform culturally (Muir, 1977; Reiner, 1985). Some scholars who identified common themes associated with police culture, such as Reiner (1985), caution against the assumption of a mono-cultural police culture. Reiner (1985) opines that the culture of the police, which is synonymous with the values, norms, perspectives, and craft rules that inform their conduct, is neither monolithic, nor universal or unchanging. This is because there are differences in outlook within the police force according to individual variables such as personality, rank, unit assignment, and specialization. The argument is therefore advanced that the organizational style and culture of a police force vary among different locations and time periods. This is evidenced by the fact that informal rules are not clear-cut and singularly articulated, but they are embedded in situations and the interactional processes of each encounter (Reiner, 1985).

In general, operational public police manage circumstances that require all three roles as listed above, yet only criminal law execution is emphasised and endorsed in most instances based on their operational mandate. Ambiguity is thus evident when supervisors want their junior officers to complete all operational tasks uniformly. Therefore, the combination of hazards, police officers' licence to use force, overseers' critical observations, and role vagueness in the police organisational setting generates pressure and angst among public police officials (Paoline, 2003).

Paoline (2003) also contends that the many inherent risks that police officers face are a source for the emergence and development of a unique police culture, particularly as police officials have to stand together to diminish these risks in order to protect themselves. They therefore adopt adaptive strategies to curtail the pressure and their

nervousness that are both generated in the police setting. This means that strategies are adapted and changed to assist public police officials in ensuring the order and control that are demanded by their vocational mandate. According to Paoline (2003), two adaptive methods are adopted, namely suspicion and maintaining an attitude of superiority. Self-preservation and a firm devotion to the anti-crime warrior image are therefore powerful features in police officials' organisational setting (Paoline, 2003).

Skolnick (1994:46) opines that public police officers are perceived "as distrusting thespians in an effort to reduce the haziness associated with a hazardous occupational situation". Skolnick further notes:

> "… it is the nature of the [public police officials'] situation that [her or his] conception of order is emphasized regularity and predictability. It is, therefore, a conception shaped by persistent [distrust]" (46).

Not only do public police officials harbour mistrust for the general populace, but they also view newcomers with suspicion. Old hands perceive novices as an added risk to what is referred to as "coterie cohesion" Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983:268). "[Do not] trust a new [public police official] until you have checked [her or him] out …", is a saying that Reuss-Ianni) refers to (1983: 268). In other words, acceptance in the police organization is dependent on the demonstration of loyalty to colleagues.

Sustaining a demeanour of superiority is also a feature of public police officials' occupational setting, and this is essentially connected with their image of authority (Paoline, 2003). Public police officials believe that they should avoid being harmed in their everyday public encounters and that they should appropriately demonstrate their licence to use force by being primed for any threat by the populace (Paoline, 2003). Generally speaking, maintaining a demeanour of superiority involves interpreting people and situations, being superior to other individuals, and being in charge of a threatening situation. This includes the ability to categorise their clientéle (by often terming them as "dubious individuals, assholes and know-nothings") based on the possible threat that they could pose (Paoline, 2003).

In addition to the police culture in their occupational setting that emerged as a product of their dealings with the populace, the organisational setting in which officials operate

creates pressure and fear which they attempt to dispel by adherence to the public police culture. Manning (1994:5) argues as follows: “As an adaptive modality, the occupational culture mediates external pressures and demands internal expectations for performance and production”. A particular consequence of public police overseers’ emphasis on regulating infringements is police officers’ self-preservation mindset, and this adaptive strategy dissuades public police officials from initiating behaviours that could possibly attract criticism. However, Herbert (1997: 805) explains how this self-preservation mentality can have debilitating consequences for the effective application of public policing: ‘‘The [self-preservation mentality] afflicts [public 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 image, or the criminal law execution proclivity. Some public police officials address task vagueness by associating with the tasks their superiors traditionally valued (Paoline, 2003). This means that the public police culture prioritizes maintaining the peace and providing public help over law enforcement or actual police corruption. “As such, the inner-directed aggressive street cop is somewhat of the cultural ideal that officers are expected to follow” (Paoline, 2003). The latter scholar also argues that persistent adherence to the enforcement proclivity could clash with self-preservation skill, arguing that this may result in public police officials making use of discriminatory tactics when they are required to engage in law enforcement; in other words, they concentrate on prioritising criminal offence investigations and avoid engaging in crime prevention. Public police culture adaptive strategies are transferred to others, particularly novice police officers, via a focus on existing predispositions and socialisation practices, and this proclivity persists during the span of public police officials’ careers. This concept will be elaborated further under chapter four (theoretical framework).

2.4 A Brief History of Police Culture Research

Towards the end of the 1940s, there were serious and persistent problems in many American cities with how the police treated minorities, particularly when it came to the use of force to extract confessions. Law enforcement agents who broke the law

created a serious problem (Westley, 1953: 34). At the time, the majority of research on the police tended to concentrate primarily on their management of crime or the history of local policing and did not include illuminating information regarding police behaviour. In 1950, Westley, a prospective sociologist with a particular interest in culture and how it influences behaviour from an anthropological perspective (though not focusing on policing), conducted a study on the police in Gary, Indiana (Greene, 2010). According to Westley (1953), the police had a unique perspective on what they did that justified the improper use of coercive measures. This study gave insight into the social nature of the police profession, suggesting that the force was driven by professional objectives and conduct norms. He linked police malpractice to what he referred to as an "internal socialisation process" that underpinned the organisational and occupational cultures in the police environment (Westley, 1953). Westley was arguably the first scholar to use an anthropological interpretation to explain police behaviour by linking it with the occupational collective of the police. This combined sociological anthropological approach with culture as a central topic of interest influenced all subsequent sociological studies on police and their work (Skolnick, 1966; 2011).

Between 1960 and 1963, Michael Banton (1964) researched police forces in Scotland, the United States of America (USA), and briefly in Sweden to understand relations between the police and the public and to understand how either group was affected by the occupational culture the police adhered to. Because Westley (1953) did not publish his findings in book form until 1970 (Greene, 2010:458), Banton's work was the first to engage in a sociological, hence qualitative, study of the police and the first of many comparative sociological police studies (McLaughlin, 2007). Banton's study did not only focus on charting the differences in policing within these above mentioned jurisdictions, but he looked further for a sociological text on the work of the police officer, and effectively saw the police as a *functioning institution*. According to Banton (1964), the discretionary nature of law enforcement was further rooted in factors pertaining to the local administration of police resources. However, Banton looked at the discretion of the police world as giving them a chance to engage in moral policing rather than legal policing, a factor that he attributed to the police officer retaining his or her status as a member of the community.

The 1960s were troublesome times globally but particular in the Western world, with mounting opposition against the Vietnam War and the rise of a counterculture of young people who heralded the ‘social revolution’. In essence, unrest and riots by political activists and extremists required actions by the police for which they were not prepared. Official demands to equip the police with new methods, to improve their operations and practices, and to reform their organization led to a wave of researchers investigating the police in Western society (McLaughlin, 2007: 49). Some of their findings will be discussed in more detail. For instance, Reiss studied the interaction between citizens and police officers in several American cities in the 1960s (Reiss, 1971); Van Maanen examined the organisational socialization in a large urban US police department (1972); Cain (1973) focused on the organization of rural and urban police in the United Kingdom (UK); Manning (1977) aimed to uncover the social organization of police work and its underlying principles and symbols; Punch (1979) carried out intensive field work in a difficult district in Amsterdam; and a serving police sergeant, Holdaway (1983), undertook a longitudinal study using covert observation within his own police station. Similar to Banton (1964: 113) they all concentrated on patrol or ‘beat’ officers, which is the entrance level into most police organisations and a common background for all police officers, even for those who were subsequently promoted to the highest ranks, because every senior officer must have served an apprenticeship within the rank-and-file (Skolnick, 2011). Moreover, patrol officers also had to learn to exercise the greatest level of discretion when they served on the streets (Wilson, 1978). These researchers all uncovered, in one way or other, the ‘occupational culture’ that existed at the core of the police in earlier years (Holdaway, 1983: 2). Many of them either knew, were in contact with, or referred to the others (e.g., Punch, 1979).

While referring to the occupational culture of the public police, Punch used the shortened term ‘police culture’ (1979). Young (1991) did the same when he presented his accounts as a police insider. To some extent, Young broadened the perspective on police culture. In the first instance, his book on an urban police force was not restricted to patrol officers but his narrative also included detectives and their work; secondly, in his book about a police force in the countryside, he pointed out cultural differences between policing in a rural and an urban setting by using the term ‘rural police culture’ (Young, 1993: 232). Differences between urban and rural policing were

certainly obvious to researchers and, as a result, they typically aimed to study the former that was located in higher population density contexts with presumably more social conflict and higher crime rates. Punch unambiguously referred to a potentially weaker, or different, police culture in Amsterdam than in the Dutch provinces (1979: 40).

The concept of working-class police officers was raised more by Elisabeth Reuss-Ianni (1983) who, together with Francis Ianni, completed a two-year study in New York City. They identified a ‘street cop culture’, arguing that its members originated from the working classes, and a ‘management cop culture’ that was mainly associated with middle-class officers. Nevertheless, they suggested that both developed out of a monolithic departmental police culture and attributed the split into two cultures to social and political change. The police manager as the policy-deciding commanding officer had previously been described as an important factor as such a person would influence the ‘policing style’ within a department (Wilson, 1968). The police chief was therefore the police organisation’s equivalent to the founder (Peters & Waterman, 1982) who created the environment for the development and persistence of the organisational culture. However, Wilson (1978) did not see the fragmentation of the organisational culture in the same way as Reuss-Ianni (1983), while other scholars partitioned occupational police culture into three segments, namely command, middle management, and lower respondents (Farkas & Manning, 1997). Manning (2007) added a fourth segment, namely the investigator or detective as another distinction or subculture within the police organisation. Some researchers assumed that, in addition to the organisational structure, there might be individual elements contributing to police culture, and they developed typologies of different police styles. For instance, Muir (1977; 1979:55-57) elucidated four different types of police officer as did Reiner (1984:133), but they used different labels. These differences among police officers as suggested by the typologies indicated the existence of a subculture within the police occupational culture. Paoline (2003) therefore pertinently argues the importance of exploring police culture by considering two contexts, namely the occupational and the organisational.

Chan (1977: 12) found the conceptualisation of police culture confusing, arguing that police culture was often described as monolithic without considering a possible

management culture. She criticised the lack of a definition of police culture that accounts for internal differences as well as for the differences across jurisdictions. In her opinion, “a theory of police culture should account for the existence of multiple cultures within a police force and variation in cultures among police forces” (Chan, 1996). Furthermore, criticism was raised because of the implied passivity of police officers during the socialisation process within the police and a lack of consideration for the larger social, political, and organisational context of policing (Chan, 1996). Chan’s views subsequently shifted the attention of scholars towards occupational socialisation. She applied Bourdieu & Wacquant’s (1992) conception of ‘habitus’ and ‘field’ to distinguish between structural conditions of police work and the cultural knowledge used by police officers (Chan, 1996: 112-113).

Further ethnographic studies were conducted, for example on the relationship between gender roles and police culture (Silvestri, 2003; Westmarland, 2002), but the focus of this type of study has become less popular mainly because, supported by public pressure towards new management techniques, researchers have begun to expand their interests in organisational as well as occupational aspects of police culture (Davies & Thomas, 2003; Manning, 2007; McLaughlin, 2007). Internationally, police culture has been used for policing and political reform in developing democracies, but paradoxically also as a blocker for such reforms (O’Neill & Singh, 2007: 1). While there are arguments for the stability of the traditional concept of police culture developed by early ethnographers (Loftus, 2010), currently it appears to be no longer applicable for some (Manning, 2007; Sklansky, 2007). As Chan suggests, this may mean that police culture is subject to change and that it can, in fact, be changed, something which is also highlighted by Cockcroft (2005, 2007) and Punch (2007). Some policing scholars even suggest that new demographic developments might have an impact on police culture (O'Neill & Singh 2007; Skolnick, 2008). This is due not only to the increased number of female recruits, but also to the recruitment of more police officers from ethnic minorities. At the same time, newly professionalised police managers have discovered police organisational culture as a topic, and they endorse this to facilitate cultural change in an effort to overcome all kinds of organisational problems, from improving communication to enhancing motivation, and to develop leadership models that are primarily derived from the private sector (Cockcroft, 2014; Silvestri, 2012).

While a substantive body of literature targets police culture in Anglo-Saxon countries, similar research was also carried out elsewhere, the most prominent being the afore-mentioned account of the police in Amsterdam (Punch, 1979). Some accounts were written by academic researchers, others by police practitioners. Some explored the occupational police subculture while others addressed the organisational police culture, policing styles, and similar variations. Klockars, Ivkovich, Harver and Haberfeld (2000), for example, focused primarily on police integrity. Nonetheless, the concept behind the English word 'culture' is not always the same when translated into other languages, so that research on 'police culture' (i.e., the values, beliefs and norms held by the police) is sometimes conducted under different labels, such as police integrity, police ethics, or the legitimacy of police activity (Behr, 2006; Rakar, Seljak, & Aristovnik, 2013).

There are numerous studies and accounts, obviously of varying depth and quality, that confirm the existence of police culture or its equivalents around the world. For instance, scholars have addressed police integrity and a police culture shaped by the war experience in Croatia (Ivkovich & Klockars, 2004); low-level corruption in the Finnish police linked to a particular police culture (Puonti, Vuorinen, & Ivkovic, 2004); and the police culture in Hungary that is deemed to be largely tolerant of low-level corruption (Kremer, 2004). Hulst (2013) found the Dutch police culture potentially 'softer' compared to its Anglo-Saxon counterparts (Hulst, 2013), while it was found that, in Norway, efforts were made to control police culture through police reform (Gundhus, 2017). A study in Sweden that drew heavily from Anglo-Saxon literature confirmed police culture as being pervasive and persistent (Fekjær, Petersson, & Thomassen, 2014), and a South African study likewise concluded that, irrespective of the changes that had occurred in the organisational and occupational environments of the police, some aspects of the 'traditional' police culture endured (Steyn & Mkhize, 2016). Noteworthy are the cultural distinctions that Banton (1964) points out between different Anglo-Saxon police forces. In his comparison of British and American police officers, he found that British officers found it easier to maintain a relationship with a person whilst keeping a distance, generated more respect, and had a different attitude and behaviour than their USA counterparts (Banton, 1964: 190). Skolnick (1966; 2011) even suggests differences between police officers in Scotland and the rest of Britain.

The existence of a distinctive culture within police organisations has been termed a police culture phenomenon, and this notion is widely accepted throughout the Western world (Alain, 2001:22; Tyler, 2011). Nonetheless, a cross-national study using exploratory factor analysis on occupational attitudes of police forces in Canada, India, and Japan found several converging and some rather national attitudes within these countries' respective police cultures (Nickels & Verma, 2008). Baker's (2007) account of police practices in three African countries illustrates the existence of police culture in a very different part of the world. The current Russian police culture still appears to be influenced by historic Soviet elements such as particular forms of pro-active policing (Reynolds & Semukhina, 2013). Also, regardless of the different cultural environments, scholars who looked into police culture from the 'macro-perspective' of the studied society, described police practices in Thailand (Haanstad, 2013), Taiwan (Martin, 2013), and even China (Jiao, 2001) as being primarily influenced by the culture of these respective countries.

2.5 Police Subculture

Exploring police subculture emerged as a significant research field in scholarly efforts to explain police conduct and attitudes (Westley, 1970). Subculture, in the latter author's view, characterizes the public as hostile, not to be trusted, and potentially violent, and this outlook requires secrecy, mutual support, and unity on the part of the police. Manning (1977) argues that the requirement for information management, coupled with the inherent uncertainty of police work, encourages police teamwork which, in turn, creates a strong bond of mutual dependence among police officers. Conventional characterizations of the police culture have focused on describing the shared values, attitudes, and norms created within the occupational and organizational environments of policing (Paoline, 2004: 205), and assumptions of a single police culture have been the subject of some recent research. Paoline (2004) proposes the existence of different attitudinal subgroups of police officers. For instance, although certain groups of police officers exhibit many of the unfavourable traits of traditional society, other police officers frequently exhibit traits that are contrasting. In other words, as police departments have become more heterogeneous, "a single cohesive police culture [has given] way to a more fragmented occupational group" (Paoline,

2003: 205). This assumption is supported by the representation of people of colour, women, and college-educated officers who all bring a variety of perspectives and traits to law enforcement based on their prior experiences that have altered how police collectively understand the world around them (Paoline, Myers, & Worden, 2000).

It is necessary to emphasize that the existence of an organizational culture in policing is not unique as most organizations possess a certain culture that is underpinned by conventions, values, and perspectives that are specific to that company, industry, or organization. In most cases, police officers are influenced by formal organizational structures and values as well as by informal values, beliefs, norms, rituals, and expectations that are passed on through the organizational culture (Adcox, 2000: 20). For example, a new police officer who has enrolled at the academy learns the laws and formal rules required before initiating a traffic stop on a motor vehicle. However, beyond these formalities, the new officer also quickly learns the importance of tone of voice, posture, and initial approach to a hysterical, threatening, or sometimes apologetic driver. Many seasoned police officers have developed a ritual or standard approach with an accompanying explanation for practically all drivers over the course of many years of traffic encounters (Adcox, 2000).

Champoux (2006: 70-91) discovered different but related forms of organizational culture which he refers to as artefacts, values, and basic assumptions. These artefacts are the most visible components of the organizational culture and include sounds, architecture, smells, behaviour, attire, language, products, and ceremonies, to name a few. Renowned scholars in the police culture field assert that police culture is in part transmitted and defined by certain artefacts. For example, police recruits quickly learn police jargon, how to address their superiors, how to communicate on the radio, a writing style for police reports, and a host of other behaviours that are unique to policing. The patrol officer's uniform is another type of police artefact. It serves as a sign of law and order and makes it easy for members of the public to recognize him/her as a police officer. Today, almost all police departments have uniformed patrol divisions patrolling in squad cars/police vehicles.

The second form of organizational culture involves the values embedded in the organization. Champoux (2006: 70-91) indicates that the in-use values are the most

important because they guide the behaviour of people in the organization. For example, new police officers often complete months of training on the street with a field training officer. These field training officers play a significant role in the education of recruits, especially as they are expected to convey the values of respect, integrity, honesty, and fairness to new police officers. However, as is the case in many occupations, conflicts often exist between values. For example, Pollock (2008: 291) concludes that, if a police officer feels isolated from the community, his/her loyalty is to other police officers and not to the community.

The third and final form of organizational culture involves the basic assumptions that members of the organization hold. Champoux (2006: 70-91) opines that seasoned employees of an organization are not consciously aware of the basic assumptions that guide behaviours within the organization. These presumptions evolve during the course of the organization's history and cover a wide range of human behaviour, interpersonal interactions inside the organization, and interactions with the external environment. The assumptions are typically unconscious, making it challenging for seasoned police officers to explain them to new police officers. In many cases, police officers learn about these presumptions through witnessing how other officers behave in a variety of contexts. For example, Nelson and Quick (2006) describe the presence of certain organizational assumptions, or deeply held beliefs, that guide behaviours and communicate to members of the organization how to perceive and think about things. Gaines, Kappeler and Vaughn (2008: 327–330) describe the presence of a police ethos (fundamental spirit of a culture). They identify three concepts that are of the utmost importance in policing: bravery, autonomy, and the ethos of secrecy. Crank (2004) defines secrecy as follows:

> "Secrecy is a cultural product, formed by an environmental context that holds in high regard issues of democratic process and police lawfulness, and that seeks to punish its cops for errors they make. Secrecy is a set of working tenets that loosely couple the police to accountability, that allow them to do their work and cover their ass so that they can continue to do the work they have to do without interfering oversight."

Evidence of secrecy is clearly articulated in statements such as: "Watch out for your partner first and then the rest of the guys working"; "Don't give up another cop"; "Don't

get involved in anything in another cop's sector"; "If you get caught off base, don't implicate anybody else" (Reuss-Ianni, 1983: 14–16).

Many police officers view themselves as teammates linked together by portable radios and cell phones. There is also the notion that the team is not stronger than its weakest member so, as members of the team who have to work together, they feel a good deal of pressure to live up to the expectations of other team members and support the practice of secrecy. Among the attitudes and values identified as characteristics of a police culture are the tenets to adhere to a code of silence, with grave consequences if it is violated, and maintaining loyalty to other officers above all else.

The police subculture, or the 'blue fraternity' or 'brotherhood', adheres to many informal rules and regulations, tactics, and lore that are passed from one generation of police officers to another. It is both a result and a cause of police isolation from the larger society and of police solidarity. Its influence begins early in the new officer's career when he/she is told by more experienced officers that "the training given in police academies is irrelevant to 'real' police work" (Bayley & Bittner, 1989: 87). Recruits are told that what is important is the experience of senior officers who know the ropes or know how to get around things. Recruits are often told by officers with considerable experience to forget what they learned in the academy and in college and to start learning 'real' police work. Among the first lessons learned is that police officers share secrets among themselves and that these secrets, especially when they deal with activities that are questionable in terms of ethics, legality, and departmental policy, are not to be divulged to others as administrators cannot often be trusted. This emphasis on the police occupational subculture results in many officers regarding themselves as members of a 'blue minority' (Cox & Fitzgerald, 1996; Skolnick & Fyfe, 1993).

Not unlike members of other occupational groups, most police officers tend to socialize exclusively with other officers and come to realize (unlike members of many other occupational groups) that their identity as a police officer sometimes makes them socially unacceptable, even when off-duty. In some circles there is a kind of stigma attached to those who are perceived as being 'too close' to police officers, and police officers themselves are sometimes suspicious of the motives of non-police who

become too friendly. In other words, the dangers associated with policing, often prompt officers to distance themselves from the chief source of danger, which is other citizens (Terrill, Paoline, & Manning, 2003: 5). The authority vested in police officers also separates them from other citizens, and many become socially isolated from the public and rely on one another for support and protection from a dangerous and hostile work setting. It is said that they develop a “we versus them” attitude towards the public and “a strong sense of loyalty towards other officers” (Terrill, 2003: 5).

While everyone agrees that police work is dangerous, Cullen, Link, Travis and Lemming (1983) identify a paradox concerning the perception of danger and the actual danger encountered by the police. Crank (2004: 158) agrees that this paradox exists, arguing that, in many instances, it is not the actual danger that results in fear but that it is the potential for danger that is constantly present that causes fear. Cullen et al. (1983) conclude that the fear of danger among police officers is both functional and dysfunctional, and therefore the very real hazards of police work require that police be alert to the risks associated with the job.

When officers divide the world into a ‘we-versus-them’ paradigm, the former consists of other police officers while the latter encompasses almost everybody else. Admittedly, members of other occupational groups also develop their own subcultures and worldviews, but often not to the same extent as the police (Skolnick, 1966). In his classic text, Skolnick (1966:52) notes: “Set apart from the conventional world, the policeman experiences an exceptionally strong tendency to find his social identity within his occupational milieu”. Reuss-Ianni (1983), postulates that the ‘we-versus-them’ view include the following:

- “Don’t tell anybody else more than they have to know; it could be bad for you, and it could be bad for them.”
- “Don’t trust a new guy until you have checked him out.”
- “Don’t give them [police administrators] too much activity.”
- “Keep out of the way of any boss from outside your precinct.”
- “Know your bosses.”
- “Don’t do bosses’ work for them.”
- “Don’t trust bosses to look out for your interests.”
- “Don’t talk too much or too little.”

- “Protect your ass.”

Skolnick (1966) indicates that factors inherent in police work contribute to this tendency. Among these factors are danger, authority, and the need to appear efficient.

2.6 Police Culture Themes

According to the police perspective, no one outside the organization is capable of understanding the true nature of this occupation. This essentially means that police officers feel that nobody from outside the police organization - academics, politicians, and lawyers in particular - can comprehend the extent and implications of their job. Therefore police are known to share a culture united by common themes, this has been noted by many scholars 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”.*

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 form 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, these are discussed in-depth below.

2.6.1 Police Culture Theme of Solidarity

Willis (1990) asserts that the most prevailing characteristic of police culture is the sense of solidarity shared by its members. Numerous researchers such as Christopher (1991), Skolnick and Fyfe (1993), Chan (2003), and Crank (2004) propose that solidarity is the leading connection amongst police officers that can be defined as 'the glue that holds police culture intact'. These researchers ascertain that solidarity serves to sustain police group identity, mark group boundaries, and protect police officers from external dangers (Crank, 2004; Chan, 2003). Furthermore, Coser (1956) and Crank (2004) agree that police solidarity is a product of conflict with and dislike for varied out-groups that perceivably challenge police authority on how they do their day-to-day work, such as the public, the courts, the media, politicians, and even police commanders (referred to as the 'brass' due to the metal insignia they wear). Moreover, the sheer danger of police work, like combat, encourages strong loyalties in what is referred to as an 'all for one and one for all' sense of camaraderie that is associated with a militaristic need for combat-readiness and general spiritedness (Steyn, 2006).

Powerful loyalties thus emerge in the commonly shared and perilous efforts the police exert to control dangerous crimes.

It is also argued that the police cultural theme of solidarity is governed by a sense of high-minded morality amongst its members. This means that the police identify the enemy (out-groups in conflict with the police such as the public, courts, criminals, politicians, and administrative brass) as totally evil and police members as 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), and they thus perceive themselves to be a superior class (Hunt & Magenau, 1993; Bouza, 1990:17). Police officer morality thus judges citizens as 'different'. This sense of high-minded morality amongst police officials characterises the often uncritical way in which the police are presented to the outside world as "a faultless bunch, fighting a war against corrupt people, criminals, or whoever fails to recognizably support the police" (Fussell, 1989: 164). Caldero (1995) posits that police solidarity is central to the overall police culture and is pivotal in all that the police do to protect their identity, including the 'righteous' abuse of suspects and delinquents.

The perceived differences between the police and out-groups are emphasized in ironic expressions used among police officials that highlight their high sense of suspicion (Crank, 2004: 225). Suspicion is a fundamental component of police work and, more specifically, of cultural solidarity. Suspicion is the foundation and root of police behaviour and stems from police officers' ability to transform the relatively safe beat patrol task into what is pertinently described as 'the street', which is where the central organizing task of police work is carried out. The consequences of police behaviour are thus the drivers of their deep sense of suspicion. This does not mean that each and every time that a police official is suspicious he or she will find a guilty suspect. However, it can be stated that each time a suspect is apprehended, a sense of irony and suspicion continues to be embedded within police narratives.

When police recruits are taught the lore of police work, they are concurrently provided with a vocabulary of irony, danger, suspicion, and officer safety. This irony is particularly visible in the police college and during field training and it is also elucidated in stories of danger, role-play, and films that accentuate how dangerous police work

is. It must be highlighted that college instructors are members of the police organization, and as such are respondents in what they believe to be the common-sense language of the organisational culture. Their natural language is therefore metaphoric and story-based (Crank, 1996; McNulty, 1994). Instructors therefore persistently provide insight into organisational culture when they are asked a question or when they feel compelled to provide an explanation during a class, and the recruits are told to make use of this cultural knowledge to 'stay out of trouble'. For instance, the group rather than an individual will be punished by instructors when one recruit did not conform to an instruction that is embedded in police cultural values and norms (Van Maanen, 1973). Group punishments and rewards intentionally reinforce solidarity, and recruits therefore find themselves unintentionally compelled to cover for one another, "thus authenticating 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-versus-them' attitude where the 'them' is the public. Police officials are expected to watch out for their partner before all others (Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983). Moreover, the perceptions are imbibed that the entire outside world is dangerous and that only officers can identify and deal with the dangers out there (Crank, 2004: 247).

2.6.2 Police Culture Theme of Isolation

The tendency for police officials to become isolated has been shown in a significant body of police research over the years. Drummond (1976) and Skolnick (1966) assert that police officials are isolated from previous friends, the community, the legal system, and even from their spouses and families. In order to shield themselves against actual and imagined risks, the loss of personal and professional autonomy, and social rejection, police isolate themselves from society (Skolnick, 1966: 18). Skolnick states:

> "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 ".

Similarly, administrative factors like shift work, few weekly days off, and court time sometimes cause police officials to isolate themselves from people other than other officers. Police also experience isolation due to power they wield in society. They are required to enforce many laws that can be perceived as a rigid and puritanical form of morality, such as those that prohibit intoxication. Many police officials have been drunk themselves and have become sensitive to the charge of hypocrisy. In order to protect themselves, they tend to socialise only with other police officers or they spend time alone, which leads to social isolation (Kingshott & Prinsloo, 2004).

Numerous theories that are indicative of a 'we-they' worldview among the police have been identified by Ruess-Ianni and Ianni (1983). Such terms 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. The 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 their world (Kappeler, Sluder & Alpert, 1994). Eventually, this 'we-they' outlook increases police officers' isolation from other citizens.

2.6.3 Police Culture Theme of Cynicism

According to Niederhoffer (1967: 98), police cynicism is characterized by "pervasive emotions of hate, envy, impotent animosity, and a sour-grapes pattern, which are manifested as a state of mind in the individual police officer". Niederhoffer further deduces that police cynicism is directed towards life, the world, people in general, and the police system itself. Arthur Niederhoffer (1967) wrote about the universal cynicism that he had observed during his career in the New York City Police Department, and ascertains that cynicism is the root of many problems associated with the police. Neiderhoffer (1967) further argues that when this is left unchecked, a brooding cynicism and its accompanying loss of faith in police work contribute to alienation, job dissatisfaction, and corruption.

Crank (2004: 324) proposes that cynicism begins early in a police official's career and reaches full strength in the fourth and fifth year, at which point an officer is most vulnerable to corruptive influences. Wilt and Bannon (1976) argue that measures of

police cynicism impact the jargon of police culture, which seems to be a language that reflects deep frustration towards administrators, police work, and the organisation. They posit that cynicism emerges early on from the language and attitudes modelled by instructors during college training, and this occurs partly because newcomers wish to emulate experienced officials so that they will quickly lose their status as 'rookies' or novices (Wilt & Bannon, 1976: 40), and partly because new recruits are motivated to quickly learn how to "cover their backs", just like more experienced police officials do (Crank, 2004: 325).

2.7 The Impact of Police Culture on Public Trust

Public trust is an essential element in both organizational and team phenomena and has a profound effect on police performance and public-police cooperation. The public's trust in the police institution is vital as the latter has to earn a reputation of legitimacy and respect for and cooperation with the community. If the reputation of the police is sound, the public will support them as they will view them as trustworthy (Goldsmith, 2005). In essence, if citizens receive good quality police service, a positive evaluation will be generated; conversely, if citizens receive low quality service, negative reviews will be spread (Aung & May, 2019). The public's willingness to assist and cooperate with the police during criminal investigations and trials depends on how much trust it has in the police, which is one of the essential concepts that strengthens the relationship between the two (Boateng, 2012). When citizens trust the police, they are likely to co-operate with them by reporting crimes as well as enforcing societal norms, which is what the concept of community policing endorses. Individuals who believe that police officers' actions are procedurally fair are highly likely to perceive them as legitimate and trustworthy (Wolfe, Rojek, & Kaminski, 2015), and this boosts the efficiency and legitimacy of police actions (Boateng, 2012).

2.7.1 An international perspective on trust in the police

- In the United States of America (USA), the decline in the public's trust in the police can be partially attributed to state and local police policies and practices. In any country, the state police need public acceptance to pursue their goals (Sklansky, 2011), and the police service can satisfy public expectations by

ensuring that procedures, actions, demeanour, and police practices speak of accountability to the people. This requires transparent internal management procedures and an effective, functional external oversight body (Bayley, 2001).

In Sweden, a current proposal for police reform is in favour of the creation of a unified police/security service with the aim of addressing the disparities in these services. The creation of an independent review body with the mandate to supervise both the police and security services is therefore being considered (Swedish Ministry of Justice, 2012).

The police in Pakistan suffer from a poor reputation among a public that retains a highly negative view of the police and their role and mission. This police force has been criticised for inefficiency and corruption, and there seems to be a major divide between the police and the country's citizens. As a result, issues such as service delivery, governance, and trust in the police force have created almost insurmountable obstacles to public trust in the police (Saddle, 2012).

- In Latin American Countries, the level of public trust in the police is only 7.5% on average (Casas-Zamora & Dammert, 2014). One of the predictable results of this low level of trust is the reluctance to report a crime which, in turn, contributes to widespread impunity. In Costa Rica, for instance, where levels of confidence in the police are comparatively high, only 23% of crimes are reported to authorities, whereas only 22% are reported in Mexico (Casas-Zamora & Dammert, 2014). In most countries in this region, police services do not appear to have the necessary capabilities to deal with crime.

- Conversely, in New Zealand the majority (56-78%) of the population has trust and confidence in the police. However, the New Zealand police force was adamant to achieve a 90% trust and confidence level by 2021 (Daniels-Shpall, 2019), which is an achievement ideal that could not be confirmed by the current study.

- In Germany, a study investigated trust in the police together with trust in the courts and justice system based on confidence in the work of the police, the organisation as a whole, and the behaviour of police officers. Institutional trust was closely linked to individual trust in this study, which the author argues is an elementary part of social life. The author concludes that individual trust influences people's opinion of the performance of governmental institutions, such as the police in this instance (Staubli, 2017).

Scholars globally seem to agree that police legitimacy is essential in support of the ability of the police to operate effectively in any given community, and that community or public trust in the police is a key element of the organization's legitimacy. Where trust is high, the public has confidence in the police to exercise their authority responsibly, and individuals and groups are then more likely to comply with police demands and instructions (Daniels-Shpall, 2019).

2.7.2 An African perspective on trust in the police

In Africa, scholarly work on public trust in the police has been an ongoing exercise for decades because the level of trust in the police can determine the way the public responds to and supports the police in the fight against crime and criminality. It also influences how success rates can ultimately be used to determine the effectiveness of the police organization (Shayode, 2018).

- Igbo (2017) argues that the Nigerian police still perform their functions with a colonial mentality, which is characterised by police brutality and a poor relationship with the community. In Nigeria, there is a prevalent assumption that police brutality is a means to justify the end; in other words, it does not really matter how or if the police solve a crime as long as they are perceived as trying to do so. Any means are thus employed to get statements from witnesses and suspects, even if police behaviour requires undue physical punishment and inhumane treatment. The Nigerian police thus tend to revert to unprecedented force, which resulted in some deaths in police custody in the past (Igbo, 2017).

- In an extensive study on police effectiveness and police trustworthiness in Ghana, Tankebe (2010) found that the perception of police effectiveness had a direct impact on perceived police trustworthiness. This scholar concludes that the influence of police effectiveness is powerfully mediated by the perception that the police are procedurally fair (Tankebe, 2010).

- A study that was conducted in Kenya on police trust revealed various findings. In conjunction with high levels of perceived corruption, Kenya's police officers were also accused of unfairness, which was a perception that resulted in fairly low levels of public trust in this organization in Kenya. In the cited survey, only 21% said they trusted the police 'somewhat', while only 13% said they trusted them 'a lot'. More than four in ten (42%) respondents expressed no trust at all in the police. Over time, Kenyans have expressed increasing distrust in the police. In a study that was conducted between 2014 and 2022 (Kamau, Onyango & Salau, 2022), the portion of respondents who said they didn't trust the police 'at all' had escalated by 12%. Rural residents (38%) expressed greater trust in the police than their urban counterparts (27%). Trust seemed to decline as education levels increased, ranging from just 24% among those with post-secondary qualifications to 50% among those with only formal schooling. Young people expressed less trust in the police than their elders, ranging from 31% among 18 to 25-year-olds to 40% among those over 55 years of age. In addition to expressing considerable general mistrust in the police, many Kenyans said that some police officers engaged in improper and even illegal activities. Two-thirds (66%) of the respondents said the police 'often' or 'always' stopped drivers without good reason. The majority (57%) also believed that the police routinely used excessive force in managing protests or demonstrations and in dealing with criminals (55%). Moreover, 38% said the police routinely engaged in illegal activities, while only 29% thought this 'rarely' or 'never' happened. Overall, only about one in five citizens (18%) said the police 'often' or 'always' operated in a professional manner and respected all citizens' rights, while 60% asserted that such behaviour was rare or unheard of (Kamau, Onyango & Salau, 2022).

2.7.3 A South African perspective on trust in the police

According to a study by Roberts and Gordan (2022) that explored confidence in the South African Police Service (SAPS), between 1998 and 2010, the general perception of police trust remained mostly unchanged.The latter year was only six years after the shift to a democratic dispensation. In this period, levels of trust ranged between 39% and 42% in all but a few years. This was followed by a sharp decline between 2011 and 2013 following the killing by police of 34 striking miners at Marikana, North West Province, in August 2012 (Roberts & Gordan, 2022), but confidence had almost returned to the 2011 level by 2015. The 2016 to 2020 period was characterised by a modest fluctuation between 31% and 35%, which was still very low. The hard COVID-19 lockdown that was imposed by the state in 2020 saw instances of police brutality. However, the researchers did not observe a decline in public confidence in the police in the 2020 period. In 2021, public trust in the police dipped to an all-time low of 27% (Roberts & Gordan, 2022). This appeared to be linked to the unprecedented July 2021 social unrest that erupted primarily in the KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng provinces. Many criticised the police for poor to dismal performance during this unrest period that cost the country billions of Rand in revenue.

2.8 Conclusion

Police culture was extensively explored in this chapter, starting with its historical origins and progressing to numerous scholarly discourses on police culture and its three fundamental tenets: cynicism, solidarity, and isolation.

CHAPTER THREE: THE ROLE OF THE POLICE IN AFRICA

3.1 Introduction

It is important to note that, while contemporary police culture discourses in Africa are discussed extensively, it is equally significant to discuss historical developments of the African police for a holistic understanding of police culture. This chapter therefore explores both early and contemporary literature on various African police institutions that has evolved over time.

3.2 Historical Context of African Police Forces

While research on the police in Africa is not easy to obtain, it appears that there is general consensus that the policing culture on this continent has its roots in the colonial period. This is true for most African countries who were under the yoke of colonialism, such as Lesotho, Tanzania, Kenya, and South Africa, to name a few (Mareni, 1982). Bell (2013) accepts that in the colonial era policing was mainly marked by para-militarism (i.e., semi-militarism), which was distinct from the unarmed, civilised policing culture that was common to Britain. Cole (1999) asserts that colonial police was primarily designed to prevent public disruptions and to preserve law and order, with the necessity for crime suppression being typically secondary to the preservation of internal security and public order. Furthermore, a substantial number of African police institutions experienced a range of challenges stemming from recruitment and promotion prejudices that affected mainly black police officers. Bruce (2021) still maintains that it is difficult to reject the argument that, today, African state police organizations are in many ways still an embodiment of the colonial policing legacy as they do not reflect the development of policing systems that are appropriate to the African context.

3.2.1 Nigeria

Nigeria formed its first colonial police force in 1861, the year Lagos was designated a British Colony. The force of 25 constables was created by a British merchant named William McCoskry after he was appointed acting governor of Lagos in 1861(Mann, 2007). Shortly after, his successor, Henry Freeman increased the establishment of the police force by 75. According to Mann (2007) by October 1863, the police force had grown to 600 members and was given the designation Armed Hausa Police Force, which reflected the group's ethnic makeup. These were mostly former slaves originally from the northern part of Nigeria. Although it is unlikely that all members of the Armed Hausa Police were from that ethnic group, the name stuck to the force. The term ‘Hausa’ was in fact also common among British West African colonial military units in the 19th century (Clayton & Killingray,1989). As British colonial authority was extended throughout Nigeria, and more protectorates created, so were other police forces formed along similar patterns as that of Lagos. With time, these constabularies were amalgamated so that by 1906, there were 2 police forces in Nigeria namely, the Southern Police Force and the Northern Police Force, reflecting the two territories of the Northern Nigeria Protectorate and the Southern Nigeria Protectorate (Clayton & Killingray, 1989). Obaro (2014) opines that in 1930, the two Nigerian Protectorates' police forces were also combined in 1930 to become the Nigeria Police Force, which was late given that the two Protectorates had already merged in 1914.

3.2.2 Malawi

In Nyasaland, in comparison to other areas, it took longer to establish a single, centralized police force. Small law enforcement units were formed by district tax collectors in 1896 at the direction of the British colonial government. By 1914, the units had grown to about 400 men across the districts, but there was still no centralized police force (Clayton & Killingray, 1989). After the John Chilembwe uprising of 1915, the colonial state in Nyasaland began to recognize the need for a more efficient territorial force and duly created the Nyasaland Police Force in 1920. Subsequently, the Malawi Police Service was established on 5th October, 1921 as Nyasaland Police Force. It had its headquarters in Zomba (which was Nyasaland’s Capital City), situated at the present Police College. Police stations were established in Zomba, Blantyre, Mulanje and Mangochi (Clayton & Killingray, 1989). The head of the Nyasaland Police

Force was called the Chief Commissioner before it later changed to Inspector General. After attaining independence from Britain, in 1966, the then Prime Minister Dr. Hastings Kamuzu Banda, changed the name Nyasaland to Malawi (meaning flames of fire) which automatically renamed the police force to Malawi Police Force (Clayton & Killingray, 1989).

Luhanga (2001) asserts that, prior to the reforms that were planned for the Malawi Police Services in 1994, problems were encountered by the police institution as there were weaknesses in areas of management and command, human resources, finance, strategic planning, and accountability. Furthermore, decision making was over centralised, there was understaffing, and no competent human development unit existed for recruitment and training and placement of staff at all levels (Luhanga, 2001). He also notes the absence of a proper financial management system, no unit for research or forward planning, and a lack of identification of potential opportunities and threats. Moreover, no crime statistics were available because of the absence of a research and planning office. Managers had no basis on which to make sound decisions regarding the utilisation of resources and identification of priorities. Luhanga (2001) further notes that, contrary to the provisions of the Malawian Constitution, there were no clear accountability structures in place.

3.2.3 Kenya

Ruteere and Pommerolle (2003) highlight that, in Kenya the recruitment pattern was highly influenced by ethnicity as colonial officials selected a force from ethnic groups seen to be less opposed to the colonial mentality. Foran (1960) asserts that the establishment of the British East Africa police was accomplished towards the end of 1902. Kagari (2006) further adds that the Kenya police was formally established by a police ordinance in 1906 and the Kenya police training college was established in 1911. In addition, Foran (1960) states that the reason for the formation of the Kenya Police force was "to maintain peace and order, guard the scattered trading stations, and support the company's servants on their lawful occasions in the interior”. In 1920, the modern Kenya police was founded and mostly Africans were recruited to fill only the lowest ranks in the force. This means that Africans were still subservient to European and Asian officers (Kagari, 2006). According to Onyango (1990), the

character and evolution of the police function in Kenya occurred through the pacification of the anti-colonial resistance, which was achieved by resorting to violence and violation of a broad spectrum of human rights laws. Kagari (2006) further adds that the police primarily served as a tool of the colonists right from the start. In fact, the early Kenya police force is described as "a punitive citizen containment squad" (Kagari, 2006). The expansion of the Kenya police force really commenced when the Criminal Investigative Department (CID) and education classes were established, especially for police officers who occupied the lower ranks. However, after specialised units of the Kenya police had been created (such as the fingerprint bureau), posts were mainly occupied by police officers formerly from Britain and South Africa. Further developments within the Kenya police force included the establishment of the Kenya Police Reserve in 1948, which was an auxiliary of the police force and authorized to provide assistance in times of emergency and increasingly anxious settler communities into security operations. Additionally, a Dog Unit was established and the General Service Unit was established for emergencies. In 1949, the Police Air Wing was formed to facilitate evacuation to hospitals.

Right from the start, the establishment of a police force was not a result of public consent. Kagari and Thomas (2006) state that the Kenyan public viewed the Kenya police as playing the role people in authority and not people of service whom citizens cold rely on. Where it is the duty of the police to ensure that the laws of the land are obeyed, it remains the obligation of members of the public to create an enabling environment for the obedience and maintenance of the law, and their dissident attitude did not support this principle.

Onyango (1990:8) states that violence by the state "…was applied both within the sphere of production relations and to social and political relations as a whole". This was revealed, inter alia, in the laws and the practices of forced labour, compulsory taxation, internal exile, collective punishment, deportation, and detention-without-trial. Each of the foregoing was enforced by either criminal or quasi-military sanctions. Onyango (1990) concludes that the general picture was that the police function emerged in diametrical opposition to any notion of respect for individual and societal rights and freedom.

Ruteere and Pommerolle (2003) highlight that, in Kenya, the pattern of recruitment was heavily ethnicized as colonial authorities recruited a force from ethnic communities that were perceived as less hostile to the colonial ethos. Furthermore, the colonial system of police replaced native systems of administration and imposed a foreign system that was alien to traditional leadership structures. The overt and immediate antagonism to colonial rule in Kenya created the necessity to sidestep most traditional organs of indigenous authority, leading to the selection of individuals who would conform to the tenets of colonial rule (Onyango, 1990). This perfectly served the interests of the colonial power, as it had access to a plethora of indigenous ‘servants’ to police societies about which it knew very little, and this guarantees compliance with its edicts by proxy.

From its inception, the police in Kenya were vested with paramilitary powers of enforcement. One of the outstanding principles in this police force was attention to discipline. However, this focus on discipline merely maintained the status quo as it prevented insurrection within the force as opposed to turning it against civilian society. The preoccupation with guarding against insurrection as opposed to service to the civilian society is evident in the absence, even in later statutes, of provisions outlining sanctions against police officers for the abuse of power, with the minor exception of provisions in the Penal Code (Onyango, 1990).

Closely linked to the paramilitary policing culture was the practice of intelligence gathering as a means of curbing political insurgency (Brown ,2002). Kenya, like many other colonies, established police intelligence units to collect information on those whose activities were thought to threaten the political order. Intelligence gathering as a form of colonial policing culture was marked by the surveillance of the local population, something that the English police, at least in theory, had always sought to avoid, originally for fear of being compared to the French gendarmes. Brown (2002) further castigates this form of policing as brutal and disproportionate. He refers to ‘penal excess’ in the colonial context, not just referring to punishment practices but also to policing practices, using the example of the police control of semi-nomadic peasant tribes in India who were considered to be a threat to the prevailing social order on account of their refusal to participate in the colonial economy based on settled agricultural labour. Under the Criminal Tribes Act of 1871, whole tribes could be

classified by the police as criminal if just one member was found to be guilty of a criminal offence. Once classified as such, the tribes could be ordered to stay within a certain confined area and forcibly settled. Cole (1999) has also highlighted the use of excessive policing methods to control local populations, noting the widespread use of 'illegal raids, pillage and extortion, corruption and mindless brutality.

The use of excessive policing methods against local populations who might pose a threat to the social and political order of this dependent territory ensured that the colonial policing culture in this country was clearly political in nature (Bell, 2013). Policing was used to legitimise British rule instead of the army, as policing was given a 'civilian face' although it was basically a form of paramilitary rule (Bell, 2013). The colonial police force in Kenya was probably further legitimised by the slow and gradual replacement of European officers by local officers (Bell, 2013). Yet, in order to ensure that colonial forces acted in the best interests of the British state, control was often imposed from the centre.

Bell's writings juxtapose colonial policing in Kenya with the British model of policing. From her analysis as briefly set out above, she concludes that the colonial policing culture shared several common characteristics such as paramilitarism and 'penal excess' as exemplified by the excessive surveillance of local populations and police brutality used against them. Politicisation, centralisation, and ethnic bias were also features of this policing structure (Bell, 2013). She argues correctly that the brutality that was observed in the post democracy period had its foundation in the British mode of military training. None of this augured well for the observation or protection of human rights, a situation that was worsened by the indiscriminate abuse of power (Bell, 2013).

It is made clear that the only formal police training school in Kenya that was established in 1948 was comprised as it was essentially a centre for instruction in counter-insurgency methods. There was no constitution save for the scant protection provisos in the Criminal Procedure Code, and thus the proliferation of police brutality is understandable. It is also not surprising that human rights issues did not feature at all throughout the colonial era in Kenya.

3.2.4 Tanzania

Kapinga (1990) posits that the immediate genealogy of the Tanzanian police force is in the country's colonial history. The German colonial power introduced the force in (the then) Tanganyika in the 1890s. The notorious powerful 'Askari' (meaning soldier) and 'Tarishi' (meaning messenger) served both the functions of soldier and policeman. The Germans did not establish too formalized a force. After the defeat of the Germans in World War I, a formal police force was established by the British colonial administration in Tanganyika (Kapinga, 1990).

The Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (2006) affirms that the Tanganganyika Police Force and Prisons Service was established in 1919 and that, for the first time in Tanzania's colonial history, the civilian police were separated from the military. However, the force was still maintained to protect British interests. According to Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative (2006), senior ranks were filled with European appointments, middle ranks were filled by imported Asian officers, while local recruits completed the junior ranks. Furthermore, the recruitment of Africans was highly selective as officers were chosen from tribesmen who were physically large and who had a reputation for aggressive behaviour. The African members of the police were not representative of the tribal mix in the population, and by 1952, 87% of the local police force had been recruited from just six of Tanganyika's 120 tribes. Furthermore, African police members were not only junior in the police hierarchy, but they were also subjected to discriminatory disciplinary and management practices (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2006). For example, if an African commissioned officer was insubordinate, he would not be given the same punishment as a senior Asian or European officer and would additionally be beaten with a cane. Until 1949, shoes were not provided with the uniforms for junior ranks, while different uniforms were provided to clearly mark the rank of officers. Police operations were generally confined to urban neighbourhoods unless a rural area had a high colonial settler population. In this case, "detached local police posts" would be established in the area to patrol and protect settler farms (Commonwealth Human Rights Initiative, 2006). This information is a reflection of the emphasis placed on the maintenance of law and order to protect the British colonists to the exclusion of effective policing for local communities.

World War 2 again changed East Africa's social and political landscape. The British administration embarked on an expansion and recruitment drive for the police, but this time made deliberate efforts to increase a number of African officers holding senior police positions. In 1949, the first group of Africans to be recruited into senior ranks joined the police. By 1960, on the eve of independence, there were 28 Africans in senior positions (Kapinga, 1990).
In 1873, the first police force was established to enforce anti-slavery laws. The force was a mix of British Government appointed by Lloyd Mathews, a Royal Navy commander, to lead a trained force of 1 300 officers to guard the coast and police anti-slavery measures (Kapinga, 1990). There were 300 African officers in the force and, in 1907, the Sultan disbanded the police that had earlier gone on strike over low pay and poor working conditions. He replaced them with a new force of army reservists, drawing recruits from neighbouring mainland areas (Kapinga, 1990). In Tanganyika, police commissioners were imported from overseas.

3.2.5 South Africa

The South African Police (SAP) was established on 1 April 1913. Between this time through its dissolution in the early 1900s, the SAP was frequently requested to assist the military in putting down political resistance. This function became particularly important during the time of apartheid, when South Africa was widely regarded as a police state (Brewer, 1994).

Although the South African Police under apartheid perhaps most clearly demonstrated its colonial legacy, according to Brogden and Shearing (1993), globally, police forces continue to prioritize repression over social empowerment. The centralisation of policing as a state function is a principal source of the problems that are confronted by contemporary policing structures. Colonial policing is by character closely linked to the interests and structure of the colonial state. This means that the police force of that time was "… centralized under the control of the government and [served] that government rather than the law [by] performing several non-police duties…" (Van der Westhuizen, 2001: 38). For instance, the South African government relied on the police to enforce its colonial and apartheid policies (including, notoriously, its policies

of racial segregation) in defiance of internal opposition and an international environment where decolonisation had become the norm. Policing in South Africa during the period before 1994 thus isolated the police from a large segment of the community whose security it was supposed to protect (Van der Westhuizen, 2001).

The move toward greater militarisation of the South African Police was symbolised by the development of a ‘universal riot control’ strategy, which meant the deployment of the police in what was the then Rhodesia and the use of armoured vehicles to quell township unrest. Although rhetoric that South Africa was a ‘police state’ was strategically useful to opposition movements at the time, in fact the South African Police remained proportionally small, understaffed, under-funded, and under-equipped (Brewer, 1994). In addition, Marks (2000) states that, in South Africa, black police officers were historically appointed and retained in low-ranking positions and were subject to highly discriminatory promotion policies and practices. They received inferior benefits with regard to housing, transport, and medical aid and were unable to join police associations. Brodgen and Shearing (1993) further alludes to this notion by stating that, by the late 1980s, four-fifths of black police members were of constable rank and that a promotional career framework was available only to white police officers.

Moreover, although the SAP served the interest of the apartheid state, public accountability of the police should be understood within a broad social and historical context in which the police represented only one of many oppressive state structures. According to Van der Westhuizen (2001:40), the development and history of policing in South Africa needs to be placed within the context of broader government racial policies, because “Police work was defined primarily as the policing of race relations and policing became a political activity”. According to Steinberg (2001: 7), policing black communities in South Africa for the better part of the twentieth century boiled down to two imperatives: “…controlling the movement of people, and squashing political opposition”. Steinberg affirms that the set of rules that governed the relationships of everyday life was missing from the policing of black communities. He ascribes much of the violent crime committed today to the fact that, “in the absence of law, relationships are regulated by the private appropriation of force” (Steinberg, 2001:

8). An example of this is the current lawless violence that is perpetrated in the taxi industry.

3.2.6 Botswana

The history of policing in Botswana just like many other African countries can be traced back to the colonial period. The conquest and rule of African territories by European powers in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were consolidated through the creation of para-military police forces to operate as agents of colonial control and to maintain foreign rule. The responsibility for state security was, therefore, borne by the colonial police forces, and in some cases, by the military which operated as a reserve. In most cases, colonial police and military forces were considerably small and highly dependent on the participation of the colonized people to make up their numbers.

In Botswana, the existence of a formalized policing service can be traced back to the establishment of the Bechuanaland Mounted Police on 1 July 1884. The Bechuanaland Border Police (BBP) structure was formed on 4 Aug 1885. In October 1889, a royal charter established the British South Africa Company's Police, which absorbed part of the BBP. During the 1890s, the various police forces in the area went through a number of name changes until BSAP No.1 (Bechuanaland) Division ceased to exist, becoming the Bechuanaland Protectorate Police. This force recruited few Bechuanaland natives and mostly black constables in Basutoland (modern Lesotho), Rhodesia (modern Zimbabwe), and Zambia. It is noteworthy that in 1965, following the independence of Botswana, the Botswana Police Force was formed and in 1971 the first female police constables were recruited. In 1977, in a reversal of earlier policy and in response to growing threats to Botswana's security, the Botswana Defence Force was formed. In 2009, the Botswana police force subsumed the Botswana local police to create the Botswana Police Service.

3.3 Police Service Transformations in Africa

Everything is subject to change, and many ideologies accurately capture this fact by stating that everything is prone to change. However, not only does society change, but also all of its constituent parts, including the police (Kozmo, 2014). According to Reiner (1992) and Weitzer (1993), transforming police organizations has proven to be extremely difficult given their conservative nature and general resilience to change. According to Kozmo (2014), rebuilding a police service almost always follows an armed war, a crisis of national proportions, or a total collapse and disintegration of the police institution. He argues that, in fact, many police forces have maintained their historically abusive and discriminatory nature even in nations that have undergone significant changes in governance and have made commitments to democracy, human rights, and equal service delivery. The numerous cases of ongoing police violence in newly constituted democratic states such as El Salvador, Guatemala, Mozambique, Brazil, and South Africa have demonstrated that democratic constitutions and elections do not translate automatically into democratic policing (Shearing, 1995; Huggins, 1998; Seleti, 1998). It seems that, despite general societal and state attempts at democratization, police systems "…tend to remain structurally and procedurally authoritarian and racist in their treatment of citizens of colour, and this includes their own police of colour" (Du Toit, 1995).

There are a number of reasons why organizations such as the police remain conservative and resist change. The Weberian argument seems to make sense that, once bureaucracies have been established, they are extremely difficult to deconstruct. When changes occur in a state as a result of revolution or even incremental change, they tend to maintain their rules for functioning as well as their 'expert' functionaries (Seleti, 1998). Seleti (1998) further argues that police institutions maintain the legacies of history and ideology and are rooted in past and present cultures and traditions that uphold an authoritarian approach. It is also widely argued in the literature that culture has universal features that are difficult to transform (Reiner 1992). These features include police officers' image of machismo, conservatism, pessimism, and vocationalism, which to some degree give police organizations and their members a sense of identity (Reiner, 1992). Changes in legislation and policy on their own do not guarantee police transformation, and Reiner (1992) believes that the rank- and-file

subculture, as well as mechanisms of lower level accountability, need to be factored in when this resistance to change is considered. Shearing (1995) agrees, and argues that changing police subculture is not a simple task that can be achieved simply via new training and policy. What is needed, Shearing argues, is the creation of 'new stories' for and by the police. These 'stories' need to celebrate forms of policing that have been silenced by existing police culture. Shearing (1995) claims that such stories could come either from a whole new management echelon or, alternatively, from state police taking guidance from 'popular', non-state policing practices.

3.3.1 Police reform in Malawi

The Malawi Police Service acts as an independent organ of the executive and is constitutionally responsible for the protection of public safety and the maintenance of the rights of citizens in Malawi according to the prescriptions of the Constitution (Amnesty International Policing, 2002). Like the police structures in other democratic societies, the Malawian Police Service is subject to the direction of the courts. The executive organ that is responsible for the administration of the police is the Ministry of Home Affairs and Internal Security, while the Inspector General is responsible for its operations (Luhanga, 2001).

The Inspector General of Police heads the Malawi Police Service and is accountable to the Minister responsible for police affairs. The Inspector General is appointed by the President and confirmed by the National Assembly. There is a special body called the Public Appointments Committee which is empowered to inquire as to the competence of the person appointed to carry out the duties of Inspector General. The Inspector General’s tenure is five years, unless it has been extended by the President for a further five years, after which the tenure comes to an end (Luhanga, 2001).

3.3.1.1 The Constitution

It can be noted that the Constitution for Malawi was developed in 1995 and provisionally came into force in May 1994, it has 215 sections. Sections 7, 8 and 9 of the Constitution provide that the government of Malawi will consist of the Legislature, the Executive, and the Judiciary. The role of the legislature is to enact laws for the Republic of Malawi, the executive is responsible for the initiation of policies and legislation and for implementing all laws, and the judiciary is responsible for interpreting, protecting, and enforcing the laws (Luhanga, 2001). The branches of government are separate and with different roles to play, but all have equal constitutional standing. Similarities among the branches relate to the usage of public resources in delivering services to the people, the mandate to exercise state power and authority, adhering to the laws of the country, and the observance of all human rights (Luhanga, 2001).

In recent years, the government has engaged in extensive training of police officers in human rights and public order management to underscore and improve their accountability. For example, the government-supported Staff Development Institute offers a training programme for police officers that includes a component on human rights and constitutional law (Staff Development Institute, 2005). Other notable reforms include efforts to repeal or amend oppressive legislation and to introduce civilian oversight of the police. An example of this is the Police Bill proposed by the Malawi Law Commission in 2003, which provides for independence of internal police disciplinary bodies and the establishment of various civilian oversight mechanisms, including an independent Police Complaints Commission (Malawi Law Commission ,2003). The Bill also includes a provision to the effect that the protection of fundamental rights and freedoms should be one of the general functions of the Malawi Police Service (Police Bill, 2003).

The constitution provides for a number of mechanisms that may be used to hold the police accountable. For example, Chapter X provides for an office of the ombudsman with the power to investigate ‘any and all cases’ of injustice, while Chapter XI establishes a Human Rights Commission to address human rights violations and to promote human rights (Constitution of Malawi,1995). Chapter XII provides for an independent Law Commission with the power to review and make recommendations

on legislation. The Constitution also provides for a Police Service Commission with responsibility for police appointments, discipline, and dismissals (Constitution of Malawi,1995).

The current constitution further includes a comprehensive Bill of Rights and restricts police powers in a number of respects. It can be noted that the Malawian Constitution protects the right to life, personal liberty, and human dignity and prohibits torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading punishment, corporal punishment, and arbitrary detention (Constitution of Malawi, 1995). Police are also prohibited from compelling a person to make a confession that may be used in evidence against them (Afrimap & Osisa, 2006).

3.3.1.2 The Police Act

The Police Act that had been enacted during the colonial era was outdated and inconsistent with the Constitution (US Department of State, 2006) and thus the Law Reform Commission recommended the adoption of a Police Bill that would provide for a lay visitor scheme and an independent Police Complaints Commission with the power to investigate complaints against the police as well as deaths or injuries that occur in police custody. The Ombudsman Act elaborates on the powers, duties, and functions of the Ombudsman, while the Criminal Procedure and Evidence Code sets out procedures for arrest, search, and the seizure of property. The Code gives accused persons the right to challenge the legality of their detention, access to legal representation, and to be released on bail or to be informed of charges against them within 48 hours after an arrest (US Department of State, 2006). However, these rights are seldom respected in practice (Human Rights Watch, 2001). The Code also deals with the issue of confessions that are made by detained persons. Section 176 of the Code provides that any confession is admissible in evidence provided it was made by the accused person and that it is materially true. However, it is notable that the High Court found that this provision was inconsistent with the constitution which stipulates that, under the Constitution, the Minister responsible for the police “shall ensure that the discipline and conduct of the Malawi Police Service accords with the prescriptions

of (the) Constitution and any other law"(African Police Oversight Forum, 2008). However, matters of police discipline are detailed in Part V of the Police Act, which is effectively a code of conduct. The Act includes a list of disciplinary offences that a police officer may be charged with. In particular, it provides that any police officer who uses unwarranted violence on any person in custody shall be deemed to have committed an offence and that the offence may be investigated and the offender will be tried and punished. This provision effectively requires compliance with the prohibition on torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (Human Rights Watch, 2001). Penalties include arrest, reprimand, dismissal, or reduction in rank. The Act further provides that any complaints concerning police misconduct must be submitted to the police leadership for investigation. In 2005, an inspection of a police station by the Inspector General of Police led to the arrest, trial, and imprisonment of two police officers who were found to have abused detainees (Luhanga, 2001). However, not much has improved, as a study by Amnesty International (2022) states that the internal processes that are followed to investigate complaints against police officers and take disciplinary action against them are "neither independent nor transparent".

3.3.1.3 The Human Rights Commission

In Malawi, the Human Rights Commission was created as part of the transition to a multi-party democratic system. The Constitution establishes the Commission with powers to monitor, audit and promote human rights guaranteed in the Constitution (Human Rights Watch, 2001). The Commission also has the power to investigate human rights violations, including violations by the police, and to litigate on behalf of victims of police abuse. The powers and functions of the Commission are provided for in the Human Rights Commission Act of 1998. The Act provides that 'the Commission shall be competent in every respect to protect and promote human rights in Malawi in the broadest sense possible and to investigate violations of human rights on its own motion or upon complaints received by any person, class of person or body' (Human Rights Watch, 2001). The Commission is given broad powers to hear and obtain any necessary evidence, to conduct searches (with a warrant issued by a magistrate) and

to exercise ‘unhindered authority’ to visit detention centres ‘with or without notice’. The Commission is accountable to Parliament. However, the functioning of the Commission is adversely affected by severe financial and human resource constraints that have created a backlog of cases, delayed production of reports and failure to enhance human rights monitoring (Human Rights Watch, 2001).

3.3.1.4 The Ombudsman

The Constitution also mandated the establishment of the Office of the Ombudsman, which is “completely independent of the interference or direction of any other person or authority” (Constitution of Malawi, 1995). The Ombudsman is mandated to investigate “any and all cases where it is alleged that a person has suffered injustice and it does not appear that there is any remedy reasonably available by way of proceedings in a court or by way of appeal from a court or where there is no other practicable remedy” (Constitution of Malawi, 1995). The Ombudsman is empowered to direct “appropriate administrative action to redress grievances or to recommend to the Director of Public Prosecutions the prosecution of government officials responsible for infringements of human rights and other abuses” (African Police Oversight Forum, 2008). The powers and functions of the Ombudsman are elaborated in the Ombudsman Act.

The powers of the Ombudsman are somewhat curtailed by legislation in the sense that a warrant and a three-day waiting period are required to gain access to government records. Furthermore, the activities of the Ombudsman are subject to judicial review. In practice, while the Ombudsman has been vigilant in attempting to prosecute police officers who abuse their powers and to provide compensation for victims of police abuses, the police often frustrate the work of the Ombudsman, especially in regard to investigations into police torture and brutality (African Police Oversight Forum, 2008). The Anti-Corruption Bureau, which commenced its operations in 1998, aims to prevent and control corruption. The Bureau is headed by a Director and falls under the policy direction of the Minister of Justice, although it reports to Parliament annually. Under the Corrupt Practices Act, the Bureau has the power to take any necessary measures for the prevention of corruption in public and

private bodies. Members of public services – including the police – may be investigated and prosecuted by the Bureau. However, it has evidently been inadequate in prosecuting public officials accused of corrupt practices. This failure has been largely attributed to the "competing powers of the Anti-Corruption Bureau (ACB) and the DPP" (African Police Oversight Forum, 2008). In particular, the requirement that the ACB obtain the consent of the prosecutor before a case can be sent for prosecution has occasioned delays and impunity (African Police Oversight Forum, 2008).

The Malawian constitution provides for a Police Service Commission that is responsible for police appointments, discipline, and dismissals. The Commission is empowered to appoint persons to hold office in the police force other than the Inspector-General of Police (Constitution of Malawi, 1995). The Commission also has powers to exercise disciplinary control over officers, including removing them from duty. The Commission is made up of a Justice of Appeal or Judge who is nominated by the Judicial Service Commission, a member of the Civil Service Commission, the Inspector-General of Police or a senior police officer nominated by the Inspector-General, the ombudsman, and a legal practitioner nominated by the president (Constitution of Malawi,1995).

Civil suits can be instituted against the police and damages awarded by the courts in appropriate cases. The courts may also hold the police accountable by refusing to admit into evidence confessions shown to have been procured through torture (Constitution of Malawi, 1995). However, the Malawian judicial system is generally inefficient and suffers from problems that include poor record-keeping, a shortage of trained personnel, heavy caseloads, and lack of resources (Constitution of Malawi, 1995). The problem is further compounded by a lack of access to the courts by the majority of the population due to poverty and the prohibitive costs of legal services (African Police Oversight Forum, 2008).

The Malawian Parliament also plays an important oversight role during budget debates and ministerial question time as well as through its Committee on Defence and Security. Through these processes, parliament may be able to influence policing strategies and use of police resources (Constitution of Malawi, 1995).

3.3.1.5 Community Policing

Since 1999, Community Policing Forums (CPFs) have joined the community and the police together to combat crime. Such forums have since been established in most sub-districts (African Police Oversight Forum, 2008). However, the impact of CPFs as an oversight mechanism is weakened because their role is not defined in law, and there is no provision for members of the community to visit police stations to check conditions of detention. The new Police Bill addresses these shortcomings to some extent. For instance, it provides for the establishment of an Independent Police Complaints Commission, a Lay Visitors Scheme, and Community Policing Forums (African Police Oversight Forum, 2008).

All of these mechanisms were established to play an important role in holding the Malawian police accountable for their actions. Moreover, the Law Commission, an independent institution that was established under Chapter XII of the Constitution, also indirectly holds the police accountable as it is empowered to review and make recommendations relating to the repeal and amendment of laws for conformity with the Constitution and applicable international law. In this regard, the Commission has undertaken a comprehensive review of police legislation and it prepared a draft Police Bill (Constitution of Malawi, 1995).

Civil society organisations can play a crucial role in policing oversight by providing training workshops for members of the police and generally raising public awareness of human rights issues. In particular, nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) have played a significant role in the Malawi Police Organisational Development Project, which is a donor-funded police reform initiative focusing on providing technical assistance to and building capacity for the police through public awareness campaigns and law reform advocacy (African Police Oversight Forum, 2008). Civil society activities are co-ordinated by the Council for Non-Governmental Organisations in Malawi (CONGOMA) and the Human Rights Consultative Committee, which is a network of 40 Malawian civil society organisations. Leading human rights

organisations include the Centre for Human Rights and Rehabilitation (CHRR), whose mission is “to contribute towards the protection, promotion and consolidation of good governance by empowering rural and urban communities in Malawi to increase awareness of and exercise of their rights” (Human Rights Watch, 2001). The Centre for Advice, Research and Education on Rights (CARER), which monitors human rights abuses and provides legal advice concerning arbitrary arrest and police brutality, and the Civil Liberties Committee (CiLiC), which undertakes lobbying, advocacy and litigation activities, also serve as oversight bodies to curb police delinquency and ensure police adherence to the law (Human Rights Watch, 2001).

3.3.1.6 The Independent Police Complaints Commission

The Independent Police Complaints Commission was founded in September 2020 by Section 128 of the Police Act of 2010, this body has the power to receive and investigate complaints by the public against police officers, the death or injury as a result of police action, and all deaths and injuries that occur in police custody (Gleeson, 2021). The Commission is supposed to function independently of the MPS. However, according to Gleeson (2021), Malawi’s Independent Complaints Commission (ICC) would have been more effective in its operation if it had taken the local environment into consideration. The ICC’s key mandate is to improve the accountability of the Malawi Police Service and, thereby, potentially curb the public perception of distrust of and dissatisfaction with the police. Therefore, to combat this lack of confidence, Gleeson (2021) argues that the ICC must not resemble or regurgitate structures influenced by Western colonialism, but Malawian systems and values should be incorporated to solve African people’s problems. According to Gleeson (2021) there is a profound benefit in utilising African structures rather than colonial influences to gain the trust and support of local communities.

3.3.2 Police reform in Kenya

The government of Kenya first initiated a police reform agenda in 2002 following the appointment of a Task Force made up of state and non-state actors. In the 2007 – 2008 period, during and after post-election violence, the momentum to reform the

police was rekindled (Lafargue, 2009). However, actual Kenyan police reforms were initiated when a new Constitution was promulgated in 2010 and the Kenyan government was mandated to build trust between the Kenya police and the public. The new government then comprehensively overhauled the police institution. According to Status of the Police Reforms (2014), work to implement police reform in Kenya began early in the 2000s, and this has now "…become the country's largest and most complex public-sector restructuring attempt since independence from Britain in 1963" (Lafargue, 2009). Both administrative and operational reforms were effected, such as an increased training period, human rights orientation, improved remuneration, and a change in how police leaders are appointed (Lafargue, 2009). The reforms were aimed at making the police more transparent to the public, accountable, and effective, with particular focus on public confidence and legitimacy. The reforms resulted in increased police capacity to respond to crime as well as improved police visibility across Kenya Gjelsvik (2020).

According to Gjelsvik (2020), the post-election violence in 2007 pushed the police reform agenda, and the National Task Force on Police Reforms was established. This Task Force produced the Ransley Report, which is a roadmap for reform (Gjelsvik, 2020), and the following years saw several structural changes within the police. The redrafted 2010 Constitution Also saw the Kenya Police Service and the Administration Police Service joined together under one umbrella as the National Police Service (NPS). The NPS Commission and other oversight bodies, such as the Internal Affairs Unit (IAU) and the Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA), were also established. The former Inspector General of the NPS, Joseph Boinett, declared that his goal was a people-centred police (Boinett, 2015) and that the aim of the reformation process was "to transform the Kenya police and administration police into efficient, effective, and professional and accountable security agencies that Kenyans can trust for their safety and security" (Kenya Police Service, 2019).

The establishment of the NPS was a strategic shift towards a more service-oriented institution. For example, one of its main functions is to "foster and promote relationships with the broader society" (Constitution of Kenya, 2010). Today the mission of the NPS is "to provide a professional and people-centred police service through community partnership and upholding the rule of law for a safe and secure

society" (National Police Service, 2019). It is evident that enhancing police-public relationships and trust are central to Kenya's current police reform initiatives, as community policing is to play a vital role.

3.3.2.1 Community Policing

Community policing was enacted in Kenya with the aim of improving public security and safety as well as strengthening the police-citizen relations (Finnegan, Hickson & Rai, 2008). In 1990, community policing grew in popularity in Kenya, and soon the New York-based Vera Institute of Justice proposed to support related projects through the Kenya Human Rights Commission and the Nairobi Central Business District Association (Ruteere & Pommerolle, 2003: 588). In 1996, the Kenya Police Service adopted a community policing approach to crime management (Mwaura, 2014). However, Amuya (2017) opines that the formal inception of community policing in Kenya was driven by the business community in Nairobi in 2003. In collaboration with the New York Institute of Security, the Nairobi Central Business District Association, Saferworld Professionals, the Ford Foundation, and the Kenya Institute of Administration launched the first form of community policing in 2003 to cater for security interests in the central business district (CBD) (Amuya, 2017). Mwaura (2014) argued earlier that the implementation of community policing in Kenya had commenced through the establishment of community policing units in Kibera, Ziwani, and Isiolo through a joint collaboration effort between the Kenya Police, UN-Habitat, Saferworld, and the Nairobi Central Business District Association. Many perceived this partnership with the police as a huge success; however, marginalized groups in the informal sector were not included in the launch and continued to be excluded despite the fact that they also worked with the police on security-related issues in the same location (Ruteere, 2011), and despite the fact that the National Community Policing Strategy had been launched in Ruai by the government in 2005. It is against this backdrop that Mwaura (2014) argues that community policing in Kenya began due to commercial reasons.

Currently, two state-initiated community-policing initiatives are operational in Kenya to enhance police-public interactions. The first initiative is the National Police Service

Community Policing Structure and the second initiative is known as the Nyumba Kumi model that is led by the President's Office. These initiatives will be briefly discussed below.

Community Policing: According to the National Police Service (Community Policing Information Booklet, 2017), community policing is an approach that recognizes voluntary participation by the local community in the maintenance of peace and which acknowledges that the police need to be responsive to communities and their needs. A key element is joint problem identification and problem solving while respecting the different responsibilities the police and the public have in the field of crime prevention and maintaining order (Community Policing Information Booklet, 2017).

The National Police Service community-policing model is formulated and endorsed by Community Policing Committees (CPC) at sub-location to county level under the County Policing Authority. These committees consist of civilians and police members who meet and report up to the next level/committee in the chain (Community Policing Information Booklet, 2017). The chairpersons of the CPCs are civilians while vice-chairpersons are members of the police (Community Policing Information Booklet, 2017). According to the NPS COP guidelines, membership of CPCs is voluntary with no reimbursement for participation. Civilian members can participate in a CPC for two years, with a one-year renewal option (Community Policing Information Booklet, 2017). These committees involve individuals who represent different segments of the community (youth, children, women, men, schools, the business community, religious groups, etc.) that meet regularly with the police to identify and solve problems at community level, coordinate activities and programmes, and engage in training to promote security. The main pillars of the NPS COP are problem solving, partnership, and police transformation (Community Policing Information Booklet, 2017).

Nyumba Kumi: Following the al-Shabaab attack on the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi in 2013, President Uhuru Kenyatta introduced a COP model called Nyumba Kumi (NK). Similar models are found in several other African countries such as Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda and the Democratic Republic of Congo, with varying results (Sambaiga, 2018). In Kenya, the NK model was introduced as a strategy for fighting terrorism and insecurity by improving communication and cooperation

between communities and their police (Koigi, 2016). Nyumba Kumi translates as 'ten households', but in Kenya it is not limited to a fixed number of households as it represents a cluster of people and organizations with shared aspirations and locality (Gjelsvik, 2020). According to the guidelines for implementation, Nyumba Kumi is a strategy of anchoring community policing at household level or any other generic cluster. These households can be in a residential court, in an estate, a block of houses, a 'manyatta', a street, a market centre, a gated community, a village, or a 'bulla'. The concept is aimed at bringing Kenyans together in clusters defined by physical locations, perceived needs, and the pursuit of the common desire for safe, sustainable, and prosperous neighbourhoods (Gjelsvik, 2020).

The aim of this structure is also for local residents to get to know each other better and to have a structure for communication among themselves as well as with the local police. Local community chiefs (who are civilians) lead the clusters and report to the local police on matters of community security as the police are not formally members of these clusters. According to the NK implementation guidelines (2015), members are democratically elected for a two-year period and are eligible for re-election. As with the CPC, participation in an NK cluster is voluntary and the members are not reimbursed. NKs are not formally part of the NPS structure, but they fall under the auspices of the President's Office.

It can be mentioned that the simultaneous implementation of two community policing models by several actors has caused some misunderstanding and tension. However, efforts are underway to merge the two concepts and place NK clusters under sub-locations in the NPS COP structure to give COP a grounding at household level (Gjelsvik, 2020).

3.3.2.2 The National Police Service Commission

The National Police Service Commission (NPSC) Act was established under the 2010 Constitution. One of the key objectives of the Act is to curtail political interference with police personnel management, promotion, recruitment, general practices, transfers, and the disciplinary sanctions of police officers (National Police Service, 2019). The

National Police Service Commission oversees and determines employment matters within the Kenya Police Service. Its foci include recruitment, promotions, and transfers (National Police Service, 2019). This Commission further oversees the training, monitors the running of the police service, and receives and can investigate complaints against its members. In addition, the Commission oversees internal discipline by holding disciplinary hearings, and considers and implements the recommendations of the IPOA or Internal Affairs Unit. The Commission also monitors the general functioning of the Kenya Police Service by conducting public inquiries into policing matters and monitoring and evaluating performance to ensure the efficiency and effectiveness (National Police Service, 2019). It promotes key Constitutional values and reports to the President and National Assembly on the level of compliance with these values. After monitoring and evaluating the way the Police Service is operating, the Commission can make recommendations to the government for improvement. The Commission also reports any actions taken by the government in response to its recommendations (National Police Service, 2019).

3.3.2.3 Independent Policing Oversight Authority

To give effect to the civilian oversight of the police, the Independent Policing Oversight Authority (IPOA) was established through the Independent Policing Oversight Authority Act (No. 35 of 2011). The functions of the IPOA include the responsibility to "hold the police accountable to the public in the performance of their functions" and "promoting transparency and accountability of the Service"(Independent Policing Oversight Authority, 2013). While it is based in the capital city, the IPOA is required by law to devolve its services to the counties, thus the IPOA became the first civilian oversight body in Kenya with legislated authority to seek accountability for specific police conduct and to promote a culture of accountability in the service (Independent Policing Oversight Authority, 2013). According to Awino (2018), the IPIO was formed with the overall goal of transforming the National Police into a more specialised, responsible, competent, and operational security organ that all Kenyans would appreciate. It is the duty of the government of the day to ensure the inalienable human rights protection to all its citizens, and the IPIO, therefore emerged as an agency for both civilians and as well as uniformed officers to hold each other accountable. The

core functions of the agency include inquiring into policing processes relating to citizens, the inspection of police premises, reviewing patterns of police conduct, assessing inquiries into and the activities of the Internal Affairs Unit in relation to grievances against police officers, investigating complaints against the police, and recommending appropriate action, in collaboration with other organizations, on matters of law enforcement oversight (Independent Policing Oversight Authority, 2013). Furthermore, Article 244 of the Constitution highlights that the main goals of the IPOA are to ensure autonomous oversight of the management of grievances by the Service and making the police answerable to the public in the execution of their duties (Independent Policing Oversight Authority, 2013).

3.3.2.4 Internal Affairs Unit

The Internal Affairs Unit (IAU) exists within the National Police Service, yet it is not subject to the control, direction, or command of the Kenya Police, the Administration Police, or the Directorate of Criminal Investigation (National Police Service Internal Unit, 2019). This body thus ensures that members of the police that work in the IAU are not influenced by other members and are therefore able to do their work properly and effectively. Furthermore, its functioning is intended to enhance public confidence in the IAU as it receives and investigates complaints independently against the police, promotes uniform standards, initiates discipline and good order in the service, and keeps a record of the facts of any complaint received and investigated (National Police Service Internal Unit, 2019). At the end of an investigation, the IAU makes recommendations to the IGP and the National Police Service Commission (National Police Service Internal Unit, 2019). These may include recommendations for disciplinary action or criminal prosecution.

3.3.3 Police reform in South Africa

3.3.3.1 The transitional process

A parliamentary democracy was introduced in South Africa when apartheid was abolished in 1990 and a negotiated political process led to a transitional Constitution

and democratic elections in 1994 (Reynolds, 1994). The transitional Constitution introduced a bicameral parliament (collectively the Constitutional Assembly) that adopted a permanent Constitution in 1996 (Sonderling, 2006). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 (South Africa, 1996) enshrines all human rights and the rule of law and also emphasises the accountability of the government and all its agencies. Several strategic changes have been made to the South African Police Service following the momentous change in government in 1994. The new government moved swiftly to transform the top structure of the SAPS to integrate elements of former liberation movements and former homeland agencies and to institute new policies such as community policing (SAPS, 1994, 1995a; White Paper on Reconstruction and Development, 1994). Prior to 1994, the top police hierarchy was predominately made up of white males, and many reforms were introduced with the goal of achieving racial and gender equality, particularly in managerial roles. However, although the police command "…did much to put black faces in the front window…in the absence of a policy of lateral recruitment from the outside, had little talent with which to work" (Steinberg, 2001: 9). A total of eleven police forces had to be integrated, realigned towards the democratic state, and retrained in the civilian approach to policing. Moreover, each homeland police unit had to be brought together under one main police agency (Morna, 1995; Leggett, 2005). This included adopting the 'kitskonstabels' (or 'instant constable' in Afrikaans according to Cawthra [1993]) from each different state into the system. These 'kitskonstabels' were black officers trained in six weeks and then allowed to police the townships (Leggett, 2005; Cawthra 1993). While granted full police powers, the 'kitskonstabels' were not granted full police membership (Leggett, 2005). Although the addition of 'kitskonstabels' broadened the SAPS's racial diversity, it also decreased its general level of proficiency (Leggett, 2005). The six-week training was basic in terms of appropriate police methods, but this was made worse by the fact that many of them were illiterate and unable to operate a vehicle, both of which are prerequisites for appropriate policing (Leggett, 2005).

In addition, the police had to adapt to new cosmetic changes aimed at bringing it closer to a democratic body. Prior to 1994, the homeland police units used military ranks and titles for their officers (Morna, 1995). In the new SAPS, however, those titles were discarded in favour of more civilianized titles (Rank Structure of the South African Police Service, 2007). Former titles based on military titles included 'soldier' and

‘general’, but the new titles, including ‘constable’, ‘inspector’, and ‘captain’, are equivalent to other police agencies’ titles (Rank Structure of the South African Police Service, 2007). Furthermore, changes included new uniforms and new colours for police vehicles (Leggett, 2005).

The police were formally known as the South African Police (SAP) force while apartheid was in effect (Morna, 1995), but the police organisation was renamed as the South African Police Service following the abolition of apartheid. This change is meant to highlight the fact that the police provide a service to the public and are not to act as a militarized force, and President Mandela asked the people of South Africa to accept the new police as their guardians (Gastrow & Shaw, 2001). The new name for the police was designed to increase acceptance and encourage the new goal of community policing.

3.3.3.2 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) provides legislation that guides all levels of government regarding service delivery. Section 196 of the Constitution sets out the basic values and principles that are essential in governance and public administration and that are applicable to the administration of every sphere of government, organs of the state, and all public enterprises. In essence, the Constitution provides a framework for service delivery by the SAPS which is a national organization that must adhere to the supreme law of the country (South Africa, 1996b). In terms of Section 205(3) of the Constitution, it is the responsibility of the SAPS to maintain public order, protect and secure the inhabitants of South Africa and their properties, and to uphold and enforce the law. Section 2, which is the Bill of Rights, concerns the rights and responsibilities of all South African citizens and visitors to this country. Section 7(1) states the importance of democratic policing in South Africa and puts emphasis on the protection of the rights of all people. The Bill of Rights is a cornerstone of democratic South African law and protects the rights of all people in this country (Burger, 2009: 3), such as the right to take action against the state if they

believe their Constitutional rights have been infringed. These rights are echoed in the eight Batho Pele principles (South Africa, 2014a). In subsection (9) on equality, it is stated that everyone has the right to equal protection and benefits of the law as everyone is equal before the law.

In light of the provisions of the supreme law of the country, the SAPS and its systems provide a framework for employees to deliver services to their internal and external customers for effective and efficient results (South Africa, 2014a), and it is clear that service delivery is a pivotal policy that guides the functioning of the SAPS. In terms of the Section 196(4) of the Constitution (South Africa, 1996b; South Africa, 2006), the Public Service Commission (PSC) is responsible for investigating and evaluating staff and public administration practices in the public service.

3.3.3.3 The South African Police Service Act

Section 205(3) of the Constitution gives the SAPS, under the guidance of the Minister of Police, to determine national policing policies pertaining to its objectives and the overall execution of its services with adherence to all relevant key pieces of legislation (SAPS, 2015a, 2015-2016: 27). The SAPS Act No. 68 of 1995 (SAPS, 1995), as amended by the SAPS Amended Act No. 83 of 1998 (SAPS, 1998) describes SAPS as the only national police service. This Act clearly guides the effective and efficient management of the SAPS with particular reference to all human and physical resources. According to Chapter 7 section 18(1)(d), among others, the objective of the Act is to improve service delivery by the SAPS to communities at national, provincial, area, and local levels. The Act also describes the role and conditions of appointment of a National Commissioner and nine provincial commissioners, one for each province. Operational members in the SAPS are appointed and managed in terms of the South African Police Service Act No. 68 of 1995. Employees that render support duties for operational members are appointed under the Public Service Act No. 103 of 1994 (South Africa, 1994). However, in recent years employees who are performing support duties have also been appointed in terms of the South African Police Act and are equally referred to as SAPS employees. The SAPS Act of 1995 provides a framework for employees' adherence to the SAPS vision, mission, value statement, and code of

conduct and gives guidance and direction on the manner in which SAPS employees must render services and conduct themselves in the execution of their duties.

3.3.3.4 National Crime Combating Strategy (NCCS) of 2000

According to Govender (2018), the NCPS was drafted largely by a panel of civilians and was widely distributed for comment. On the other hand, the SAPS produced the NCCS internally and it has never been made available to the general public for comment or review. The NCPS was, in theory, an interdepartmental policy, while the NCCS is explicitly a security cluster matter. This difference is indicative not only of the shift towards an overtly law enforcement approach to crime reduction, but also of the pressure to respond quickly, “which partly explains the lack of consultation and the focus of the NCCS on the police” (Du Plessis & Louw, 2005).

The NCCS has two elements. The first focuses on a selection of geographic areas with the highest recorded crime levels. Police resources are directed to these areas, largely in the form of high-density, search-and-seizure type operations. The aim is also to improve service delivery in these areas and, once crime has been ‘stabilised’, to initiate medium-term social crime prevention programs (Du Plessis & Louw, 2005). The second element of the NCCS focuses on organised crime and involves the investigation of syndicates by task teams of experienced detectives. This strategy has brought a welcome focus on the parts of the country where most crime occurs. The emphasis on service delivery is also critical in improving public confidence. For instance, a recent opinion survey in central Johannesburg showed that high-density and visible police operations that are characteristic of the NCCS made people feel safer (Leggett, 2004: 12).

During 2000, the NCCS began establishing Crime Combating Forums (CCFs) at station level, area level, provincial level, and national level. These forums mirrored the crime control strategy meetings of the New York City Police Department, during which Compstat was used to compare statistics, initiate appropriate police action, and measure success rates in the form of statistics. The much-publicised drop in crime in New York around this time cemented the popular view that Compstat was responsible

for making the city safer as major crime in the city was reduced by half between 1993 and 1998 (Ratcliffe, 2009: 31).

3.3.3.5 Community policing

As part of the new community-based policing approach, each community was to have an SAPS officer stationed in the area as residents' main contact with the police and to allow residents to report problems or concerns directly to the police (South Africa, 1995; Leggett, 2005). The community policing model was adopted for three main reasons. First, community policing was seen as a new corporate strategy for the police (Steyn, 2006) that was meant to replace the former strategy of maintaining the status quo at whatever cost. Secondly, community policing was an instrument of change for the new SAPS as a new form of policing in South Africa would have to be different and would have to change from what it had been (Steyn, 2006). Much of the apartheid era policing was reactive to protests and demonstrations, and it had become crucial for the SAPS to be able to act proactively as the new democratic government's main security arm. Building a relationship with the communities in which police officers worked was seen as the first step towards becoming a proactive community-based police organization.

Constitutionally, the community policing approach is at the core of a transformed policing system in South Africa. This policing approach was institutionalised by policy-makers to function in a more humane and sensitive way according to the needs of communities. IN this context, community police forums (CPFs) are legally recognised entities that represent the interests of the local community and the police. They are also intended to exert civilian oversight over the police at various levels, in particular at local police station level (Minnaar, 2009: 20-25).

This democratic principle of consultation is endorsed by the Constitution and Chapter 7 of the Police Service Act NO. 68 of 1995. For instance, section 221 of the Interim Constitution requires the establishment of a community police forum (CPF) at every police station in South Africa. In terms of section 18 of the Police Service Act, the purpose of a CPF is to:

- Improve the delivery of a police service to the community;
- Strengthen the partnership between the police and community;
- Promote joint problem identification and problem solving;
- Ensure proper consultation/communication between the police and their clients; and
- Ensure police accountability and transparency.

In a nutshell, legislation directing the functions of CPFs emphasised three key responsibilities:

- The improvement of police–community relations;
- The oversight of policing at local level; and
- The mobilisation of the community to take joint responsibility in the fight against crime.

The community policing philosophy intends to encourage community participation through the establishment of CPFs at all SAPS stations. Community participation in local crime prevention is thus important as it is a means to both identify crime problems and hotspots and to assist in solving the crimes (Du Plessis & Louw, 2005). It has also been shown that planning against crime is a local government function that requires strong partnerships among the police, the municipality, and the communities they serve and, to succeed, this approach to local safety should be integrated (Landman & Lieberman, 2005: 21). For instance, homeowners are likely to participate actively not only in maintaining their homes, but also in ensuring, as far as possible, that their environment remains pleasant and safe. They are thus highly likely to engage in a partnership with the police and become involved in community policing if there is mutual trust and cooperation.

3.3.3.6 Sector policing

In the face of a great deal of resistance and scepticism from management, sector policing was introduced in the SAPS in 2003 as a distinctive style of grassroots policing. Sector policing entails dividing police station areas into manageable sectors, appointing sector managers and sector teams, and convening community-police

sector crime forums (SCFs) in each sector. The rationale behind dividing policing areas into sectors is to get small teams of police officials to know particular neighbourhoods intimately. The idea is for them not only to get to know their sector's crime trends well, but to use thought, innovation, and the necessary organisational support to identify the specific problems that fuel specific trends, and to solve or manage those problems (Burton, 2003). According to the Department of Safety and Security (1998), it is an ambitious policing philosophy as it demands that police officials think creatively and that an organisational culture that is driven by rapid response to short-term problems reorient itself to the task of long-term problem solving. It requires that crime hotspots are identified at police station level and that personnel from the station's centralised crime prevention unit are mobilised into high-density saturation teams that move into hotspots in sufficient numbers, erect roadblocks, cordon off areas, and engage in search-and-seize operations (Burton, 2003; Department of Safety and Security, 1998).

3.3.3.7 Intelligence-led policing

This approach has its origins in the UK where it was launched when traditional reactive methods of policing failed to cope with the rapid changes in globalisation, giving rise to greater opportunities for transnational organised crime (NCIS, 2000). In the late 1990s, Australia began to introduce intelligence-led policing that was driven by a number of police commissioners. Local adoption included new accountability structures at local level, a greater integration of intelligence and investigation, and improved direction of daily police efforts through intelligence dissemination. The UK National Intelligence Model (NIM) bases the implementation of intelligence-led policing on four components, namely:

- Targeting offenders (especially active criminals) by overt and covert means;
- The management of crime and disorder hotspots;
- The investigation of linked series of crimes and incidents; and
- The application of preventive measures, including working through local partnerships to reduce crime and disorder.

The emphasis of this approach is on targeting the criminal and not the crime, because research has shown that a small percentage of repeat offenders (recidivists) commit a large percentage of crime (NCIS, 2000: 14). Intelligence-led policing was first implemented in South Africa in 1995 as a means to counteract organised crime syndicates.

3.3.4 The Independent Police Investigative Directorate

The IPID is an independent civilian oversight body that is tasked with investigating cases involving members of the main official police services in South Africa, particularly the South African Police Service (SAPS) and the six municipal police services (MPSs) that operate in large metropolitan areas (Independent Police Investigative Directorate, 2020). The IPID's main functions are twofold:

- It is mandated to ensure equality before the law by ensuring that criminal cases in which police officials are implicated are properly investigated. The IPID must therefore ensure that victims of crimes committed by police officers have the right to hold police perpetrators accountable and that police officials who violate the law do not enjoy impunity (Independent Police Investigative Directorate, 2020).
- The IPID must ensuring that policing in South Africa upholds high standards of conduct and ethics and that it contributes to respect for, and trust in, the police (Independent Police Investigative Directorate, 2020).

The IPID investigates cases such as injury and death linked to the use of lethal force by the police and in police custody, which are not necessarily linked to allegations of wrongdoing but where there is possible police wrongdoing. The IPID's role is to verifying that the police have acted lawfully in all instances of dealing with the public and in cases of arrest (Independent Police Investigative Directorate, 2020).

The key critique regarding the IPID is that many investigations have been inadequately conducted. Quality IPID investigations is important to ensure police accountability for wrongdoing, and this is linked to whether victims, or other complainants, receive consistent quality of service from the IPID. However, unless there is confidence in the

IPID, it will not perform its second function effectively. When a guilty police officer walks away free, it will not promote confidence in the police (Independent Police Investigative Directorate, 2020).

IPID's predecessor, the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD), was established in terms of the South African Police Service (SAPS) Act and became fully operational in April 1997. The IPID Act No. 1 of 2011 mandated the establishment of the IPID in the place of the ICD (Independent Police Investigative Directorate, 2020).The ICD was only required to investigate deaths in police custody and as a result of police action. The IPID, however, is required to investigate a wider range of alleged or possible offences as listed in section 28(1). As implied by its name, the ICD also had a general responsibility to receive complaints against the police, though it could refer these to the police with a view to monitoring the internal investigation of the complaint (Bruce, 2020). The IPID Act was passed at the same time as the Civilian Secretariat for Police Service (CSPS) Act No. 2 of 2011. The combined effect of the IPID Act and CSPS Act was that responsibility for dealing with complaints that did not fall under section 28(1) of the IPID Act was now transferred back to the police, with the CSPS given the responsibility to "assess and monitor the police service's ability to receive and deal with complaints against its members". The ICD had also been allocated responsibility for addressing issues to do with compliance by the police with the Domestic Violence Act No. 116 of 1998. The CSPS Act now gave the CSPS the responsibility to "monitor and evaluate compliance with the Domestic Violence Act" (Bruce, 2020).

The ICD was therefore an independent police oversight body with a mandate that included investigations of deaths as a result of police action and in police custody, and investigating or monitoring complaints against the police. The ICD had a dual investigative and monitoring function, whereas the IPID is exclusively an investigative body. As with the ICD, the IPID is responsible not only for cases involving members of the SAPS, but also for cases involving members of the municipal police (Independent Police Investigative Directorate, 2020).

3.4 Overall recommendations on police reform in Africa

Addressing issues of policing, public security, and accountability in Africa is of necessity "part and parcel of an engagement with questions of governance and public management in Africa" (Bruce, 2021). The latter author further argues that the "…viability and nature of the accountability project, including that of ensuring democratic policing and public security, are heavily influenced both by the degree to which democracy itself is institutionalised as well as by levels of state capacity" (Bruce, 2021). Reform measures are only likely to have a sustained impact where there is investment at policy and leadership level within government in the overall quality of management systems, including stable and consistent human resources and sound financial management practices in public institutions. The greatest opportunities for advances are likely to be in countries in which there is strong investment in improving the quality of democratic governance. This implies that sound governance and public safety and security will be best in the least corrupt and most democratic countries (Bruce, 2021).

3.5 Conclusion

In summary, the discourse in Chapter three revealed that a number of programs and policies aimed at transforming the various police institutions in countries in Africa have been implemented. However, such initiatives and policies have faced a myriad of challenges due to numerous socio-economic factors. Chief among these challenges are a lack of resources and police culture dynamics.

4.1 Introduction

The current study intended to establish whether police culture traits were present among early career police recruits in the Malawi, Kenya, and South African Police Services. In order to achieve this aim, it was crucial to first comprehend the definitions and developments of a police personality, thus this chapter will present various robust discussions on police personality, or culture. Police researchers have widely debated the topic of police personality (Kelly, 1955; Balch, 1972; Bennett & Greenstein, 1975; Hogan & Kurtines, 1975; Rokeach, 1973, Twersky-Glasner, 2005). The main debate concerning this topic has interrogated whether or not police officers share certain personality characteristics that make them different from the public they serve. If a police personality really exists, how does it develop? This and other questions will be answered in this chapter. The discourse will draw from two conflicting paradigms, namely the predisposition model and the occupational socialization theory.

4.2 The Predisposition Model

The predisposition model focuses on the personality traits of individuals who are attracted to the police profession. According to Allport (1937), personality traits may be defined as “a biological, psychological, and social mixture that disposes a person toward specific kinds of action under specific circumstances”. The primary assumption of this model is that the police occupation attracts people with certain values and attitudes (Roberg, Novak & Cordner, 2005: 275). This school of thought further posits that a certain type of a person becomes a police official based on the development of his or her personality. Moreover, the predisposition model asserts that recruits who are attracted to the police profession have pre-formed values, beliefs, and opinions that are similar to those that already exist among law enforcement officers (Steyn, 2005). Conti (2010) concurs that the evolution of recruits into members of the police organization is reflective of those who, during childhood, adopted the belief that they would become police officers. Bonifacio (1991: 147) asserts that “cops are born and not made”. As people possess certain stable personality characteristics that endure

throughout life (Kappeler, Sluder, & Alpert, 1994), the personality characteristics that officers possess before they join the police form the basis of the police personality that is associated with many. According to this model, self-selected recruits who already have a strong preference for an authoritarian personality occupy police ranks.

Police personality is regarded as a value system orientation that distinguishes these officers from members of the general populace (Bennett & Greenstein, 1975). Based on the findings of his study, Rokeach (1973) established that values have a significant influence on the decisions and actions of police officers. According to Rokeach, Miller, & Snyder (1971), the common values that police officers possess are: the desire for an exciting life, a sense of accomplishment, family security, and mature love. These are generally higher than those felt by the general public, as police officers tend to place a high value on personal rather than social values. Furthermore, Rokeach and his associates argue that police officers place greater value on being capable, honest, intelligent, rational, obedient, responsible, and self-controlling than the general public (Rokeach, Miller, & Snyder, 1971). McCartney and Parent (2015) concur with this notion and submit that police officers' character traits are associated with safety, empathy, support, and loyalty. These traits were earlier highlighted by Rokeach, Miller and Snyder (1971) and Miller and Hess (2005). All these authors assert that the police have a different value system than the policed even before occupational socialization. These scholars further assert that recruitment is most likely to occur among individuals who place a lower value on freedom, equality, independence, and a world of beauty than the population at large, and a higher value on obedience, self-control, a comfortable life, and pleasure (Rokeach, Miller, & Snyder, 1971). Moreover, the latter researchers purport that personality factors and social background are contributory elements in police recruiting. They argue that socialization into important police values occurs prior to, not after, a person has become a police officer and that police officers are recruited from among individuals in particular groups with predisposing personal values that differ from those of the general citizenry. In addition, they found no substantial variation in the values of young and older officers (Rokeach, Miller, & Snyder, 1971), and they concluded that occupational socialization had no impact on police attitudes and actions.

Rokeach and his associates conducted their study on a group of 153 officers in a mid-sized police department, all of whom were white and male. They found that, due to increased educational requirements, more women police officers, and better minority representation the demographics of the law enforcement profession saw a major shift in a period of 30 years. In 1997, Caldero duplicated Rokeach's research to see if police values had changed as a result as these demographic changes. He found that the results were essentially constant with slight but not statistically significant differences. Later research by Crank and Caldero (2000) also found that the variables of education level, length of service, and racial differences had little effect on the values held by police officers.

In light of the arguments proposed by the predisposition model, it seems paradoxical that the selection process for new police recruits around the world is designed to assure that they are fit for police work (Crank, 2004: 26). It is noteworthy that police institutions globally utilize (in different variations and sequence) the following selection processes (Crank, 2004):

- **Screening of the application form**. With the purpose of determining whether the applicant has completed the application correctly and meets predetermined minimum requirements (applicants must be citizens, have no criminal record, not be over a certain age, have obtained a senior certificate, and have a valid motor vehicle driver's licence). For instance, in the Malawi Police Service it is a mandatory requirement that the applicants be in possession of an MSCE (Malawi School Certificate of Education) qualification and must be above the age of 18 years and under 28 years. Similarly, in Kenya applicants must have achieved a minimum mean grade of D+ in the Kenya Certificate of Secondary Education (KCSE) examination or its equivalent from an examination body recognized in Kenya, with a D+ (or above) in either English or Kiswahili. Furthermore, applicants need to be between the ages of 18 to 28.
- The **truthfulness** of information in the application form content as well as the curriculum vitae of the applicant through a background check is conducted. The primary purpose is to determine whether the applicant complies with predetermined moral character criteria.

- **Reading, writing, and comprehension tests** are also conducted to determine whether the candidate meets specific literacy criteria (including basic mathematics, factual memorising, logic reasoning, and scenario analysing).
- **An interview** is commonly conducted with the purpose of assessing the candidate's professionalism, social and communication skills, level of reasoning, appearance, composure, and poise. For example, applicants are interviewed by an officer in charge or the Commandant at a police station or police training school in the Malawi Police Service.
- **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 and the Anxiety Scale (IPAT) are administered to determine the candidates' affective behaviour (emotions, adjustment, and well-being). Personality traits are determined by means of the 16 Personality Factor Questionnaire (16PF) while abnormal personality traits are determined by means of the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) test to compare the applicant with the job specifications and required outputs.
- **Physical agility assessment**. Such assessments are conducted to ensure that the applicant will be able to perform physical job-related activities and requirements effectively and efficiently.

The police services of Malawi, Kenya and South African have generally adopted these selection measures. According to Twersky-Glasner (2005), the stringent screening process that police officers are subjected to assists in hiring the 'best candidates' who display particular personality profiles, and this also supports the notion that there is a relatively common police personality type.

4.4 The Occupational Socialization Theory

Scholars suggested as early as the 1960s that police behaviour and personality may be determined more by work experiences and peers than by pre-employment values and attitudes (Roberg et al., 2005). They thus formulated the socialization theory that posits that individuals are socialized as a result of their occupational experiences. The

socialization perspective looks at police behaviour as a result of sociological factors that attract recruits to the police occupation and their future career, and this views the police personality as created by group socialization of individuals into what is termed ‘police culture’. Furthermore, this perspective argues that the development of police personality occurs as the result of a process of individual development of commonly held norms and values over time.

The socialization theory further purports that police personality is a product of occupational socialization as the police commonly adhere to the demands that inherent in their work as police officers that shape their personality as individuals and a group (Twersky-Glasner, 2005; Vastola, 1978). Occupational socialization thus may be defined as “the process by which newcomers become full members of organizations or groups” (Parker, Mohr, & Wilson, 2004: 2). During the process of occupational socialization, individuals acquire the behaviours and skills that are necessary to act out a certain role, while they also adopt the norms and values of the particular group in which they function. Individuals’ attitudes and beliefs are thus formed by being in an environment in which certain terms, concepts, and belief systems prevail (Radelet & Carter, 1994). Chan (2003:3) concurs with this notion, asserting that occupational socialization is the process through which a novice learns the skills, knowledge, and values that are necessary to become a competent member of an organization or occupation. In the policing sphere, this involves not only learning the laws, procedures and techniques of law enforcement and order maintenance, but also acquiring a range of organizational skills, attitudes, and assumptions that are compatible with those of other members of the occupation. The result is that police officers learn to appreciate certain values, and thereafter they develop the same mind-set as others in the occupational environment (Bennett & Greenstein, 1975).

Police occupational socialization is the process whereby individuals learn to be fit for performing police work as they become aware of organizational and occupational practices, internalizing them, and carrying them out as participating members of their work group. According to Van Maanen (1975) and Dunham and Alpert (1997), learning takes place through four socialization phases: (i) upon entry; (ii) being introduced to police work during training; (iii) encounters; and (iv) a process of metamorphosis. According to this sequence, individuals make a choice to become a police officer, learn

formal and informal lessons during academy training, and learning on the job. These socialization phases will be discussed in detail below.

Phase 1: Entry phase: This is when recruits choose to enter a police career and prepare themselves for entering the organization by adopting their interpretation of its values, attitudes, skills, and knowledge (Van Maanen, 1975). At this phase, individuals explore what they know about themselves (i.e., their self-concept) and what they know about the roles and activities of police officers. Individuals infer their personal attributes or qualities from their prior behaviour to create self-knowledge. They also build opinions about themselves based on what other people's perceptions and knowledge of them are.

When constructing knowledge of policing, individuals use both factual and fictional perceptions. Friends or relatives who are police officers are *factual* or *genuine* sources of learning as they are part of the 'cop fraternity' and are knowledgeable about what characteristics are required and what is required 'on the job'. Such social linkage attracts and binds recruits to the occupational culture long before they actually enter (Van Maanen, 1975). *Fictional* or *imagined* perceptions of policing often come from media sources. For example, television or films that depict police officials' lives often demonstrate characteristics of power, toughness, and aggressiveness as well as success. Steady streams of these media images define police officers as being tough, strong, and invulnerable and fitting into a box that defines machismo (Van Maanen, 1975). Whether real or imagined, these values often become part of the new recruits' construction of what 'real' police work is and they imagine and rehearse their conception of policing even before employment (Fielding, 1988).

Individuals who see themselves as trainable and suitable for a career in policing apply. Before they become police officers, however, they must pass through a rigorous selection process, which most often includes a written test, a physical agility test, background investigation, a personal interview, a medical exam, and a battery of psychological tests, and police administrators only tend to consider applicants who have ideal police characteristics and the ability to perform the job adequately. The employment decision, along with the selection process, usually produces a homogeneous group of applicants who demonstrate a willingness to conform to

organizational (official) and occupational (both official and unofficial or working) police practices (Van Maanen, 1975). These police applicants or recruits then experience formal socialization when they enter training at the police academy.
The second phase is known as the introduction phase, which occur predominantly during the early training phase (i.e., at the police academy/college). Police recruit training refines the cohort of acceptable applicants through formal and informal lessons that weed out those who do not conform to established police practices. Formal lessons involve instruction according to specified curriculum, which usually includes subject areas such as administration of justice, fitness, law, police procedures, use of force, police professionalism, and community relations. Informal lessons about the job often take the form of 'war stories' that are narrated by police academy instructors. Essentially, recruits begin to learn from these instructors and from their peers at the academy about unwritten rules, work attitudes, values, and beliefs that prevail in the occupational culture.

Generally, if new recruits' expectations of their occupation and the organization are unrealistic, this can be quite a challenging phase for them. Newcomers' experiences during this phase are mediated through environmental, organizational, group-based, and individual tasks. This is when recruits' real first contact with the occupational environment occurs. Conti (2006) argues that academy training is a way of transmitting traditional police culture to recruits. Van Maanen (1975: 410) describes how the harsh and often arbitrary discipline encountered at the police college (such as receiving a demerit or an additional day of work when a new recruit arrives late or has uttered a careless word or walked when he should have run) gives rise to the collective consciousness among recruits of being 'in the same boat'. According to Van Maanen (1975), this process develops group solidarity among members of the same class/platoon and increases their distance from old acquaintances. The main result of such stressful training is that recruits soon learn that it is their peer group rather than the 'commanders' who will support them and whom they, in turn, must support (van Maanen, 1973: 411). For example, 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 the shared ordeals of training serve to detach the newcomer from his old attitudes and acquaintances. In short, the college

impresses upon recruits that they must now identify with a new group – their fellow trainees and future officers (Van Maanen, 1973: 411).

Van Maanen (1975) further notes that this early stage in the recruits' police career is marked by profound attitude changes as the initial level of motivation drops and only the personal reward that is associated with working hard remains. Furthermore, the humiliating nature of recruits' acculturation process during training serves to disengage the newcomer from his old attitudes and results in high but (often) unrealistic expectations of the police organization (Van Maanen, 1975). Academy training thus plays a critical role in the socialization process of new recruits who adopt police culture. This is because the instructors in the academy are highly experienced police officers, and thus academy training passes the traditional police culture down from one generation to the next (Conti, 2006).

According to Van Maanen (1975), the third phase of socialization is known as the encounter phase which acquired during field training experiences when the newcomer is introduced to the complexities of policing the streets. It is during this phase that the recruit is most susceptible to attitude change (Manning, 1989) as it is the first stage during which recruits are socialized through their respective home departments (Westley, 1970). During the field training phase, the recruits experience a reality shock as they encounter the demands of real- world police work. Here they learn which behaviour is deemed appropriate and expected as well as which attitudes are expected in the social setting (Westley, 1970). Moreover, 'rookies' begin to be fully and truly involved in police work at an emotional level as they practically learn about proper procedure (formal socialization) and interaction with other recruits (informal socialization). They learn what the acceptable behaviour, norms, and values of the department are and they emulate their more experienced colleagues (Brown, 1988; Westley, 1970).

Many officers focus on field training more than academy training as they regard it as important times of socialization. Most officers believe that the best way of learning how to become an effective police officer is through practical experience, thus they focus primarily of field training (Fielding, 1988; Chan, 2001; Westley, 1970). Field training also assumes that rookies must learn through experience and they are given the

chance to cope with police work under the supervision of their senior officers. For many officers, it is at this stage when they develop the belief that academy training is useless and out of touch with real policing (Chan, 2001). It is believed that the experience that the recruit gains during field training teaches them about the goals, tactics, and challenges of policing. Furthermore, the experience also teaches them about the expectations of supervisors in terms of how to implement the skills they acquired and how to maintain a level of internal awareness (Chan, 2001). The literature stresses the attributes of loyalty and dedication in the policing field as behavioural correctness and conformance to the authority syndrome, and it is seems significant to demonstrate these characteristics if new recruits desire acceptance within the system (Skolnick, 1966; Neiderhoffer, 1967).

The last phase of socialization is referred to as the metamorphosis phase (Van Maanen, 1975). During this last phase, police recruits experience a shift in values and attitude (Chan, 2001) as they fully identify with the department and become fully integrated into police culture. This means that, at this stage, they finally adopt the traditional ideas that prevail in the department. According to Van Maanen (1975), by the sixth month of police experience the job-related attitudes of recruits become similar to those of their more experienced colleagues. He further suggests that recruits have now learned to avoid criticism by their supervisors and fellow patrol officers (Van Maanen, 1975). Van Maanen argues that, in this phase, recruits begin to comprehend that field investigation activities are most likely to yield results that are more pleasing than other police duties such as administrative tasks. Also, the new officer begins to adopt the social and psychological conceptualization that more experienced police officers exude. However, this conceptualization is characterised by the sense of cynicism, abandonment, and disenchantment new recruits experience, which generally impacts their ability and inclination to enforce the police policy that emphasizes sound police-community relations.

4.5 Predisposed Socialization

The foregoing discourse suggests that police personality is a product of both disposition and occupational socialization (Atamer, 2003; Lefkowitz, 1975; Trojanowitz, 1971; Twersky-Glasner, 2005). Certain types of people choose to

become officers while other types are admitted to education within the police, and those who do not adapt to the demanding work of being a police officer simply quit. There are thus identifiable processes of self- and formal selection, and is is clear that certain experiences and pressures impact newly appointed police officers more so than their more experienced colleagues. For example, there are sufficient elements in the everyday work life of a police officer that may contribute to the development of an authoritarian attitude (Balch, 1972). However, individuals with a predisposition for authoritarianism may have chosen to become police officers as they may have identified with this trait even before their application. However, the lack of consistent findings in this regard prompted Wilson and Braithwaite (1995) to claim that no firm conclusions can be drawn regarding where the police personality stems from.

4.6 Limitations in the Theoretical Framework

The first limitation that affects both theories is that the largest body of the research conducted on police personality occurred between the 1960s and the early 1980s. More contemporary research that examines police personality is thus needed, and these studies must take into account that policing has changed in at least two major aspects, namely the spread of a community policing philosophy and the increasing diversity and training of police officers. The last limitation recognizes that earlier studies mostly focused on patrol officers deployed at urban police stations and ignored other groups of officers, such as those found in smaller or non-urban police institutions found in Malawi and Kenya.

4.7 Conclusion

In light of the above discourse on police personality, it is evident that there is agreement among researchers that working police officers share similar values and attitudes that shape their personalities, behaviours, and attitudes as law enforcement officers and the keepers of the peace. The robust deliberations in this chapter revealed some disagreement about whether new recruits who enter the law enforcement profession are imbued with values that are already in place, or whether they adopt a new set of values and behavioural practices as a result of occupational socialization.

The main conclusion that may be reached regarding police personality is that it is a product of both disposition and occupational socialization.

CHAPTER FIVE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with reflections on the research design and approach that were adopted, namely the quantitative approach and a cross-sectional research design. I then proceed to provide an overview of the study locations (Malawi, Kenya, and South Africa) and the sampling techniques that were utilized to recruit suitable questionnaire respondents. The data collection methods and the ethical considerations that were adhered to are also discussed. The chapter is concluded with reflections on the particular problems that were encountered as well as the study limitations. The data storage methods to safeguard the data are also briefly referred to.

5.2 Research Approach and Design

5.2.1 Quantitative approach

This study adopted a quantitative descriptive research approach to appropriately address the research questions. Statistical analyses were conducted to accommodate data collection from a large research sample (i.e., ensuring external validity). At the same time, causal construct/variable relationships (existence, direction, and significance) and theory were measured among the different groups but over a single period of time. Creswell (1994) defines quantitative research as “a type of research that is explaining phenomena by collecting numerical data that are analysed using mathematically based methods” (in particular, statistics). Kothari (2004) defines a quantitative approach as “research that involves the generation of numerical data which can be subjected to rigorous statistical analysis in a formal and rigid fashion”.

Descriptive research involves the identification of the attributes of a particular phenomenon based on an observational basis, or the exploration of the correlation between two or more phenomena (Williams, 2007). This study aimed to establish

whether there was adherence to police culture among early career recruits in two African countries, and whether the findings were similar or different to the South African context.

5.2.2 Cross sectional design

The study adopted a cross-sectional research design as it made inferences about a population of early career police officers in Malawi, Kenya at one point in time. Cross-sectional surveys have been described as 'snapshots' of the populations under investigation. According to Mann (2003), cross-sectional studies are relatively inexpensive and quick to conduct because researchers can test different demographic variables at the same time. Another advantage of cross-sectional studies, according to Sedgwick (2014), is that they are usually based on a questionnaire survey and allow for the possibility of assessing more than one outcome. Cross-sectional surveys may be repeated periodically. However, in a repeated cross-sectional survey, respondents at one point in time are not intentionally sampled again. Nonetheless, a respondent to one administration of the survey could be randomly selected for a subsequent one. Unlike longitudinal studies that focus on a group of people over an extended period, cross-sectional studies are used to describe what is presently occurring.

5.3 Study Location

The data were collected in three African countries, namely Kenya, Malawi and South Africa. A detailed profile of each country is provided below.

5.3.1 Malawi

5.3.1.1 General biographical information

Malawi, officially known as the Republic of Malawi, is a landlocked country in South-Eastern Africa. It is bordered by Mozambique in the east and south-west, by Tanzania in the north and north-east, and by Zambia in the west and north-west. Lake Malawi, one of the largest and deepest lakes in the world, comprises almost one-fifth of the

country's area. Malawi has various indigenous languages, but the most common are English and Chichewa (also known as Nyanja). Three main regions are demarcated in Malawi, namely the Northern, Central, and Southern regions. Lilongwe City in central Malawi is the national and administrative capital. Blantyre City (the precise location of this study) is the provincial capital of the Southern province and the country's commercial and manufacturing hub. Mzuzu is the main town in the Northern Province. Malawi had a population of 17 563 749 people in 2018 (Malawi Population and Housing Census, 2018) and it is projected to exceed 29 million by 2030 and to reach 45 million in 2050 at the present growth rate of 2.75%. The current demographic profile states that 40% of the population is young people between 10 and 29 years (Malawi Population and Housing Census, 2018). This significant proportion of the youth in the population has an important implication for the development of this country.

5.3.1.2 Profile of the District of Blantyre

This study was purposively conducted in Blantyre, the second largest city in Malawi and seat of the country's judiciary. It is located in the Shire Highlands in the southern part of the country. Blantyre is Malawi's centre of finance and commerce and had an estimated 994 500 inhabitants in 2018 (Malawi Population and Housing Census, 2018). Occasionally, it is referred to as the commercial and industrial capital as opposed to the political capital, Lilongwe. It is the capital of the country's Southern Region as well as the Blantyre District. It is the major employment generator in the country and has the greatest multiplier effect on the urban economy (Malawi Population and Housing Census, 2018). The city has many manufacturing plants and a wide range of educational facilities such as pre-primary, primary, and secondary schools as well as tertiary education institutions. These are provided by the government, City Assembly, missionary institutions, and the private sector. Tertiary education includes technical and higher learning institutions that are mostly located in the Chichiri-Ginnery Corner area. There are the Malawi Polytechnic, the University of Malawi College of Medicine, Kamuzu College of Nursing, Blantyre School of Health Sciences, the Malawi College of Accountancy, Telecommunications, National and

SADCC multi-country training schools, A Technical School, the Police Training School, and Blantyre Teachers' College.

Figure 1: Map of Blantyre

Source: Shutterstock.com, n.d

5.3.2 Kenya

5.3.2.1 General biographical information

The second study location was the Republic of Kenya, which is an African country with 47 semi-autonomous counties governed by elected governors. The counties of Kenya are geographical units envisioned by the 2010 Constitution of Kenya as the units of devolved government. At 580 367 square kilometres (224,081 sq mi), Kenya is the world's 48th largest country by total area. According to the National Council for Population and Development, the population was estimated at 45.8 million in 2017, with an inter-censual population growth rate of 2.9% and it is expected to reach 52 million in 2020 and about 65 million by 2030 (UNDESA, 2017). The capital and largest city is Nairobi while its oldest city and first capital is the coastal city of Mombasa. Kisumu City is the third largest city and also an inland port on Lake Victoria. Other important urban centres include Nakuru and Eldoret. Present and past population growth rates indicate domination by young people as approximately 70% of the population is below 24 years of age while 28% is comprised of youths age 15 to 24 years. The elderly (age 60 and above) constitute about 5% of the total population.

Although Kenya is a multilingual country, the Bantu Swahili language and English serve as the two official working languages.

5.3.2.2 Profile of Nairobi

The second study area was Nairobi. This name is derived from the Maasai phrase ‘enkare nairobi’, which means ‘cool water’ and is a reference to the Nairobi River that flows through the city. It was founded in 1899 by the colonial authorities in British East Africa as a rail depot on the Uganda railway. It had a population of 3.36 million in 2011.

Figure 2: Map of Nairobi
Source: Shutterstock.com, n.d.

5.3.3 South Africa

5.3.3.1 General biographical information

The third location of the study was South Africa, officially the Republic of South Africa, is the southernmost country in Africa. It is bounded to the south by 2,798 kilometres (1,739 mi) of coastline that stretches along the South Atlantic and Indian Oceans to the north by the neighbouring countries of Namibia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe; and to the east and northeast by Mozambique and Eswatini (Census, 2011). It also completely enclaves the country Lesotho It is the southernmost country on the mainland of the Old World, and the second-most populous country located entirely south of the equator, after Tanzania. South Africa is a biodiversity hotspot, with unique

biomes, plant and animal life (Census, 2011). With over 60 million people, the country is the world's 24th-most populous nation and covers an area of 1,221,037 square kilometres (471,445 square miles). Pretoria is the administrative capital, while Cape Town, as the seat of Parliament, is the legislative capital. Bloemfontein has traditionally been regarded as the judicial capital. The largest city, and site of highest court is Johannesburg (Census, 2011).

About 80% of the population are Black South Africans. The remaining population consists of Africa's largest communities of European (White South Africans), Asian (Indian South Africans and Chinese South Africans), and multiracial (Coloured South Africans) ancestry (Census, 2011). South Africa is a multiethnic society encompassing a wide variety of cultures, languages, and religions. Its pluralistic makeup is reflected in the constitution's recognition of 11 official languages, the fourth-highest number in the world. According to the 2011 census, the two most spoken first languages are Zulu (22.7%) and Xhosa (16.0%). The two next ones are of European origin: Afrikaans (13.5%) developed from Dutch and serves as the first language of most Coloured and White South Africans; English (9.6%) reflects the legacy of British colonialism and is commonly used in public and commercial life (Census, 2011).

5.4 Justification for the selection of research sites

The main reasons as to why these countries were selected by the researcher is because the objective was to find countries that have police services (as opposed to

police forces) meaning that these police institutions are functional in democratic(and not autocratic) countries as it is the case with the South African Police Services.
Upon conceptualization of the study, the researcher planned to approach at least four countries within the Southern African Development Community (SADC) as research sites. However, obtaining gatekeepers' permission from most of these countries was an insurmountable challenge, and eventually only the Malawi and Kenya police authorities provided the researcher with gatekeepers' letters. Permission to access the secondary data for South Africa was also obtained by the researcher, a detailed explanation of this process is provided below.

5.5 Sampling

5.5.1 Probability sampling

This study employed a probability sampling technique to enable the researcher to make statistical generalizations from the samples of early career police officers to a larger population of new recruits**.** The probability sampling technique allowed every member of the population with the probability of being selected for the sample. According to Reaves (1992), this technique is also referred to as random sampling because it is representative of the population from which it is drawn. The particular sampling technique that was adopted for this study is called the cluster-sampling technique which will be elaborated below. The sample was comprised of 258 (n = 258) respondents (Table 1). Primary data were collected from n = 121 (46%) respondents from Malawi and n = 98 (38%) respondents from Kenya, while 15% (n = 39) of the respondents were from South Africa.

5.5.2 Cluster sampling

This study employed cluster sampling, particularly one-stage cluster sampling, which is a technique according to which clusters of respondents that represent the population are identified and included in the sample. Cluster sampling is considered when it is either impossible or impractical to compile an exhaustive list of all the elements of the target population (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). It would not have been feasible for the researcher to compile a list of all the police officers in Malawi and Kenya and thereafter

establish who this list were the early career police officials. Therefore, the researcher undertook the process whereby she named the policing regions on the list were separated into categories and the researcher randomly drew one region to achieve stratification of the population for the police services of Malawi and Kenya. In Malawi, the Southern region was selected and in Kenya, the Nairobi County was selected. Thereafter, the researcher randomly selected early career police officers across police stations in the Southern region and the Nairobi County respectively.

5.5.3 Study sample size and biographical characteristics

As previously mentioned, the sample was comprised of 258 (n = 258) respondents. Primary data were collected from n = 121 (46%) respondents from Malawi and n = 98 (38%) respondents from Kenya, while 15% (n = 39) of the respondents were from South Africa. Table 1 reflects the biographical characteristics of the respondents.

Table 1: Biographical data of the respondents

Variables	Country of Service			
	Kenya Frequency (n = 98)	Kenya %	Malawi Frequency (n = 121)	Malawi %
GENDER				
Male	77	78.57	69	57.02
Female	20	20.41	41	33.88
Unknown	1	1.02	11	9.09
AGE				
20-30	53	37.76	74	61.16
31-40	5	54.08	37	30.58
41-50	2	5.10	0	0
51+	1	2.04	0	0
Unknown	37	1.02	10	8.26
RACE				
Black	98	100	112	92.56
Indian	0	0	0	0
Coloured	0	0	1	0.83

White	0	0	0	0
Unknown	0	0	8	6.61
MARITAL STATUS				
Single	45	46.39	58	37.66
Married	46	47.42	93	60.39
Divorced	4	4.12	3	1.94
Widowed	2	2.06	0	0
HIGHEST EDUCATION LEVEL				
<Grade 12	0	0	1	0.83
Grade 12	53	54.64	87	72.50
Grade 12 +1	14	14.43	4	0.03
Grade 12+2	17	17.52	17	14.17
Grade 12+3	13	13.40	11	9.17

5.5.4 Inclusion and exclusion criteria

The inclusion criteria were as follows:

- New police recruits with active working experience from 0 - 10 years.
- Nationality: Malawian and Kenyan, depending on the country of origin.
- Heterogeneity: male or female. (All the respondents from Malawi and Kenya were African males or females with no exclusion based on gender.)
- Language: There was no exclusion based on language as a research assistant on site assisted with the translation of the questionnaire and responses should English not be the preferred language. All the Malawian respondents communicated in Chichewa while, in Kenya, a research assistant that could speak, read, and write Swahili was recruited. However, all the respondents were proficient in English.

The exclusion criteria were the following:

- Respondents who had more than 10 years' working experience in the police.
- Station commanders or persons of higher ranking.

5.5.5 Recruitment strategy

The researcher telephonically and electronically scheduled appointments with the Senior Commissioner of Police (SDCP) of the Southern Region Headquarters. Upon meeting with the Commissioner, she identified the relevant police stations within the Southern region that met the selection criteria. Subsequently, she drafted two letters to the officers in charge of the police stations (station commanders) for the Limbe and Blantyre police stations and their respective substations, requesting that they granted the researcher access to suitable respondents. Upon arrival at the various police stations, the officers in charge referred the researcher to desired respondents according to the authority vested in them.

Similarly, in Kenya a telephonic conversation was conducted with the Commissioner to schedule a meeting at the police headquarters in Nairobi with the aim of gaining access to suitable respondents. She was informed that the early career police officials would be found in various police stations and that the relevant station commanders would be able to identify suitable recruits and refer them to her as suitable respondents upon her arrival. Respondents from the Malawi Police Service and Kenya Police Service were thus recruited following formal authorization from the relevant gatekeepers.

5.6 Data Collection

5.6.1 Research instrument

To address the research problem, a measuring instrument that would translate the research hypotheses into numerical variables as suitable data that could be analysed via statistical procedures was required. At the time of the study, the only appropriate measuring instrument available in the world was the 30-item Police Culture Questionnaire that has been developed by Steyn (2006). Permission was obtained from the developer, who was also the candidate’s supervisor, to use this 30-item Police Culture Questionnaire.

The self- administered 30-item Police Culture Questionnaire had been developed based on 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 regarding the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism amongst police officials (Steyn, 2015). The questionnaire consists of seven sections which are the following:

Section A: Purpose of the questionnaire
Section B: Voluntary participation permission
Section C: Instructions and guidelines on how to complete the questionnaire
Section D: Respondents' 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)

The items are posed as pertinent questions as follows:

Theme: Solidarity

(1) I think that a police official should be one of the highest paid careers.
(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 SAPS members 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'.

Theme: Isolation

(11) I have tended to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I became 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 SAPS 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 SAPS.

(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) Commissioners do not really know what is happening at grass roots level.

Theme: Cynicism

(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 do 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 to the individual items were structured and closed-ended on a five-point Likert scale option, ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree. The level of measurement on the 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 (i.e., the magnitude) among the respondents' 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 the respondents' responses.

5.6.2 Reliability and Validity

The 30-item Police Culture Questionnaire was piloted in December 2004 involving 100 SAPS functional police officials stationed in the city of Durban area in the Republic of South Africa. The 30-item Police Culture Questionnaire was piloted for a different, pre-existing study however, the pilot study is still applicable for the current study as well. Factor analysis (VARIMAX technique) was applied and this process identified nine factors of which four met the latent root criterion (also known as the eighenvalue-one criterion or the Kaiser criterion) of eighenvalue greater than 1.0 (as indicated in Table 2). The rationale is 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) note that the latent root criterion has been shown to produce the correct number of factors when the number of variables included in the analysis is small (i.e., 10 to 15) or moderate (i.e., 20 to 30). The reliability coefficient (Cronbach alpha) of 0.77 for the 30-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

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

Questions 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 to veneration for the police among civilians while the former (29 and 30) measured the respondents' attitudes *vis-à-vis* the upshots of these features for police-public dealings. Respondents who thought that people did not respect the police were also of the opinion that the police and the public did 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 the respondents believed that police officials have to look out for each other. Respondents who considered a collective purpose (i.e., rid the country of its bad elements) and viewed outsiders as hasty criticizers of the police likewise believed that police officials had to look after one another and, as a result, they preferred 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 appeared to measure the extent to which respondents socialised with others outside the police and their justifications for this. Respondents who 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 were deemed not to be trustworthy and generally dishonest.

In general, using factor analysis it was found that several of the study's measuring instrument questions did not load on any of the four factors (with eighenvalues >1.0), and some of the items loaded (statistically significantly) 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 seemed to be 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], and scale of cynicism [items 21-30]) as the literature does not clearly indicate how each item relates. The same procedure was followed for the third post-test (September 2013 to June 2014). The critical question regarding the measurement of the constructs was whether each item, based on the literature, was valid on its face as a measure of a dimension of the constructs of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism.

Cronbach's alpha

Cronbach's alpha is the most common measure of internal consistency ("reliability"). It is most commonly used when you have multiple Likert questions in a survey/questionnaire that form a scale and you wish to determine if the scale is reliable.

5.7 Data Collection Procedure

Prior to the commencement of the data collection process, the researcher formally introduced herself and the research assistants to the respondents. Thereafter, the nature and objectives of the research were clearly elaborated to the respondents by the researcher in English. The research assistants further explained the research in Chichewa in Malawi and Swahili in Kenya to ensure that the respondents clearly comprehended the nature and purpose of the study.

In both Kenya and Malawi, the early career police officers (with 0-10 years' experience) were assembled in a hall/office and were equipped with a table, chair, and a black writing pen. The respondents signed the voluntary permission form and were then advised to complete the self-administered questionnaire with no time limit. I was interesting to note that most of the early career officials were eager to participate in the study, and even some who had more than ten years' experience requested permission to complete the questionnaire. However, the researcher had to decline, as it was imperative that only respondents with 0 to 10 years' working experience completed the questionnaire. Upon completion, the questionnaires were collected and all the respondents were then thanked for their cooperation and assistance.

In Malawi, the researcher was initially given approval to collect data from two main police stations in the Southern region, namely Limbe and Blantyre police stations. A Limbe and Blantyre are fairly large policing precincts, both these police stations have numerous sub-stations that affiliated to them and form which data had to be collected. The Blantyre Police substations that were visited by the researcher were Soche, Manase, and Chilobwe. The Limbe police substations that were visited by the researcher were Vvumbwe and Bangwe. In total, the researcher visited seven police stations. It was imperative to make prior arrangements with the officers in charge so that they would be aware that we would arrive on a specific day and time and also for them to request the early career police officers to be available. All the station commanders in the Southern region were of great assistance and their support facilitated a smooth data collection process despite the fact that it occurred during working hours.

In Kenya, after the gatekeeper's letter had been procured, the researcher (with the assistance of a research assistant) proceeded to collect data from respondents in various police stations across Nairobi. Although there are numerous police stations in Kenya, due to financial implications the researcher had to limit the study to four police stations, namely the headquarters of the Kenya Police Criminal Investigation Department (CID), Kilimani police station, Pangani police station, and Kileleshwa police station. All these police stations are located in Nairobi.

5.8 Secondary Data

To make the current study relevant to the South African context, the researcher utilised secondary data. Secondary data refers to any dataset that is collected by any person other than the one using it for another primary purpose (Johnston, 2014). Collecting secondary data is an empirical exercise that applies the same basic research principles as studies that utilise primary data. This means that there are steps to be followed just as in any primary research data collection method (Johnston, 2014).

The researcher's supervisor had collected had collected a large body of secondary data from a South African Police Service (SAPS) sample and granted permission that the researcher could utilize these data. In addition, the research instrument (the 30-item Police Culture Questionnaire) that had been used to collect the primary and secondary data was the same. The secondary data had been geographically collected from three (3) South African provinces, namely Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, and Limpopo. The study had been limited to these three provinces due to financial, time, and logistical constraints. The research sample had consisted of SAPS police officials with ten (10), twenty (20), and thirty (30) years' policing experience in the SAPS population and had been randomly selected (Mkhize, 2016). The names of each of the nine provinces had been placed in a concealed container and three names had been randomly selected. However, for the purposes of this current study, only the data of the sample that had 10 years' experience were considered as this sample aligned with the current researcher's aims and objectives.

The 30-item Police Culture Questionnaire was administered telephonically only after voluntary participation, confidentiality, and other ethical considerations had been explained to the respondents. Each questionnaire took roughly 7-8 minutes to complete, as was affirmed by Mkhize (2016).

5.9 Data Analysis

The researcher made use of a quantitative and deductive research approach and design due to the measurement requirement of dependent and independent variables. A deductive research approach aims at testing theory and works from the more

general to the more specific, and sometimes this is informally called a 'top-down' approach. Furthermore, the researcher made use of both descriptive and inferential statistics in this study and captured through the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) (computerised process) due to the external validity requirement of the study. The levels of measurement (interval, ratio, nominal and ordinal) also requires the use of parametric and non-parametric statistics. A robust and comprehensive discussion of this section is presented in chapter six.

5.10 Challenges and Limitations

The biggest problems that the researcher encountered occurred in Malawi, as the substations are very far apart from the main stations. As a result, the researcher and assistant had to travel long distances to reach the actual research sites. Furthermore, some of the substations that were visited did not have spacious offices or halls to accommodate the respondents who were willing to complete the questionnaires, and not all questionnaires could be completed at the same time. The researcher and her assistant also had to wait for the available spaces to be cleared first before the research cohort could be allowed entry. The police stations and substations were visited during business hours in the course of a week. Time was therefore a major challenge because this meant that work for the day was interrupted for the respondents for about an hour as the study had to be explained and all the relevant documents had to be signed. Although prior arrangements had been made with all the relevant station commanders, great inconvenience was caused by the process of data collection during the week. However, the researcher and assistant patiently complied with all the instructions to ensure that the actual data collection process proceeded flawlessly.

Numerous other challenges that caused delays were experienced. Obtaining ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu-Natal Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) was a long and tedious process as receipt of the gatekeepers' letters for data collection was delayed. This process took approximately two years. Once both the gatekeepers' letters had been received, full ethical clearance was approved.

Some limitations that are intrinsic to studies of this nature were also experienced. For instance, although the study collected and processed valuable data from two African countries that could be compared with the South African context, Africa is a large continent with numerous countries where policing services are paramount. This means that the findings of the study may not be generalised to the entire African continent, and not even to the entire Malawian, Kenyan, and South African contexts either as the sample, although quite extensive, was too small in scope.

5.11 Ethical Considerations

Before commencing with the project, the researcher had to wait for the research proposal and ethical clearance to be approved by the University of KwaZulu-Natal Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC). Subsequent to procuring full ethical approval from UKZN, application was made for gatekeeper approval to the Malawi Police Service and Kenya Police Service in 2017. The research proposal was attached and forwarded along with an application letter for gatekeeper's approval. A year and a few months later, approval was obtained by the researcher from both the Kenya and Malawi police services to proceed with the study. However, receiving permission from the Kenya was not easy as the process was slightly different from the one in Malawi. The researcher was required to first apply to the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI), and this approval, once obtained, served as a gatekeeper's letter for the researcher to collect data from the Kenya Police Service.

The following ethical considerations were also adhered to:

5.11.1 Informed consent

The cornerstone of ethical research is the receipt of 'informed consent' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). Both 'informed' and 'consent' are pivotal in this process. For instance, respondents must be fully informed of what will be asked of them, how the data will be used, and what (if any) consequences there could be. The respondents had to provide explicit, active, signed consent to taking part in the research, including understanding

their right to access to their information and the right to withdraw at any point. The informed consent process can be seen as the contract between the researcher and the respondents (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

Therefore, prior to providing the respondents with the questionnaire to which the informed consent form they had to sign was attached, they were asked if they clearly comprehended the nature of the study and also if they were willing to volunteer their participation. Only after the early career police officials had communicated full understanding of the study were they provided with the questionnaire. The attached informed consent form was voluntarily signed to endorse their participation in the study, as proposed by (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

5.11.2 Risk of harm, anonymity and confidentiality

It is important that the identities of respondents are kept confidential while the assurance that their names will be protected and that self-identifying statements and information will be avoided is also important (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). . Maintaining respondents' anonymity and confidentiality is an important step in protecting them against potential harm. The research design needs to consider the potential of harm to the respondents, the researcher, the wider community, and the institution. Harm can range from physical hurt, resource loss (including time), emotional pain, and reputational repercussions. When considering the potential for harm, the approach should be, in descending order, to eliminate, isolate, and minimize the risk, with the respondents being fully informed on what the risks are (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

The researcher therefore thoroughly explained to the respondents that they were not obligated to participate in the study, and that those who elected not to participate would not be subjected to any detrimental effects to their jobs or person. In addition, the respondents were informed about their right to withdraw from the study at any given point and that they did not have to explain the reasons for their decision. It was also communicated to the respondents that the information gathered from their participation would be treated with the strictest confidentiality and anonymity. Lastly, respondents were also informed that the findings of this study would be disseminated to them by

email in the form of a Power-Point presentation and that the officers in charge (station commanders) of the MPS, KPS and SAPS would receive a copy.

5.12 Data storage

All the completed questionnaires were collected in person and sealed together in a box that was safely stored in the researcher's office which is located at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard campus. The questionnaires will remain in this office for a period of five years when they will be destroyed. The electronic copies of the data are saved on the researcher's personal laptop and secured with an encryption code to ensure limited access to anyone else.

5.13 Conclusion

By rigorously following the research methodology and procedures that were discussed in this chapter, it was possible to measure the presence or absence of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism based on the responses of a representative sample of MPS, KPS and SAPS early career officers with zero- ten years of working experience.

6.1 Introduction

Every step in the research process not only follows a systematic sequence, but also overlaps and is interrelated. The research processes that were followed in this study were no different. The current chapter presents the data analysis procedures that were employed using the data obtained by means of the self-report 30-item questionnaire developed by Steyn (2006).

6.2 Description of the Respondents

6.2.1 Socio-demographic background

The sample was comprised of 258 (n = 258) respondents (Table 1). Primary data were collected from n = 121 (46%) respondents from Malawi and n = 98 (38%) respondents from Kenya, while 15% (n = 39) of the respondents were from South Africa. Secondary data were collected from the latter group, as was explained in the previous chapter. More males (n = 164; 57%) than females (n = 79; 62%) participated in the study, while n = 15 (5.81%) did not disclose their gender.

With regards to age, n = 112 (43,41%) of the respondents were between 20 and 30 years of age and n = 112 (43,41%) were in the 31 to 40-year age group. The majority of the respondents were black Africans (94.6%; n=245), whilst Coloureds comprised 1.16% (n = 3) and whites 0,39% (n = 1) of the sample. About 50% (n = 131) of the respondents were married, n = 106 (41%) were single, n = 10 (3,8%) were divorced, and n = 5 (1, 9%) were widowed. The level of education indicated that the majority (n = 142; 62%) had a secondary school qualification, followed by those who had a tertiary level of education (n = 40; 17%). A very few (n = 2; 0,9%) had only a primary school level of education.

Table 3: Socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents

Variables	Frequency	Percentage %
COUNTRY OF SERVICE		
South Africa	39	15.12
Kenya	98	37.98
Malawi	121	46.90
GENDER		
Male	164	63.57
Female	79	30.62
Unknown	15	5.81
AGE		
20-30	112	43.41
31-40	112	43.41
41-50	19	7.36
51+	2	0.78
Unknown	13	5.04
RACE		
Black	245	94.96
Indian	0	0.00
Coloured	3	1.16
White	1	0.39
Unknown	9	3.49
MARITAL STATUS		
Single	106	42.06
Married	131	51.98
Divorced	10	3.96
Widowed	5	1.98
HIGHEST QUALIFICATIONS		
<Grade 12	2	0.88
Grade 12	142	62.28
Grade 12 +1	18	7.89
Grade 12+2	40	17.54
Grade 12+3	26	11.40

6.2.2 Characteristics of the respondents across country of service

Comparatively, gender was more evenly distributed in the South African sample than in the Malawian and Kenyan samples. In the South African sample, males and females were equally represented at 46% (n = 18) each. In the Malawian sample, gender was

unevenly distributed as the male respondents were n = 69 (57%) of the overall sample, while the female respondents were only n = 41 (34%) of the sample. In the Kenyan sample gender was also unevenly distributed with females at n = 20 (20%) and males at n = 77 (79%) of the sample. This unequal distribution can be attributed to the fact that all three police institutions (SAPS, KPS, and MPS) were previously dominated by male employees and that, at the time of the study, women were primarily employed to execute administrative or supportive duties rather than functional policing tasks (see Table 4 below).

The highest number (n = 74; 61%) of the MPS respondents fell within the 20 to 30year age group whilst a lower number (n = 37; 38%) of the KPS and (n = 1; 2,56%) the SAPS respondents fell within the 20 to 30 year age group. A relatively small number of the MPS respondents (n = 37; 30,58%) fell within the 31 to 40 year age group, while a larger number of both the KPS (n = 53; 54,08%) and the SAPS (n = 22; 56,41%) fell within this age range. Concerning the 41 to 50 age range, n = 0 (0,00%) of the MPS respondents fell within this age range, while n = 5 (10%) of the KPS and n = 14 (35,90%) of the SAPS respondents fell within this age range. Neither the MPS not the SAPS had any respondents that fell within the 51+ age range, while 2,04% (n = 2) of the KPS respondents fell within this age group. A larger number (n = 8; 6,61%) of the MPS respondents' ages were unknown, while a lower number (n = 0; 0.2%) of the KPS and 5,13% (n = 2) of the SAPS respondents' ages were unknown.

As mentioned above, black Africans comprised a significant percentage of the sample. In the KPS sample, 100% belonged to the black (African) ethnic group. In Malawi, the majority of the respondents also belonged to the black ethnic group, with a smaller number of the respondents belonging to the Coloured ethic group. The table further reflects that there were no respondents that indicated that they belonged to the white ethnic group in either the KPS or the MPS groups. Although the majority of the SAPS sample were black police officials, a slight variation can be noted in this sample as whites comprised of 2,56% (n = 1) and Coloureds 5,13% (n = 2) of the sample. This means that, over the years, the KPS, MPS, and SAPS recruitment strategies have evolved, as previously all these police institutions were dominated by white male police officials.

The majority of the SAPS respondents were single (n = 17; 43.59%), while the majority of the KPS (n = 47; 47.42) and MPS (60.39%; n = 90) officials were married. Being employed as a police official is very demanding, but these figures suggest that police officials in the three countries under study still adhered to the family value of matrimony.

Half of the SAPS respondents (n = 19; 50%) possessed a grade 12 (NQF level 4) certificate, while 72% (n = 87) of the MPS and 55% (n = 53) of the KPS had a Grade 12 qualification. Although the majority of the police officials had a Grade 12 (NQF level 4) qualification which is the minimum entry qualification requirement for the SAPS, KPS and MPS, it is noteworthy that some of the police officials possessed a higher learning qualification such as a certificate, diploma, or degree.

It can be noted that table 3 specifically reflects the number of officers who participated voluntarily in the study. The actual number of personnel at the training academy was substantially higher than the cohort that participated in the present study. A total of 12 respondents did not participate, which in itself can also be interpreted as a precursor to adherence to the police culture.

Table 4: Biographical characteristics of the respondents by country of service

	Country of Service		
Variable	**South Africa n = (%)**	**Kenya n = (%)**	**Malawi n = (%)**
GENDER			
Male	18(46.15)	77(78.57)	69(57.02)
Female	18(46.15)	20(20.41)	41(33.88)
Unknown	3(7.69)	1(1.02)	11(9.09)
AGE			
20-30	1(2.56)	37(37.76)	74(61.16)
31-40	22(56.41)	53(54.08)	37(30.58)
41-50	14(35.90)	5(5.10)	0(0)
51+	0(0)	2(2.04)	0(0)
Unknown	2(5.13)	1(1.02)	10(8.26)
RACE			
Black	35(89.74)	98(100.00)	112(92.56)
Indian	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)
Coloured	2(5.13)	0(0)	1(0.83)
White	1(2.56)	0(0)	0(0)

Unknown	1(2.56)	0(0)	8(6.61)
MARITAL STATUS			
Single	17(43.59)	45(46.39)	58(37.66)
Married	15(38.46)	46(47.42)	93(60.39)
Divorced	4(10.26)	4(4.12)	3(1.94)
Widowed	3(7.69)	2(2.06)	0(0)
QUALIFICATIONS			
<Grade 12	4 (10.53)	0(0)	1(0.83)
Grade 12	19(50.0)	53(54.64)	87(72.50)
Grade 12 +1	1(2.63)	14(14.43)	4(0.03)
Grade 12+2	9(23.68)	17(17.52)	17(14.17)
Grade 12+3	5(13.16)	13(13.40)	11(9.17)

6.3 Study Objective One

To determine whether early career police officers in the Kenya Police Service, the Malawi Police Service, and the South African Police Service evinced police culture attitudes.

6.3.1 Frequency comparison of responses among the three groups

Solidarity: In terms of solidarity items 1-10, it was noted that the majority of all three samples (SAPS, KPS and MPS) either chose ‘strongly agree’ or ‘agree’. This indicates that there were differences of degree and not differences of kind. More specifically, a difference of degree can be noted on item 1 where the Kenyan and Malawian samples chose ‘strongly agree’ followed by ‘agree’, whereas the South African sample chose ‘agree’ followed by ‘strongly agree’.

More than two-fifths (n = 114; 44.19%) of the three samples indicated ‘strongly agree’, thus arguing that police officials should be highly paid, while 38.76% (n = 100) chose to ‘agree’ with this statement. However, more than half (n = 61; 50.41%) of the respondents from Malawi indicated ‘strongly agree’, with an additional 34.71% (n = 42) choosing ‘agree’ with the idea that policing should be one of the highest paid careers.

The majority (n = 150; 58.14%) of the respondents from the three samples chose to ‘agree’ to the question whether it was their duty to rid their country of its bad elements. The South African sample had the highest percentage of police who chose ‘agree’ to this question, while 55.43% (n = 143) of the entire sample chose ‘agree’ to Q3 that

police officials are careful about how they behave in public, with the South Africans showing the highest rate for the ‘agree’ option to Q3. Moreover, 46.12%, 49.61%, 45.45%, 46.90%, 50.0%, 53.49%, and 45.74% of the total sample indicated ‘agree’ to Q4, Q5, Q6, Q7, Q8, Q9, and Q10 respectively, with the South Africans showing the highest ‘agree’ response rate to all the questions in this section.

Isolation: In terms of the isolation theme (items 11-20), differences of degree were noted for items 13 and 18, whereas differences of kind emerged for items 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 19 and 20. For instance, the majority of the Malawian sample answered ‘disagree’ to item 11, while the majority of the Kenyan and South African samples indicated ‘agree’ with this item which states: “*I tend to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I have become a police official*”. Also, 48.45% (n = 125) of all the respondents indicated ‘agree’ to Q12, with the South Africans showing the highest proportion of people who answered ‘agree’.

More than half (n = 150; 58.14%) of the respondents indicated ‘agree’ with the item that they “*do not talk in depth to people outside my work about the work*” (Q13), and the South African sample had the highest proportion who chose ‘agree’ (n = 26; 51.16%) to Q14. Almost half (n = 126; 48.84%) of the respondents’ spouses tended not to understand what being a police official entails (Q15), with the Kenyans showing the highest proportion (n = 49; 50%) who chose to agree with this item. More than half of the respondents (n = 135; 52.33%) indicated that work affected their social life with friends outside their work (Q16), with the South Africans showing the highest percentage of agreement with this item. Half of all the respondents felt they belonged with their work colleague and not with the people they were policing (Q17).

Almost half of the respondents (n = 125; 48.45%) reported that they could be more open with their work colleagues than with members of the public (Q19), and 71.79% (n = 28) of the South African respondents chose ‘agree’ when answering this question. Also, 56.59% (n = 146) of the respondents indicated ‘agree’ to Q18, while 48.45% (n = 125) chose ‘agree’ to Q19.

Cynicism: As far as the cynicism items were concerned, differences of kind were identified on items 21, 22, 23, 24 and 26. For instance, while the South African and

Kenyan samples tended to choose ‘agree’ or ‘strongly agree’ with the statement that most people lie when answering questions posed by police officials, the Malawian sample indicated ‘agree’ and ‘disagree’ with this same item. Differences of degree can be noted in terms of items 25, 27, 28, 29 and 30. With regards to item 27, which states that “*police officials will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively*”, the South Africa sample chose ‘disagree’ and ‘strongly disagree’, while the Malawian and Kenyan samples tended to choose ‘agree’ or ‘disagree’ more on this item.

Close to two-thirds (n = 160; 62.02%) of the respondents indicted ‘agree’ to Q21, while 49,22% (n = 127) answered ‘agree’ to Q22. More than half (n = 139; 53.88%) believed that most people are untrustworthy and dishonest (Q23), while most of the South African and Malawian respondents chose ‘agree’ for this statement (n = 25 [64%] and n = 77 [62%] respectively). More than half (n = 140; 54.26%) of the respondents answered ‘agree’ to Q24, with the Malawians (n = 74; 61.16%) showing the highest percentage of respondents who chose ‘agree’. Less than half of the respondents chose ‘agree’ to Q25 that “*most people respect authority*”, while 60.08% (n = 155) chose ‘agree’, indicating that they believed that most people lack a proper level of respect for police officials (Q26). Also, 43.41% (n = 112) and 46.51(n = 120) chose ‘agree’ to Q27 and Q28 respectively. Almost half (n = 128; 49.61%) of the respondents chose to ‘agree’ that “*members of the community will not trust police officials enough to work together effectively*” (Q29), and 41.47% (n = 107) of the respondents chose ‘agree’ when answering Q30.

6.3.2 Data presentation tables

Table 5: Response rates of South African, Kenyan, and Malawian officers (Solidarity)

Item	Sample category	Strongly agree	Agree	No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Did not complete	Row total
1. I think that a police official should be one of the highest paid careers.	South Africa	14(35.90%)	22(56.41%)	0(0%)	3(7.69%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	39(100%)
	Kenya	39(39.80%)	36(36.73%)	0(0%)	12(12.24%)	11(11.22%)	0(0%)	98(100%)
	Malawi	61(50.41%)	42(34.71%)	3(2.48%)	8(6.61%)	7(5.79%)	0(0%)	121(100%)
	Total	114 (44.19%)	100(38.76%)	3(1.16%)	8(6.61%)	7(5.79%)	0(0%)	258(100)
2. I feel it is my duty to rid the country of its bad elements.	South Africa	5(12.82%)	33(84,62%)	1(2.56%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	39(100%)
	Kenya	36(36,73%)	52(53.06%)	0(0%)	9(9.18%)	1(1.02%)	0(0%)	98(100%)
	Malawi	32(26,45%)	65(53.72)	3(2.48%)	12(9.92%)	5(4.13%)	4(3.31%)	121(100%)
	Total	73(28,29%)	150(58.14)	4(1,55%)	21(8.14%)	6(2.33%)	4(1.55%)	258(100)
3. Police officials are careful of how they behave in public.	South Africa	10(25.64%)	25(64,1%)	1(2,56%)	3(7.69%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	39(100%)
	Kenya	27(27.55%)	48(48,98%)	0(0%)	19(19.39%)	4(4.08%)	0(0%)	98(100%)
	Malawi	35(28.93%)	70(57,85%)	0(0%)	8(6.61%)	6(4.96%)	2(1.65%)	121(100%)
	Total	72(27,91%)	143(55,43%)	1(0,39%)	30(11,63%)	10(3,88%)	2(0,78%)	258(100)
4. You don't understand what it is to be a police official until you are a police official.	South Africa	13(33,33%)	23(58,97%)	0(0%)	3(7.69%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	39(100%)
	Kenya	27(27,55%)	40(40.82%)	0(0%)	23(23,47%)	8(8,16%)	0(0%)	98(100%)
	Malawi	45(37,19%)	56(46,28%)	1(0,83%)	13(10,74%)	5(4,13%)	1(0,83%)	121(100%)
	Total	85(32,95%)	119(46,12%)	1(0,39%)	39(15,12%)	13(5,04%)	1(0,39%)	258(100)
5. Police officials have to look out for each other.	South Africa	13(33,33%)	25(64.10%)	0(0%)	1(2.56%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	39(100%)
	Kenya	26(26.53%)	40(40,82%)	0(0%)	22(22.45%)	10(10.20%)	0(0%)	98(100%)
	Malawi	45(37,19%)	63(52,07%)	2(1.65%)	10(8.26%)	0(0%)	1(0.83%)	121(100%)
	Total	84(32,95%)	128(49,61%)	2(0.78%)	33(12,79%)	10(3.88%)	1(0,39%)	258(100)
6. Members of the public, media and politicians are quick to criticise the police but seldom recognise the good that SAPS members do.	South Africa	18(46,15%)	20(51,28%)	0(0%)	1(2.56%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	39(100%)
	Kenya	30(30,61%)	42(42,86%)	0(0%)	17(17,35%)	8(8,16%)	1(1.02%)	98(100%)
	Malawi	52(42,98%)	55(45.45%)	2(1.65%)	6(4.96%)	3(2.48%)	3(2.48%)	121(100%)
	Total	100(38,76%)	117(45.35%)	2(0.78%)	24(9,30%)	11(4.26%)	4(1.55%)	258(100)
7. What does not kill a police official makes him or her stronger.	South Africa	2(5,13%)	35(89,74%)	1(2.56%)	1(2.56%)	0(0%)	0(0%)	39(100%)
	Kenya	29(29,59%)	40(40,82%)	0(0%)	24(24,49%)	5(5.10%)	0(0%)	98(100%)
	Malawi	27(22,31%)	46(38,02%)	11(9.09%)	23(19.10%)	10(8.26%)	4(3.31%)	121(100%)
	Total	58(22,48%)	121(46,90%)	12(4,65%)	48(18,60%)	15(5,81%)	4(1,55%)	258(100%)

8. Most members of the public don't really know what is going on 'out there'.	South Africa	8(20.51%)	28(71.79%)	0(0)	3(7.69%)	0(0)	0(0)	39(100%)
	Kenya	21(21.43%)	37(37.76%)	0(0)	31(31.63%)	8(8.16%)	1(1.02%)	98(100%)
	Malawi	25(20.66%)	64(52.89%)	2(1.65%)	18(14.88%)	12(9.92%)	0(0)	121(100%)
	Total	54(20.93%)	129(50.0%)	2(0.78%)	52(20.16%)	20(7.75%)	1(0.39%)	258(100%)
9. A good police official takes nothing at face value.	South Africa	9(23.08%)	30(76.92%)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	39(100%)
	Kenya	29(29.59%)	38(38.78%)	1(1.02%)	20(20.41%)	10(10.20%)	0(0)	98(100%)
	Malawi	29(23,97%)	70(57.85%)	6(4.96%)	12(9.92%)	1(0.83%)	3(2.48%)	121(100%)
	Total	67(25.97%)	138(53.49%)	7(2.71%)	32(12.40%)	11(4.26%)	3(1.16%)	258(100%)
10. To be a police official is not just another job it is a 'higher calling'.	South Africa	13(33.33%)	24(61.64%)	0(0)	2(5.13%)	0(0)	0(0)	39(100%)
	Kenya	35(35.71%)	36(36.73%)	1(1.02%)	18(18.18.37%)	8(8.16%)	0(0)	98(100%)
	Malawi	51(42.15%)	58(47.93%)	0(0)	7(5.79%)	3(2.48%)	2(1.65%)	121(100%)
	Total	99(38.37%)	118(45.74%)	1(0.39%)	27(10.47%)	11(4.26%)	2(0.78%)	258(100%)

Table 6: Response rates of South African, Kenyan, and Malawian officers (Isolation)

Item	Sample Category	Strongly agree	Agree	No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Did not complete	Row total
11. I tend to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I have become a police official.	South Africa	5	24	0	10	0	0	39
	South Africa %	12,82%	61,54%	0,00%	25,64%	0,00%	0,00%	100,00%
	Kenya N	15	36	0	35	12	0	98
	Kenya %	15,31%	36,73%	0,00%	35,71%	12,24%	0,00%	100,00%
	Malawi N	16	42	1	48	12	2	121
	Malawi %	13,22%	34,71%	0,83%	39,67%	9,92%	1,65%	100,00%
	TOTAL	**36**	**102**	**1**	**93**	**24**	**2**	**258**
	TOTAL %	**13,95%**	**39,53%**	**0,39%**	**36,05%**	**9,30%**	**0,78%**	**100,00%**

12. I prefer socialising with my colleagues to socialising with non-members.	South Africa N	4	26	0	9	0	0	39
	South Africa %	10,26%	66,67%	0,00%	23,08%	0,00%	0,00%	100,00%
	Kenya N	14	45	0	29	10	0	98
	Kenya %	14,29%	45,92%	0,00%	29,59%	10,20%	0,00%	100,00%

	Malawi N	11	54	6	36	12	2	121
	Malawi %	9,09%	44,63%	4,96%	29,75%	9,92%	1,65%	100,00%
	TOTAL	**29**	**125**	**6**	**74**	**22**	**2**	**258**
	TOTAL %	**11,24%**	**48,45%**	**2,33%**	**28,68%**	**8,53%**	**0,78%**	**100,00%**
13. I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the SAPS about my work.	South Africa N	3	27	0	9	0	0	39
	South Africa %	7,69%	69,23%	0,00%	23,08%	0,00%	0,00%	100,00%
	Kenya N	24	53	0	16	5	0	98
	Kenya %	24,49%	54,08%	0,00%	16,33%	5,10%	0,00%	100,00%
	Malawi N	37	70	1	10	2	1	121
	Malawi %	30,58%	57,85%	0,83%	8,26%	1,65%	0,83%	100,00%
	TOTAL	**64**	**150**	**1**	**35**	**7**	**1**	**258**
	TOTAL %	**24,81%**	**58,14%**	**0,39%**	**13,57%**	**2,71%**	**0,39%**	**100,00%**
14. Being a police official made me realise how uncooperative and non-supportive the courts are.	South Africa N	3	26	1	9	0	0	39
	South Africa %	7,69%	66,67%	2,56%	23,08%	0,00%	0,00%	100,00%
	Kenya N	16	48	1	27	6	0	98
	Kenya %	16,33%	48,98%	1,02%	27,55%	6,12%	0,00%	100,00%
	Malawi N	19	58	6	31	5	2	121
	Malawi %	15,70%	47,93%	4,96%	25,62%	4,13%	1,65%	100,00%
	TOTAL	**38**	**132**	**8**	**67**	**11**	**2**	**258**
	TOTAL %	**14,73%**	**51,16%**	**3,10%**	**25,97%**	**4,26%**	**0,78%**	**100,00%**

15. My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what	South Africa N	3	19	0	17	0	0	39
	South Africa %	7,69%	48,72%	0,00%	43,59%	0,00%	0,00%	100,00%
	Kenya N	18	49	2	25	4	0	98
	Kenya %	18,37%	50,00%	2,04%	25,51%	4,08%	0,00%	100,00%

being a police official is all about.	Malawi N	12	58	4	34	10	3	121
	Malawi %	9,92%	47,93%	3,31%	28,10%	8,26%	2,48%	100,00%
	TOTAL	**33**	**126**	**6**	**76**	**14**	**3**	**258**
	TOTAL %	**12,79%**	**48,84%**	**2,33%**	**29,46%**	**5,43%**	**1,16%**	**100,00%**
16. Shift work and special duties influence my socialising with friends outside the SAPS.	South Africa N	4	30	1	3	1	0	39
	South Africa %	10,26%	76,92%	2,56%	7,69%	2,56%	0,00%	100,00%
	Kenya N	18	50	0	22	8	0	98
	Kenya %	18,37%	51,02%	0,00%	22,45%	8,16%	0,00%	100,00%
	Malawi N	17	55	4	35	8	2	121
	Malawi %	14,05%	45,45%	3,31%	28,93%	6,61%	1,65%	100,00%
	TOTAL	**39**	**135**	**5**	**60**	**17**	**2**	**258**
	TOTAL %	**15,12%**	**52,33%**	**1,94%**	**23,26%**	**6,59%**	**0,78%**	**100,00%**
17. I feel like I belong with my work colleagues more every day, and less with people that I have to police.	South Africa N	8	24	0	7	0	0	39
	South Africa %	20,51%	61,54%	0,00%	17,95%	0,00%	0,00%	100,00%
	Kenya N	15	48	0	31	4	0	98
	Kenya %	15,31%	48,98%	0,00%	31,63%	4,08%	0,00%	100,00%
	Malawi N	15	57	7	32	8	2	121
	Malawi %	12,40%	47,11%	5,79%	26,45%	6,61%	1,65%	100,00%
	TOTAL	**38**	**129**	**7**	**70**	**12**	**2**	**258**
	TOTAL %	**14,73%**	**50,00%**	**2,71%**	**27,13%**	**4,65%**	**0,78%**	**100,00%**

18. As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the	South Africa N	7	30	0	2	0	0	39
	South Africa %	17,95%	76,92%	0,00%	5,13%	0,00%	0,00%	100,00%
	Kenya N	22	48	1	22	5	0	98
	Kenya %	22,45%	48,98%	1,02%	22,45%	5,10%	0,00%	100,00%

community, even in my social life.	Malawi N	38	68	3	9	1	2	121
	Malawi %	31,40%	56,20%	2,48%	7,44%	0,83%	1,65%	100,00%
	TOTAL	**67**	**146**	**4**	**33**	**6**	**2**	**258**
	TOTAL %	**25,97%**	**56,59%**	**1,55%**	**12,79%**	**2,33%**	**0,78%**	**100,00%**
19. I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public.	South Africa N	6	28	0	5	0	0	39
	South Africa %	15,38%	71,79%	0,00%	12,82%	0,00%	0,00%	100,00%
	Kenya N	26	43	0	20	9	0	98
	Kenya %	26,53%	43,88%	0,00%	20,41%	9,18%	0,00%	100,00%
	Malawi N	34	54	5	22	3	3	121
	Malawi %	28,10%	44,63%	4,13%	18,18%	2,48%	2,48%	100,00%
	TOTAL	**66**	**125**	**5**	**47**	**12**	**3**	**258**
	TOTAL %	**25,58%**	**48,45%**	**1,94%**	**18,22%**	**4,65%**	**1,16%**	**100,00%**
20. Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level.	South Africa N	9	25	3	2	0	0	39
	South Africa %	23,08%	64,10%	7,69%	5,13%	0,00%	0,00%	100,00%
	Kenya N	32	45	0	15	6	0	98
	Kenya %	32,65%	45,92%	0,00%	15,31%	6,12%	0,00%	100,00%
	Malawi N	21	64	7	20	6	3	121
	Malawi %	17,36%	52,89%	5,79%	16,53%	4,96%	2,48%	100,00%
	TOTAL	**62**	**134**	**10**	**37**	**12**	**3**	**258**
	TOTAL %	**24,03%**	**51,94%**	**3,88%**	**14,34%**	**4,65%**	**1,16%**	**100,00%**

Table 7: Responses of South African, Kenyan, and Malawian officers (Cynicism)

Item	Sample category	Strongly agree	Agree	No opinion	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Did not complete
21. Most people lie when answering	South Africa	8(20,51%)	27(69,23%)	2(5,13%)	2(5,13%)	0(0,00%))	0(0,00%)
	Kenya	33(33,67%)	47(47,96%)	1(1,02%)	13(13,27%)	4(4,08%)	0(0,00%)

questions posed by police officials.	Malawi	18(14,88%)	86(71,07%)	3(2,48%)	10(8,26%)	3(2,48%)	1(0,83%)
	TOTAL	**59(22,87%)**	**160(62,02%)**	**6(2,33%)**	**25(9,69%)**	**7(2,71%)**	**1(0,39%)**
22. Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble.	South Africa	3(7,69%)	18(46,15%)	0(0,00%)	18(46,15%)	0(0,00%)	0(0,00%)
	Kenya	19(19,39%)	51(52,04%)	0(0,00%)	25(25,51%)	2(2,04%)	1(1,02%)
	Malawi	13(10,74%)	58(47,93%)	0(0,00%)	38(31,40%)	9(7,44%)	3(2,48%)
	TOTAL	**35(13,57%)**	**127(49,22%)**	0(0,00%)	**81(31,40%)**	**11(4,26%)**	**4(1,55%)**
23. Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest.	South Africa	4(10,26%)	25(64,10%)	2(5,13%)	8(20,51%)	0(0,00%)	0(0,00%)
	Kenya	31(31,63%)	38(38,78%)	1(1,02%)	16(16,33%)	10(10,20%)	2(2,04%)
	Malawi	22(18,18%)	76(62,81%)	3(2,48%)	17(14,05%)	3(2,48%)	0(0,00%)
	TOTAL	**57(22,09%)**	**139(53,88%)**	**6(2,33%)**	**41(15,89%)**	**13(5,04%)**	**2(0,78%)**
24. Most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught.	South Africa	6(15,38%)	24(61,54%)	0(0,00%)	8(20,51%)	1(2,56%)	0(0,00%)
	Kenya	29(29,59%)	42(42,86%)	0(0,00%)	15(15,31%)	12(12,24%)	0(0,00%)
	Malawi	23(19,01%)	74(61,16%)	3(2,48%)	15(12,40%)	5(4,13%)	1(0,83%)
	TOTAL	**58(22,48%)**	**140(54,26%)**	**3(1,16%)**	**38(14,73%)**	**18(6,98%)**	**1(0,39%)**
25. Most people respect the authority of police officials.	South Africa	1(2,56%)	18(46,15%)	0(0,00%)	19(48,72%)	1(2,56%)	0(0,00%)
	Kenya	25(25,51%)	38(38,78%)	0(0,00%)	27(27,55%)	7(7,14%)	1(1,02%)
	Malawi	8(6,61%)	54(44,63%)	3(2,48%)	49(40,50%)	5(4,13%)	2(1,65%)
	TOTAL	**34(13,18%)**	**110(42,64%)**	**3(1,16%)**	**95(36,82%)**	**13(5,04%)**	**3(1,16%)**
26. Most people lack the proper level of respect for police officials.	South Africa	3(7,69%)	26(66,67%)	0(0,00%)	10(25,64%)	0(0,00%)	0(0,00%)
	Kenya	19(19,39%)	43(43,88%)	1(1,02%)	23(23,47%)	10(10,20%)	2(2,04%)
	Malawi	16(13,22%)	86(71,07%)	2(1,65%)	11(9,09%)	4(3,31%)	2(1,65%)
	TOTAL	**38(14,73%)**	**155(60,08%)**	**3(1,16%)**	**44(17,05%)**	**14(5,43%)**	**4(1,55%)**

27. Police officials will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively.	South Africa	2(5,13%)	19(48,72%)	0(0,00%)	18(46,15%)	0(0,00%)	0(0,00%)
	Kenya	15(15,31%)	42(42,86%)	2(2,04%)	29(29,59%)	10(10,20%)	0(0,00%)
	Malawi	22(18,18%)	51(42,15%)	2(1,65%)	35(28,93%)	10(8,26%)	1(0,83%)
	TOTAL	**39(15,12%)**	**112(43,41%)**	**4(1,55%)**	**82(31,78%)**	**20(7,75%)**	**1(0,39%)**

28. Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officials.	South Africa		25(64,10%)		13(33,33%)	1(2,56%)	0(0,00%)
	Kenya	14(14,29%)	40(40,82%)	0(0,00%)	31(31,63%)	13(13,27%)	0(0,00%)
	Malawi	12(9,92%)	55(45,45%)	5(4,13%)	42(34,71%)	5(4,13%)	2(1,65%)
	TOTAL	**26(10,08%)**	**120(46,51%)**	**5(1,94%)**	**86(33,33%)**	**19(7,36%)**	**2(0,78%)**
29. Members of the community will not trust police officials enough to work together effectively.	South Africa	1(2,56%)	26(66,67%)	0(0,00%)	12(30,77%)	0(0,00%)	0(0,00%)
	Kenya	14(14,29%)	47(47,96%)	0(0,00%)	27(27,55%)	9(9,18%)	1(1,02%)
	Malawi	7(5,79%)	55(45,45%)	5(4,13%)	44(36,36%)	8(6,61%)	2(1,65%)
	TOTAL	**22(8,53%)**	**128(49,61%)**	**5(1,94%)**	**83(32,17%)**	**17(6,59%)**	**3(1,16%)**
30. The community does not support the police and the police do not trust the public.	South Africa	3(7,69%)	19(48,72%)	1(2,56%)	16(41,03%)	0(0,00%)	0(0,00%)
	Kenya	15(15,31%)	41(41,84%)	2(2,04%)	30(30,61%)	10(10,20%)	0(0,00%)
	Malawi	16(13,22%)	47(38,84%)	5(4,13%)	39(32,23%)	12(9,92%)	2(1,65%)
	TOTAL	**34(13,18%)**	**107(41,47%)**	**8(3,10%)**	**85(32,95%)**	**22(8,53%)**	**2(0,78%)**

6.4 Study Objective Two

This objective was to establish the extent of early career police officers' adherence to police culture in the Kenya Police Service, the Malawi Police Service, and the South African Police Service.

6.4.1 Prevalence rates of the three police culture themes under study

The analysis begins with the macro-level question, which was: "*Are the indicators evincing the presence of traditional police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism amongst a sample of MPS, KPS and SAPS police officials with 0- 10 years of experience*?" To be able to answer this question, one must ask oneself: "*How isolated or cynical, as a general proposition, must the police be to assess whether one can conclude that the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism are sufficiently prevalent?*" This decision is somewhat unpredictable, but the traits must be present to an 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 was selected as the criterion, with a higher score demonstrating a greater presence of a particular police culture theme.

6.4.2 Overall mean score comparisons

Comparisons were conducted among the Kenyan, Malawian, and South African samples of early career police officers (less than 10 years' tenure).

Table 8 presents the mean scores and mean score percentages for the respondents' responses per police culture theme. Overall, Table 8 reflects the presence of indicators that evince of police culture themes of isolation, solidarity, and cynicism amongst the overall sample of MPS, KPS and SAPS officials. This table indicates that the majority of the cohort's responses were above the cut-off mean score of 24 (60%). Table 8 further reflects that the strongest attitudes of the police culture themes was solidarity, followed by isolation and then cynicism. More precisely, it can be noted that Table 8 indicates that the overall mean score and mean score percentages for the solidarity scale were 30,22 and 75,54%. The respondents from South Africa and Malawi scored

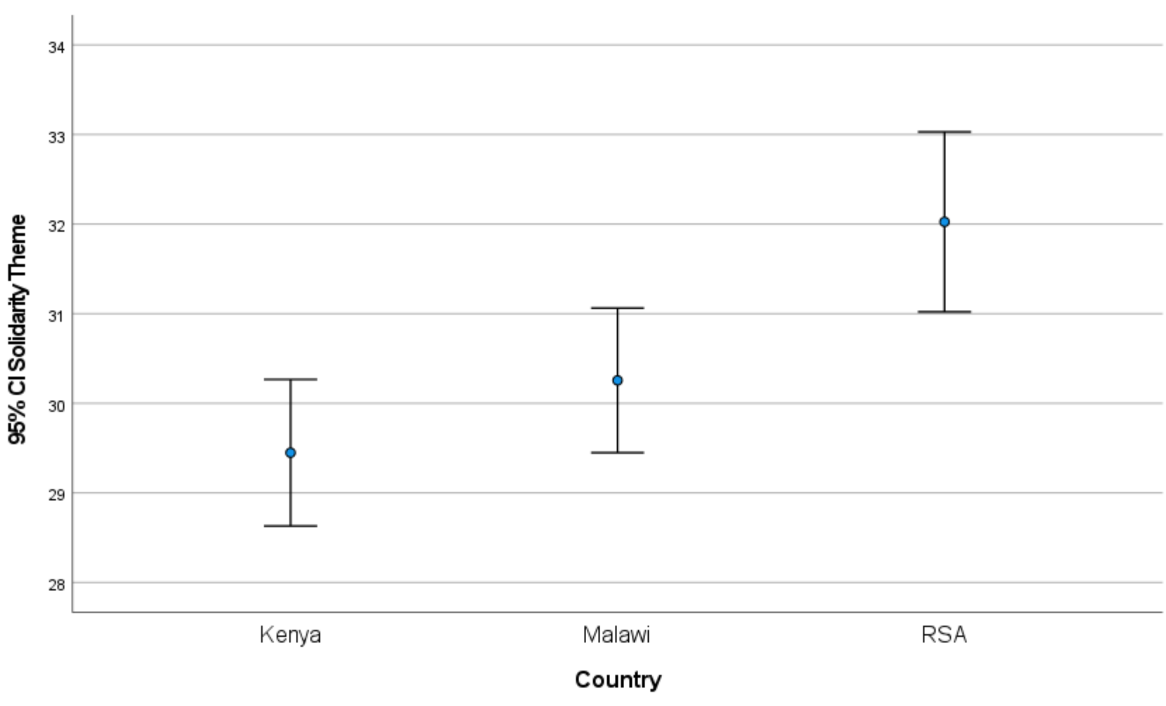
higher than the general solidarity scores of 32.04 and 30.26 respectively, while the respondents from Kenya scored lower than the general solidarity score at 29.45.

The overall mean score and mean score percentage for the isolation measure was 27,80 and 69,50% respectively. The respondents from the KPS (28.04) scored higher than the overall score, while respondents from the MPS (27.19) scored lower than the overall score for Isolation.

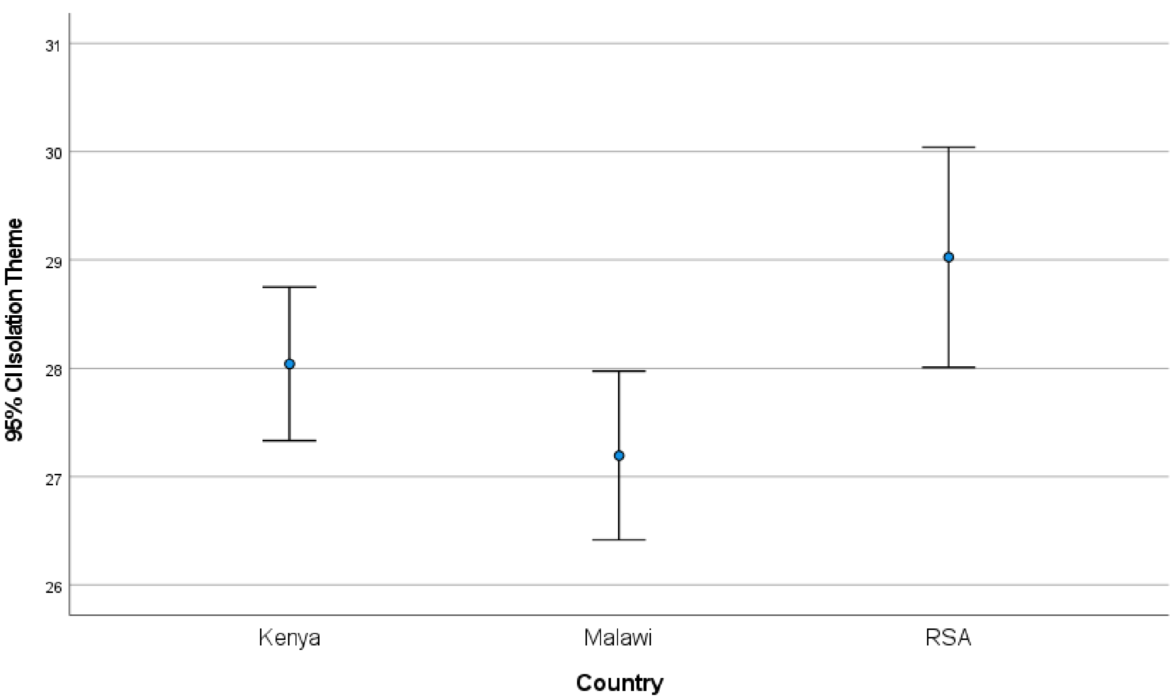
Lastly, the mean score and mean score percentage for the cynicism measure was 26,14 and 65,34% respectively. Recruits from Malawi and Kenya scored lower than the general score for cynicism (26.08 and 26.00 respectively). The combined score for the three themes for South Africa was 87.8, while it was 83.49 for Kenya and 83.4 for Malawi.

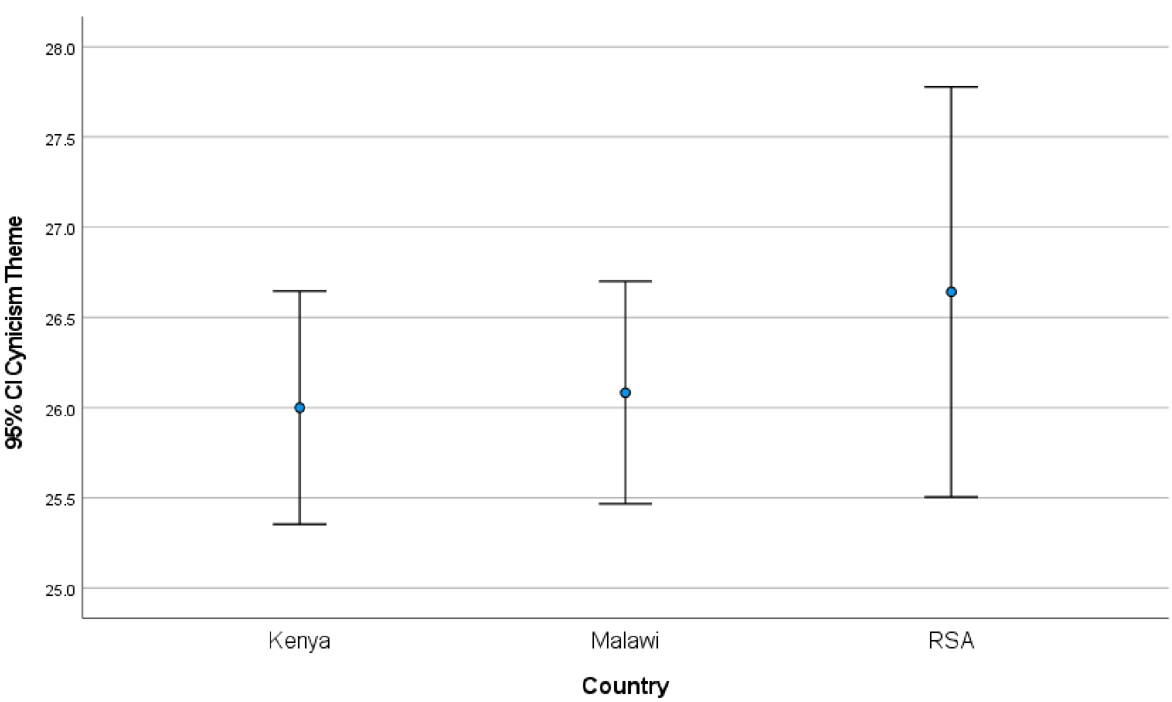
Table 8: Mean scores and percentages for police culture by country of service

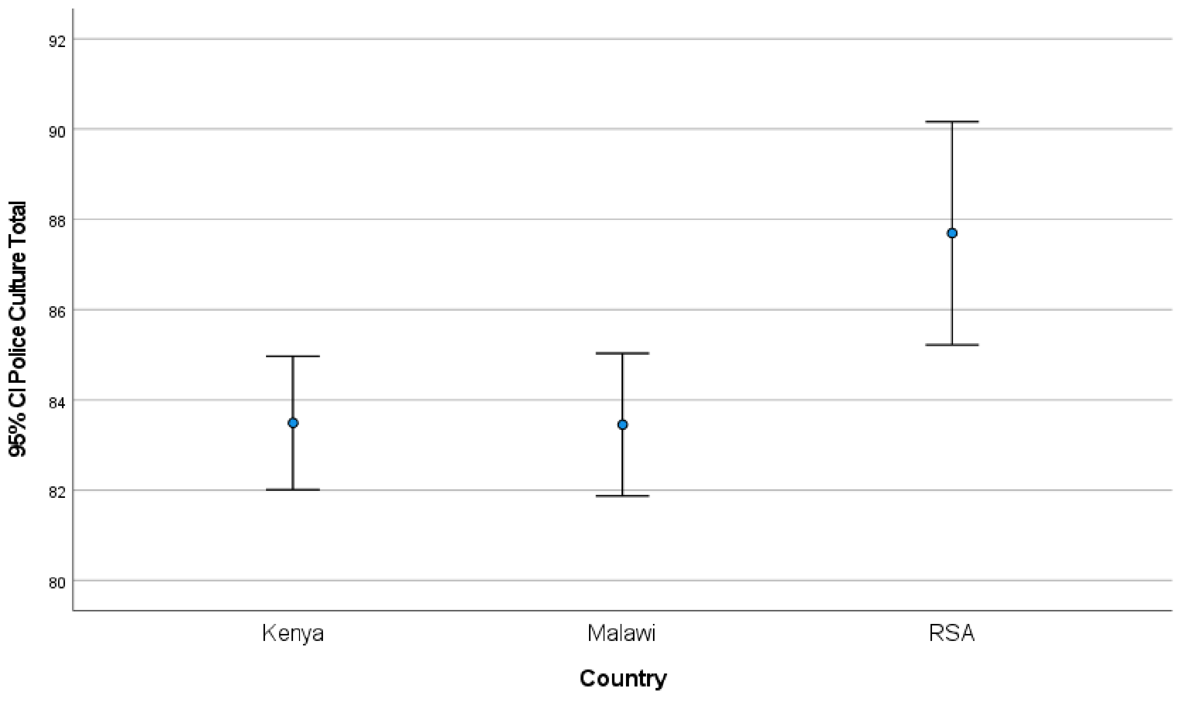
Police Culture	**South Africa**	**Kenya**	**Malawi**	**Overall**
Solidarity	**32.03**	**29.45**	**30.26**	***30.22***
%	80.06	73.62	75.64	75.54
Isolation	**29.03**	**28.04**	**27.19**	***27.80***
%	72.56	70.10	67.99	69.50
Cynicism	**26.64**	**26.00**	**26.08**	***26.14***
%	66.60	65.00	65.21	65.34
ROW TOTAL	87.69	83.49	83.45	84.12
%	73.08	69.57	69.54	70.10

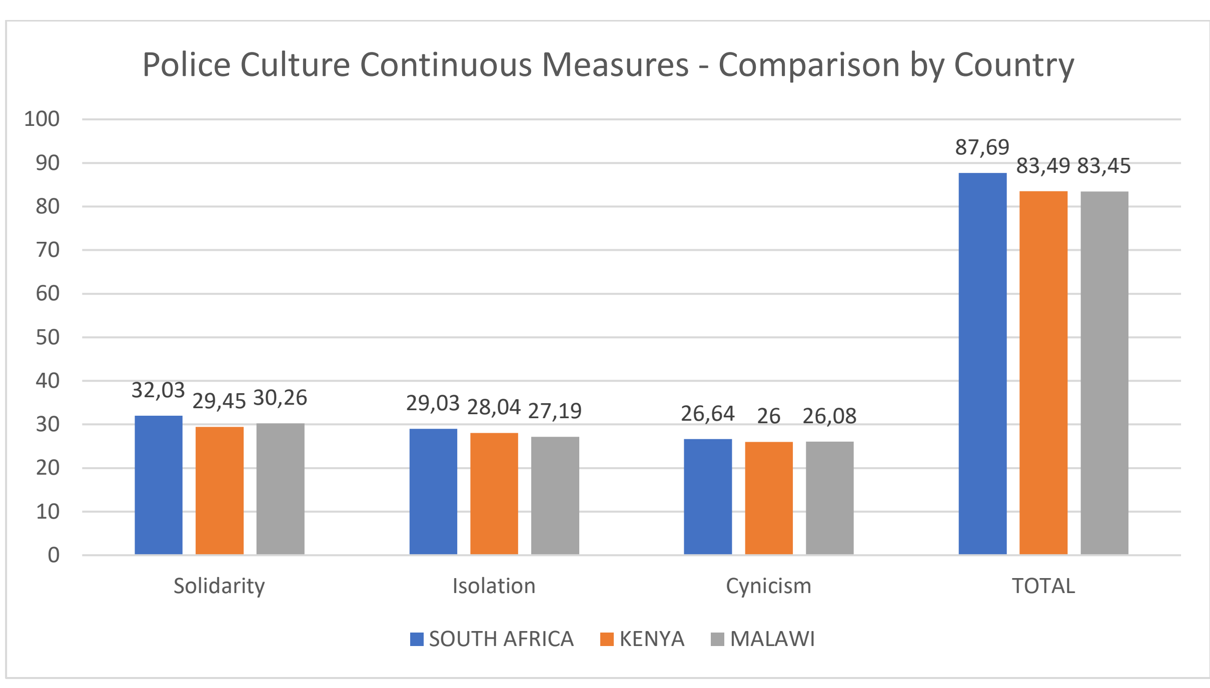


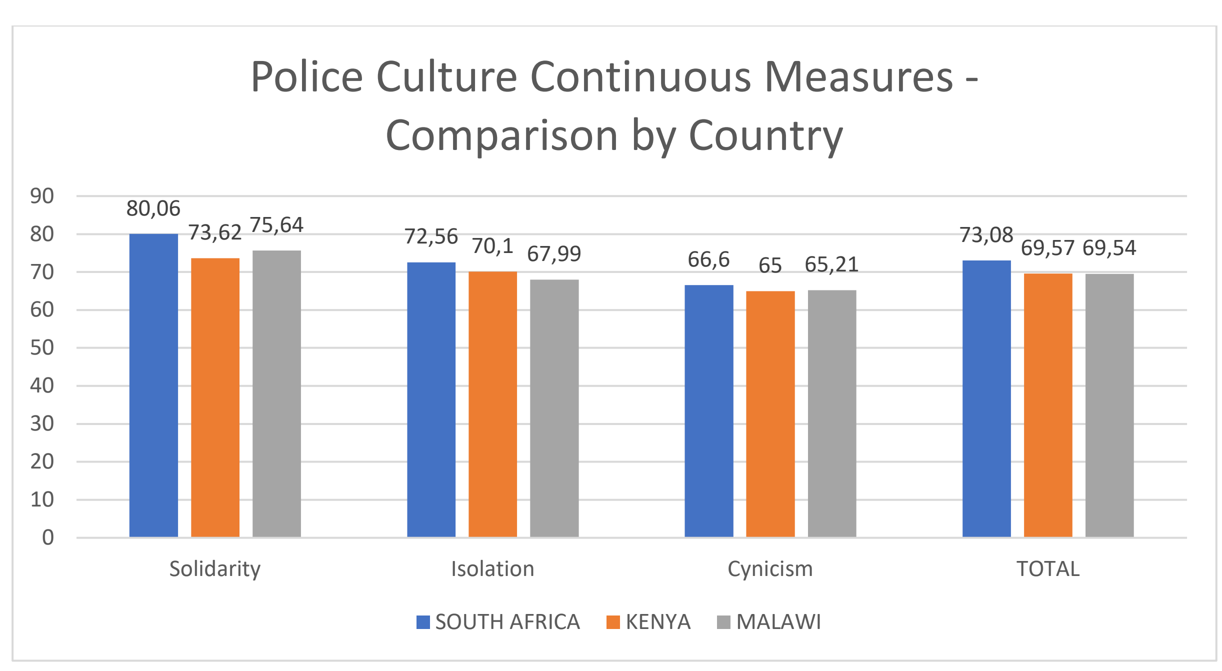
95% CI Solidarity Theme
34
33
32
31
30
29
28
Kenya
Malawi
RSA
Country


95% CI Isolation Theme
31
30
29
28
27
26
Kenya
Malawi
RSA
Country


95% CI Cynicism Theme
28.0
27.5
27.0
26.5
26.0
25.5
25.0
Kenya
Malawi
RSA
Country


95% CI Police Culture Total
92
90
88
86
84
82
80
Kenya
Malawi
RSA
Country


Police Culture Continuous Measures - Comparison by Country
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
32,03
29,45
30,26
29,03
28,04
27,19
26,64
26
26,08
87,69
83,49
83,45
Solidarity
Isolation
Cynicism
TOTAL
SOUTH AFRICA
KENYA
MALAWI



6.5 Study Objective Three

This objective was to compare the police culture attitudes of early career police officers in the Kenya Police Service and the Malawi Police Service with those of officers in the South African Police Service.

6.5.1 Differences in adherence to police theme Solidarity

Table 9: Tests of between-subject effects (Solidarity Theme)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	185.568[a]	2	92.784	5.389	.005
Intercept	190764.570	1	190764.570	11080.158	.000
Country	185.568	2	92.784	5.389	.005
Error	4390.277	255	17.217		
Total	240148.000	258			
Corrected Total	4575.845	257			

a. R Squared = 0.041 (Adjusted R Squared = 0.033)

Table 10: Multiple comparisons for the solidarity theme across countries

(I) Country	(J) Country	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Kenya	Malawi	-.81	.564	.154	-1.92	.30
	RSA	-2.58*	.786	.001	-4.12	-1.03
Malawi	Kenya	.81	.564	.154	-.30	1.92
	RSA	-1.77*	.764	.021	-3.27	-.26
RSA	Kenya	2.58*	.786	.001	1.03	4.12
	Malawi	1.77*	.764	.021	.26	3.27

The result in Table 9 above show a significant difference for the solidarity police culture theme across the three countries at 0.05 level of significance. Furthermore, Table 10 shows that the difference was more pronounced between the South African police and the Kenyan police, and between the South African and the Malawian police. The South African police had a significantly higher score for solidarity compared to Kenyan police (I-J = 2.58, p-value = 0.001). Similarly, the South African police had a higher score for the solidarity police culture theme compared to the Malawian police (I-J = 1.77, p-value = 0.021).

Table 11: Differences in responses to the solidarity theme for items Q1-Q10 across the three countries

	Q1 - I think that a police official should be one of the highest paid positions.	Q2 - I feel it is my duty to rid the country of its bad elements.	Q3 - Police officials are careful of how they behave in public.	**Q4 - You don't understand what it is to be a police official until you are a police official.**	**Q5 - Police officials have to look out for each other.**	**Q6 - Members of the public, media and politicians are quick to criticise the police but seldom recognise the good that POLICE members do.**	Q7 - What does not kill a police official makes him or her stronger.	Q8 - Most members of the public don't really know what is going on 'out there'.	Q9 - A good police official takes nothing at face value.	**Q10 - To be a police official is not just another job it is a 'higher calling.'**
Kruskal-Wallis H	3.302	4.802	1.808	**7.580**	**13.493**	**11.066**	4.200	5.804	3.301	**6.189**
Df	2	2	2	**2**	**2**	**2**	2	2	2	**2**
Asymp. Sig.	.192	.091	.405	**.023**	**.001**	**.004**	.122	.055	.192	**.045**

For the solidarity questions Q1-Q10, four questions (Q4, Q5, Q6, and Q10) showed significant differences between the three countries. This may possibly be attributed to a more laid-back attitude to policing in Kenya compared to Malawi and South Africa.

Table 12: Average scores for the solidarity questions and differences among the three countries

Country	Average for Q4	Average for Q5	Average for Q6	Average for Q10
South Africa	3,26	3,31	3,44	3,28
Kenya	2,88	2,84	2,97	2,98
Malawi	3,16	3,24	3,29	3,32
Total:	**3,07**	**3,1**	**3,19**	**3,18**

6.5.2 Differences in adherence to the theme of Isolation

Table 13: Tests of between-subject effects (Isolation)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	Df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	107.472[a]	2	53.736	3.643	.028
Intercept	160199.224	1	160199.224	10860.006	.000
Country	107.472	2	53.736	3.643	.028
Error	3717.328	252	14.751		
Total	200899.000	255			
Corrected Total	3824.800	254			

Table 14: Multiple comparisons for the Isolation theme across countries

(I) Country	(J) Country	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Kenya	Malawi	.85	.525	.108	-.19	1.88
	RSA	-.98	.727	.177	-2.42	.45
Malawi	Kenya	-.85	.525	.108	-1.88	.19
	RSA	-1.83*	.709	.010	-3.23	-.43
South Africa	Kenya	.98	.727	.177	-.45	2.42
	Malawi	1.83*	.709	.010	.43	3.23

Table 13 indicates a significant difference for the Isolation theme across the three countries (p-value = 0.028), particularly between Malawi and South Africa. The results indicate that the South African isolation score is significantly higher than the Malawian isolation score at 0.05 level of significance (I-J = 1.83, p-value = 0.010) (see Table 14).

Table 15: Difference in responses to the solidarity theme items Q11-Q20 across the three countries

	Q11 - I tend to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I have become a police official.	**Q12 - I prefer socialising with my colleagues to socialising with non-members.**	**Q13 - I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the POLICE about my work.**	Q14 - Being a police official made me realise how uncooperative and non-supportive the courts are.	Q15 - My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what being a police official is all about.	Q16 - Shift work and special duties influence my socialising with friends outside the POLICE.	**Q17 - I feel like I belong with my work colleagues more every day, and less with people that I have to police.**	**Q18 - As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the community, even in my social life.**	Q19 - I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public.	**Q20 - Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level.**
Kruskal-Wallis H	**6.015**	**6.285**	**9.571**	.194	4.314	4.541	**7.242**	**8.639**	.499	**6.246**
Df	**2**	**2**	**2**	2	2	2	**2**	**2**	2	**2**
Asymp. Sig.	**.049**	**.043**	**.008**	.907	.116	.103	**.027**	**.013**	.779	**.044**

The results in Table15 above reveal an interesting picture. For this theme, six questions show significant variance in their means (Q11, Q12, Q13, Q17, Q18, and Q20). Questions 11, 12 and 17 follow the usual trend of SAPS officers scoring high. However, Q13 (which addressed the issue of being a non-police officer) completely inverts this trend as in this case South African officers scored significantly lower than their counterparts. One possible explanation for this could be the after effect of apartheid – i.e., people might view police officers being silent about their work as suspicious (this links to the higher score for Q18 as well). Numerous community policing programmes have been conducted since 1994, and the Kenyan score for Q20 is also interesting as this score is as high (or similar to) the score for the South Africans.

Table16: Average scores of isolation questions that show the differences between the three countries

Country	Average for Q11	Average for Q12	Average for Q13	Average for Q17	Average for Q18	Average for Q20
South Africa	2,87	2,87	2,85	3,03	3,13	2,95
Kenya	2,55	2,64	2,98	2,76	2,87	3,05
Malawi	2,5	2,44	3,17	2,55	3,15	2,73
Total	**2,58**	**2,58**	**3,05**	**2,7**	**3,04**	**2,89**

6.5.3 Differences in adherence to the theme of Cynicism

Table 17: Tests of between-subjects effects (Cynicism)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	12.092[a]	2	6.046	.538	.585
Intercept	140283.917	1	140283.917	12475.615	.000
Country	12.092	2	6.046	.538	.585
Error	2856.141	254	11.245		
Total	178425.000	257			
Corrected Total	2868.233	256			

No significant difference emerged in the cynicism theme score across the three countries at 0.05 level of significance.

Table 18: Differences in responses to the cynicism theme for items Q21-Q30 across the three countries

	Q21 - Most people lie when answering questions posed by police officials.	**Q22 - Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble.**	Q23 - Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest.	Q24 - Most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught.	**Q25 - Most people respect the authority of police officials**.	Q26 - Most people lack the proper level of respect for police officials.	Q27 - Police officials will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively.	Q28 - Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officials.	Q29 - Members of the community will not trust police officials enough to work together effectively.	Q30 - The community does not support the police and the police do not trust the public.
Kruskal-Wallis H	3.317	**7.462**	2.016	.337	**7.415**	4.082	.925	1.393	5.479	.556
Df	2	**2**	2	2	**2**	2	2	2	2	2
Asymp. Sig.	.190	**.024**	.365	.845	**.025**	.130	.630	.498	.065	.757

Table19: Average scores for the cynicism questions that show differences between the three countries

Country	Average for Q22	Average for Q25
South Africa	2,38	2,51
Kenya	2,1	2,16
Malawi	2,36	2,38
Total	**2,27**	**2,32**

The responses to two questions showed significant variance in their means (Q22 and Q25).

6.5.4 Differences in adherence to the theme of Police Culture

Table 20: Tests of between-subject effects (Police Culture)

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	588.668[a]	2	294.334	4.585	.011
Intercept	1460597.911	1	1460597.911	22754.151	.000
Country	588.668	2	294.334	4.585	.011
Error	16111.789	251	64.190		
Total	1813968.000	254			
Corrected Total	16700.457	253			

Table 20 indicates significant differences in the aggregate police culture scores across the three countries at 0.05 level of significance.

Table 21: Multiple comparisons for Police Culture (total) across countries

(I) Country	(J) Country	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Kenya	Malawi	.04	1.097	.973	-2.12	2.20
	RSA	-4.20*	1.517	.006	-7.19	-1.22
Malawi	Kenya	-.04	1.097	.973	-2.20	2.12
	RSA	-4.24*	1.481	.005	-7.16	-1.32
RSA	Kenya	4.20*	1.517	.006	1.22	7.19
	Malawi	4.24*	1.481	.005	1.32	7.16

Table 21 shows a difference in the police culture scores between South Africa and Kenya and between South Africa and Malawi. South Africa has a higher Police Culture score than Kenya at 0.05 level of significance (I-J = 4.20, p-value = 0.006). Similarly, South Africa has a higher police culture score than Malawi at 0.05 level of significance (I-J = 4.24, p-value = 0.005).

6.6 Conclusion

This marks the end of the data analysis chapter in which the responses of a representative sample of KPS, MPS and SAPS early career recruits with zero to ten years working experience were presented. The research instrument that was used

was the thirty item questionnaire measuring the presence of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. In the next and final chapter of this thesis, the findings of the study will be discussed and some recommendations will be made.

CHAPTER 7: DATA INTERPRETATION AND CONCLUSIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the key research findings that emerged from the data that had been collected from early career police officials attached to the Malawi Police Service, the Kenya Police Service, and the South Africa Police Service. The tenure of the respondents was zero to ten (0-10) years. The findings of this study are discussed and contextualized in relation to relevant research studies and the broader literature that was reviewed in earlier chapters. This chapter presents the findings that answer the research questions. The limitations that impacted the study are discussed and pertinent recommendations are offered, the thesis is concluded with brief final remarks.

7.2 Answering the Research Questions and Addressing the Hypothesis

This study endeavoured to respond to the following research questions:

- Do early career police officials in the KPS, MPS and SAPS have attitudes in support of police culture themes solidarity, isolation, and cynicism?
- What is the extent of adherence to police culture among early career officials in KPS, MPS, and SAPS?
- Do early career officials in the KPS and the MPS have different or similar police culture adherence when compared to early South African career officials?

The study hypothesized that early career police officials in the Malawian and Kenyan police services would have police culture attitudes in support of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. Based on the findings that are discussed in more detail below, it can be stated that this hypothesis was accepted, as it was found that the early career police under study in the three police services undeniably possessed attitudes in support of the police culture themes solidarity, isolation, and cynicism. The study acknowledges that a variety of other items might have been used to measure adherence to the themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism in police culture, but this shouldn't be seen as a restriction on the current investigation. It is also clarified that the study does not assume a direct correlation between attitude and overt behaviour, nor does it draw any other conclusions regarding early career officials' attitudes and behaviours in the MPS, the KPS, and the SAPS.

7.3 Key Study Findings

7.3.1 Police culture attitudes of newly appointed police officers

The study findings reveal that early career police officials (i.e., those with 0 to 10 years' experience) in the Kenyan, Malawian, and South African police services possess police culture attitudes in support of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism. This finding is consistent with those of Steyn and Mkhize (2016), who posit that attitudes in support of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism are standard coping strategies among South African police officials, as was demonstrated in other countries as well.

The findings specifically depict that Malawian, Kenyan, and South African early career police officers possess strong attitude in support of the police culture theme of solidarity. For instance, most of the respondents felt that policing should be one of the highest paid careers in their respective countries. Furthermore, the findings suggest that early career police officials believe that it is their duty to eradicate bad elements that are prevalent in their respective organizations. The data affirm their strong sense of solidarity and the mutual support that exists in their respective police communities. This clearly strong sense of solidarity that emerged from the data may be attributed to the fact that group loyalty is crucial for teamwork, especially in the dangerous and uncertain field of law enforcement.

The findings also reveal that the respondents tended to socialise less with friends outside the police community than with their colleagues inside the police fraternity. They also preferred to maintain minimal communication with 'outsiders' beyond their work environment about their work. These findings affirm that early career police officials tend to isolate themselves from the community they live in and do not deem community members trustworthy. These findings are in support of the socialization theory which purports that police personality is a product of occupational socialization; thus the demands that are inherent in the work of a police officer shape the personality of individual officers. This notion is strongly supported and corroborated by Twersky-Glasner (2005) and Vastola (1978). In addition, Skolnick (2008) also proposes that police officers consider their fellow colleagues as insiders who are trustworthy, while outsiders (non-police officials) are viewed with suspicion.

The study findings further propose that early career police officers are cynical as the respondents indicated that they regarded most people as untrustworthy and dishonest. The respondents further believed that members of the community did not trust police officials enough to work effectively with them as required by the community policing philosophy. These results concur with the pre-disposition theory, which asserts that the characteristics usually associated with police personalities are those that reflect machismo, bravery, authoritarianism, cynicism, solidarity, conservatism, and aggression (Balch, 1977; Skolnick, 1977).

Overall, the findings of the current study suggest that solidarity, isolation, and cynicism are standard coping strategies among Kenyan, Malawian and South African early career police officials. These findings are consistent with those of Mkhize (2016), who also found that early career police officers in South Africa with 0-10 years' experience endorsed and adhered to the three police culture attitudes under study.

7.3.2 Extent of respondents' adherence to police culture

The findings further propose that the strongest police culture attitude among the respondents was solidarity, followed by isolation and cynicism. Although to varying degrees, these attitudes were therefore prevalent among the KPS, MPS, and SAPS early career police officials. It was interesting to note that the Malawian and South African early career officials had a higher attitude rating for solidarity compared to the Kenyan early career official respondents.

With regards to the police culture theme of isolation, the findings propose that the Kenyan police officials possessed the strongest predisposition for isolation, while the South African and Malawian police officials did not hold isolation in such high regard. To be more specific, the findings revealed that the Malawian officials possessed the lowest attitude rating for the isolation theme compared to their South African and Kenyan counterparts. Conversely, the South African early career police officials rated higher than their Malawian and Kenyan counterparts in terms of the police culture theme of cynicism. This means that South African early career police officials are more distrustful and cynical than their Kenyan and Malawian colleagues, which may be attributed to the highly volatile and distrustful apartheid era that the former country experienced. Having said this, it is acknowledged that all three countries were exposed to colonialism and various forms of discrimination and bias in that period.

7.3.3 Comparison of adherence to police culture among the three study sites

The study also set out to determine if early career police officials in Kenya and Malawi adhered to a different police culture compared to that of their South African counterparts. In this respect, the following key findings are pertinent.

- In relation to the police culture theme of solidarity, the South African police officers had a stronger sense of solidarity than the Kenyan and Malawian officers. The Malawian officers had the second highest sense of solidarity, while the Kenyan officers had the lowest. It is important to note that, while the rates of the prevalence of the theme of solidarity differed among the three groups, it was still relatively high in all three countries.

- In respect of the isolation theme, the South African officers also had the highest isolation rating, followed by that of the Kenyan officers. The Malawian officers had the lowest rating for this theme. For instance, the South African officials reported that they tended to socialise less with their friends outside the police than with their colleagues inside the police service. This may be attributed to the fact that African officers (who comprised the majority of the respondents) were previously trained by White officers, and this could have ingrained the idea of being set apart from their original community to be one of the 'good' ones. Although it was mentioned above that the South African officers felt more isolated from their communities than the Kenyan and Malawian officers, it is noteworthy that the Kenyan and Malawian officers' response to item 13 ("*I don't really talk in depth to people outside of the police regarding my work*") also rated high. This may be attributed to the fact that South Africa has significantly advanced its community policing programs compared to the other two countries that are at the infancy stage of this initiative at this point. It was also interesting to note that the Kenyan and South African officers' agreement rate with item 20 ("*Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level*") was high and quite similar.

- A comparison of the ratings for the police culture theme of cynicism among the three groups of officers revealed fairly similar attitudes, although the cynicism rating among the South African respondents was the highest.

Overall, the findings indicating the prevalence of adherence to police culture reveal a difference between South Africa and Kenya and between South Africa and Malawi. The South African early career police officers showed a higher adherence rate to

police culture than the Kenyan officers at an 0.05 level of significance (I-J = 4.20, p-value = 0.006). The South African officers also showed a higher adherence rate to police culture than the Malawians at 0.05 level of significance (I-J = 4.24, p-value = 0.005).

Based on the findings, the current study contends that, rather than a 'universal, homogeneous and objective police culture', what exists among early career police officers are cultures that develop through time and that are dependent on complicated individual and environmental elements that interact on a wide range of levels and dimensions.

7.4 Contribution of the study

The primary contribution this study makes to the police culture body of knowledge is its comparative nature. This is because a comparative study measuring the police culture attitudes of early career police officials from various African countries has never been empirically conducted before. This study therefore contributes new knowledge to the broader police culture literature and, more particularly, to the African police culture body of knowledge.

The current study further reveals that transformative measures (such as implementing community policing, strengthening police oversite bodies, and the wider employment of females and black educated young police officials) within police institutions in Africa have been implemented. However, these developments have not diminished or eliminated police culture attitudes, particularly in terms of police officers' tendency to adhere to the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism. The study proposes that these attitudes continue to thrive amongst early career police officials, and this means that these police culture attitudes are in juxtaposition to the aforementioned positive developments. These findings are underpinned by the socialization theory which asserts that police officials will acquire attitudes and adopt particular behaviours because of the manner in which they are introduced and socialised into the police institution where they are deployed.

7.5 Limitations

The main challenge that was faced by the researcher was obtaining gatekeepers letters from Malawi and Kenya Police Services; not procuring these essential documents on time subsequently caused a huge delay.

A disconcerting limitation that was experienced was the reluctance of identified potential respondents to participate in the study. This reluctance was caused by a sense of disappointment as some officers commented that research they had previously participated in had not directly benefited them in any way. This limitation meant that the sample was smaller than had been anticipated, yet it was overcome and sufficient data could be generated to address the objectives and aim of the study.

The advent of COVID-19 also posed a threat and was a limitation as the researcher was prevented from accessing the university and library as frequently as she had planned.

The most obvious limitation was the demarcation of the study to only three African countries. This limitation will be addressed in the recommendations section.

7.6 Recommendations

Based on the literature that was reviewed, the actual experience of conducting the study, the analysed findings, and the subsequent discussions, the current study recommends that future empirical research that focuses on police culture in Africa should be inclusive of more countries, particularly those in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region.

The literature that was consulted in support of this study revealed that community members in Kenya, Malawi, and South Africa have very little trust in the police. The findings also suggest that early career police officials in the Kenyan, Malawian, and South African police services have very little trust in community members and prefer to isolate themselves from their respective communities while building strong relations with their fellow police officers. The study therefore urges that relations between

communities and police officials in these countries be strengthened to ensure the effective implementation of crime combatting policies, crime preventative strategies, and community policing initiatives.

Further to the above, it is imperative that police institutions in Africa effectively collaborate with communities at grassroots level to achieve the community orientated policing ideal.

Police training programs and models should be designed and implemented that are relevant to the African context.

It is also recommended that a mixed methods police culture study be conducted. This seems an imperative as the police officials that formed part of this study expressed the need to expand on their responses through open-ended questions or semi-structured interviews rather than being restricted to closed-ended questions.

7.7 Conclusion

The researcher acknowledges that numerous studies on police culture have been conducted within both the international and South African contexts. However, no research could be traced that compared police culture attitudes among different African countries. The study clearly demonstrates quantitatively that early career police officials in Kenya, Malawi, and South Africa possess attitudes in support of the police culture components of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism which they adopt as coping strategies in performing their often difficult law enforcement duties. The study also proposes that early career police officials in South Africa have stronger police culture attitudes when compared to early career police officials from Malawi and Kenya. This means that concerted efforts should be made in Kenya, Malawi and South Africa, to amend the training programmes and acculturation and socialisation processes that novice police officers are exposed to when they enter the policing sphere for the first time, both as students and as qualified police officials.

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ANNEXURE 1- 30 ITEM POLICE CULTURE 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 early career police officers.

____

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

You are asked to choose between these five (5) options on each question by indicating your choice with a cross mark, **<u>for example</u>**:

STRONGLY DISAGREE	DISAGREE	I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	AGREE (marked with a cross)	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						
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 KPS	0-5 years	10 years	20 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	1 STRONGLY 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	1 STRONGLY 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	1 STRONGLY 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	1 STRONGLY 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	1 STRONGLY 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	1 STRONGLY 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	3 DISAGREE	0	2 AGREE	1 STRONGLY

	DISAGREE		I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION		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	1 STRONGLY 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	1 STRONGLY 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	1 STRONGLY AGREE

SECTION G: Police culture theme of cynicism					
21	Most people lie when answering questions posed by police officials.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	º 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	º I DO NOT HAVE AN OPINION	3 AGREE	4 STRONGLY AGREE
23	Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest.				
	4 STRONGLY DISAGREE	3 DISAGREE	º 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	º 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	º 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	º 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	º 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.					

ANNEXURE 2- UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL ETHICAL CLEARANCE

20 September 2018

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

Dear Ms Maweni

Protocol reference number: HSS/1542/017D
Project Title: Police Culture Isolation, Solidarity and Cynicism: An African criminological perspective on new recruits

Full Approval – Expedited Application

In response to your application received 5 September 2018, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol has 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

Professor Shenuka Singh (Chair)
Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committe

/pm

cc Supervisor: Dr Jean Steyn
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr Jean Steyn
cc. School Administrator: Ms Ayanda 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 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

1910 - 2010
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

ANNEXURE 3: GATEKEEPERS LETTER FROM NACOSTI

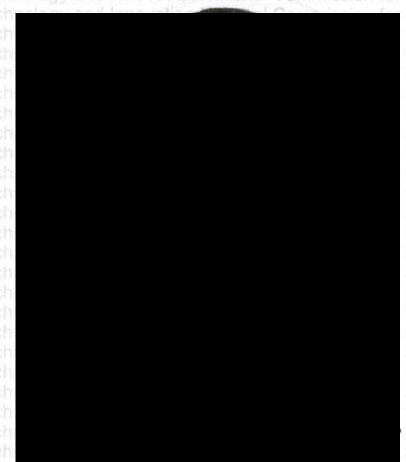
THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MISS. VUYELWA KEMISO MAWENI
of UNIVERSITY OF KWA OF KWA-ZULU NATAL, 61 Dawn West, Newlands West,newlands West, Durban-4037 Durban,has been permitted to conduct research in *Nairobi County*

on the topic: *POLICE CULTURE ISOLATION, SOLIDARITY AND CYNICISM: AN AFRICAN CRIMINOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON NEW RECRUITS.*

for the period ending:
25th July,2019

....
Applicant's Signature

Permit No : NACOSTI/P/18/99942/23925
Date Of Issue : 26th July,2018
Fee Recieved :Ksh 4000



National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

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NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

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2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax:+254-20-318245,318249
Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website : www.nacosti.go.ke
When replying please quote

NACOSTI, Upper Kabete
Off Waiyaki Way
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref: No. **NACOSTI/P/18/99942/23925**

Date: **26th July, 2018**

Vuyelwa Kemiso Maweni
University of Kwazulu Natal
SOUTH AFRICA

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on ***"Police culture isolation, solidarity and cynicism: An African criminological perspective on new recruits"*** I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **25th July, 2019.**

You are advised to report to **the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi County** before embarking on the research project.

Kindly note that, as an applicant who has been licensed under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 to conduct research in Kenya, you shall deposit **a copy** of the final research report to the Commission within **one year** of completion. The soft copy of the same should be submitted through the Online Research Information System.

RAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

The County Director of Education
Nairobi County.

CONDITIONS

1. The License is valid for the proposed research, research site specified period.
2. Both the Licence and any rights thereunder are non-transferable.
3. Upon request of the Commission, the Licensee shall submit a progress report.
4. The Licensee shall report to the County Director of Education and County Governor in the area of research before commencement of the research.
5. Excavation, filming and collection of specimens are subject to further permissions from relevant Government agencies.
6. This Licence does not give authority to transfer research materials.
7. The Licensee shall submit two (2) hard copies and upload a soft copy of their final report.
8. The Commission reserves the right to modify the conditions of this Licence including its cancellation without prior notice.

REPUBLIC OF KENYA

National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation

RESEARCH CLEARANCE PERMIT

Serial No.A 19745

CONDITIONS: see back page

Technology and Innovation National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation National Commission for Science, Technology and In

ANNEXURE 4: MALAWI GATEKEEPERS

Address: POLGEN LILONGWE 3
Telephone: 01796 333 / 01796 784
Fax 01 797 979
E-mail: inspectorgeneral@malawipolice.org

In reply please quotes IG/C/3/19/1

REPUBLIC OF MALAWI

OFFICE OF THE INSPECTOR GENERAL

National Police Headquarters
Private Bag 305
Capital City
LILONGWE 3

3rd July, 2018

Miss Vuyelwa Maweni
University of Kwazulu- Natal
School of Applied Human Sciences MTB F191
Howard College Campus

REQUEST FOR DATA COLLECTION FROM THE MALAWI POLICE SERVICE RECRUITS

I have been directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter dated 24th May, 2018 in respect of the above captioned matter.

I am pleased to inform you that the Inspector General welcomes the idea of conducting such a distinctive research because it will be very important in assisting the Malawi Police Service to assess the general behaviour of the recruits during and their perception of training.

However, it is of the view of the Inspector General that the data collection will not be possible at the mean time because there are no

recruits in our Police Training Institutions. You will be notified once the next recruits training commences so that if it will be within your study time, you can come for the data collection.

Yours faithfully,

SERVICE ADMINISTRATION OFFICER
09 JUL 2018
NATIONAL POLICE HEADQUARTERS
PRIVATE BAG 305, CAPITAL CITY
LILONGWE 3

Mwabi Kaluba, DCP
SERVICE ADMINISTRATION OFFICER
For/THE INSPECTOR GENERAL OF POLICE

ANNEXURE 5: TURNITIN REPORT

Turnitin Originality Report

Processed on: 21-Jun-2023 11:29 AM CAT
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Word Count: 49715
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Thesis By Vk Maweni

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