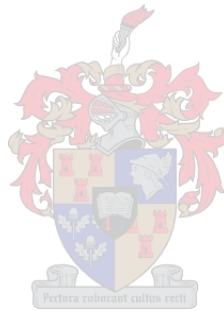


Are you man enough? A case study of how masculinity is represented and experienced in the South African Police Service

by

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

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Abstract

The occupation of policing is one that is traditionally associated with men and regarded as a masculine sphere. The South African Police Service (SAPS) is no exception. My thesis seeks to investigate how masculinity is experienced by male and female officers in the SAPS in one specific police station in the Western Cape. Connell's (1995) three-fold model of the structure of gender in society is used to understand masculinity, along with her distinction between hegemonic and subordinated forms of masculinity. According to this model, gender is structured through power relations, production relations and cathexis.

Through an analysis of organisational police culture operating at three levels - formal, institutional and 'canteen' (or informal) – I explore the experiences of police officers in this regard. Each of these levels offers a different arena of analysis for understanding the culture of policing in the South African context.

In my discussion, I highlight that although Connell's model of how masculinity is constructed is useful for understanding the dynamics of police culture across these different levels, the experience of masculinity by both male and female police officers has to be understood as a complex process. The idea of a simple hegemonic masculinity is too limiting in understanding gender dynamics and relationships within the institution. My thesis also argues that, within the confines of the SAPS, there is a need to value certain traits perceived as 'masculine', such as physical strength, while also taking into consideration the value of other attributes generally perceived as 'feminine', such as compassion. The acceptance of a more androgynous police service, with more space for personnel to move between socially accepted gender roles and expectations, is needed. The valuing of these traits should not be gender-specific, but should create opportunities for officers to be able to display both 'masculine' and 'feminine' traits and engage in 'masculine' and 'feminine' duties, regardless of their gender.

The field research was located at a single police station, referred to as The Dorp Police Station. A qualitative, case study methodology was employed, drawing extensively on in-depth interviews with individual officers along with limited informal and participant observation at the police station. Content analysis of the online version of the official police journal provided an

additional source of data for the study. The study also involved an engagement with general and South African literature on masculinity, policing and police culture.

Opsomming

Die beroep van polisiëring word tradisioneel beskou as 'n manlike bedryf. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Polisie (SAPD) is geen uitsondering nie. My tesis poog om ondersoek in te stel oor hoe 'manlikheid'¹ deur beide manlike en vroulike beamptes in die SAPD by 'n spesifiek polisiestadie in die Wes-Kaap ervaar word. Connell (1995) se drievoudige model van die struktuur van gender in die samelewing word deur die loop van hierdie tesis gebruik om 'manlikheid' te verstaan. Tesame hiermee word daar onderskeid getref tussen 'hegemoniese'² en ondergeskikte vorme van 'manlikheid'. Volgens hierdie model is gender gestruktureer deur magsverhoudinge, produksieverhoudinge en Cathexis.

In hierdie tesis ondersoek ek die ervarings van polisiebeamptes rakende die drie vlakke - formele, institusionele en 'kantien' of informele kultuur - waarop polisie-kultuur in organisasies funksioneer. Elkeen van hierdie vlakke bied 'n ander gebied van analise wat 'n beter verstandhouding van die polisie-kultuur in die Suid-Afrikaanse konteks bied.

In my bespreking beklemtoon ek dat, alhoewel Connell se model rakende die konstruksie van manlikheid in die samelewing 'n nuttige hulpmiddel is om die dinamika van polisie-kultuur oor die bogenoemde vlakke te verstaan, moet daar in ag geneem word dat die ervarings van 'manlikheid' van mans en vroue in die polisie 'n komplekse proses behels. Die idee van 'n eenvoudige 'hegemoniese manlikheid' is te beperk vir die verstaan van gender dinamika en die verhoudings in die instansie. My tesis beweer ook dat daar 'n behoefte in die SAPD is om waarde te heg aan eienskappe wat as 'manlik' beskryf word, soos bv. fisiese krag. Terselfdetyd word daar ook waarde geheg aan eienskappe wat as 'vroulik' beskou word, soos bv. deernis. Daar is 'n behoefte vir die aanvaarding van 'n meer androgene polisie diens met meer geleentheid en ruimte vir lede om tussen sosiaal aanvaarbare genderrolle en -verwagtinge te beweeg. Die waardering van hierdie eienskappe behoort nie gender-spesifiek te wees nie, maar moet eerder geleentheid skep vir lede om beide 'manlike' en 'vroulike' pligte te voltooi, ongeag van hul gender.

¹ 'Manlikheid' as vertaling vir 'Masculinity'.

² 'Hegemoniese' as vertaling van 'Hegemonic'.

Die veldwerk is gedoen by 'n enkele polisiestatie, waarna verwys word as Die Dorp Polisiestatie. 'n Kwalitatiewe metodologie wat wat 'n gevallestudie behels is gebruik tydens die studie. Daar is gebruik gemaak van indiepte onderhoude met individuele beamptes asook beperkte informele deelnemende waarneming by die polisiestatie. 'n Aanvullende bron van data vir die studie was gevind in die vorm van 'n inhoudsanalise van die amptelike aanlynpolisiejoernaal. Daar is ook in diepte gekyk na die algemene Suid-Afrikaanse literatuur rakende 'manlikheid', polisiëring en polisie-kultuur.

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List of Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
CAQDAS	Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software
EHW	Employee Health and Wellness
GEI	Gender Equality Index
HSRC	Human Science Research Council
ICD	Independent Complaints Directorate
PEP	Performance Enhancement Process
SADF	South African Defence Force
SANDEF	South African National Defence Force
SAP	South African Police
SAPS	South African Police Service
UK	United Kingdom
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
USA	United States of America

Chapter 1: Introduction

Upon first entering The Dorp³ Police Station, my study site, on a cool April morning, I was met with the familiar blandness of a bureaucratic institution built in South Africa during the 1970s. It has the same subdued colours that public schools and post offices display, with the only interruption of bold colour coming from a few office plants and some official posters motivating officers to “squeeze crime to zero”. Outside, a police siren shrieked intermittently. I walked past a line of people waiting to be helped at the general counter and, after explaining that I had a meeting with the senior officer at the station, was directed up a flight of muted stairs. While waiting in a frayed, brown lounge chair for the head of the police station to appear, I noticed how some decorative efforts had been made to brighten the hallways and offices. But although the curtains were flowered, the impression generated by the space was by no means a feminine one. Rather, the official notifications on the walls and the mixed smells of old paper and polished linoleum tiles created the impression of a generic institutional space.

While I waited I was greeted by several officers, male and female, mostly white and coloured in terms of ethnicity and speaking Afrikaans. Their uniforms were the familiar navy blue we associate with authority in South Africa; shirts were pressed, hats adorned with the proverbial gold star, and weapons neatly displayed on the hip. I also noticed how a junior officer greeted his superior: back straight, feet together. Constable Jacobs later told me that this is known as *strek* (stretching) and it is considered the appropriate style of greeting between a junior officer and his superior, to show respect and thereby keep discipline in place. The general setting, the display of hierarchy, the bureaucracy, formalities, rituals, uniforms and posters – all made it clear that in this institution there is a certain way that things are done. One is constantly reminded that this is, after all, a police station.

My first impressions of The Dorp Police Station confirmed the relevance of my research project, which is on the manner in which masculinity is represented and experienced within the South African Police Service (SAPS) through a case study of one police station in the Western Cape. Policing in South Africa has been described as “much too macho” (Keehn and Peacock, 2011)

³ The Dorp can literally be translated as The Town and will hereafter be used to identify the research site.

and the repeated emphasis on masculinity in the literature on policing has directed me to explore the organisational culture involved in the institution. More specifically, my study explores the extent to which the SAPS can be regarded as a ‘masculine institution’ in Connell’s terms (1995: 73), and what the experiences of both male and female officers in the study site might be in this regard.

The study is premised on the assumption that masculinity is a significant feature of the organisational culture of policing. The strong link between masculinity, in its hegemonic form involving a particular set of attributes and values that include physical aggression and toughness, and policing has been extensively explored in North America (Rabe-Hemp, 2007; Franklin, 2005) and Europe (Westmarland, 2001; Dick and Jankowicz, 2001; Fielding, 1994; Waddington, 1999; Little, Stevens and Whittle, 2002). The link between policing and masculinity has been underexplored in South Africa, but has recently been receiving attention from authors such as Meyer and Steyn (2009), Kingshot and Prinsloo (2004) and Morrison (2004). The literature suggests that a masculinised organisational culture can be regarded as either beneficial or detrimental to the effectiveness of policing. Much of the literature on police culture emphasises how certain features exert a malign influence and removing them is therefore essential for the improvement of policing. Brewer (1990), however, shows how certain aspects of police culture which could be classified as masculine in orientation could be seen as functional coping strategies in situations where the possibility of danger is imminent. He uses the example of the Northern Irish Police, who were under constant threat of violence at the time. The fatalistic attitude of police officers that was associated with the dominant police culture was a way of coping with fearful realities that might otherwise have been seen as overwhelming.

This study is interested in whether a similar argument might apply in South Africa, where members of the SAPS are also considered to be under constant threat of violence. Its primary concern is with the ways in which masculinity is portrayed and shaped in and through the organisational culture of the police service and the experiences of ordinary male and female police officers in this regard. In this introductory chapter I summarise briefly the key concepts and research design used in this study. Section one below describes how I understand the constructs of police culture, masculinity and intersectionality. The second section provides introductory comments on the formal commitment to gender equality within the SAPS. Section

three outlines the research problem and rationale while section four identifies the main research questions and central features of the research design. The final section provides the chapter outline for the remainder of this thesis.

1. Key concepts utilised in the study

The key concepts used in this study are ‘police culture’ (further divided in terms of official culture, institutional culture and ‘canteen’ or informal culture), masculinity (including the idea of ‘hegemonic masculinity’) and ‘intersectionality’. These concepts are briefly defined here in order to ensure a better understanding of the rationale behind this study and the delineation of my research problem and research questions. A more detailed discussion of the conceptual framework follows in Chapter 2.

Police culture

Understanding how a specific organisation functions goes beyond understanding the simple rules and aims of the organisation. Jermier, Slocum, Fry and Gaines (1991: 170) define organisational culture as the “basic, taken-for-granted assumptions and deep patterns of meaning shared by organisational participants and manifestations of these assumptions and patterns.” This definition foregrounds both the assumptions and the behavioural expression of these assumptions in the context of the particular organisation under investigation.

The culture of any organisation can be understood as operating on multiple levels. While a distinction is often made between the official and the unofficial culture of an organisation, including in relation to policing, my study offers an understanding of the organisational culture within the SAPS that looks at its operation across three levels: firstly, formal or official culture, secondly, what I am terming institutional culture, and thirdly, the informal or unofficial culture, or what is commonly described as ‘canteen’ culture in the literature. As described more fully in the next chapter, formal culture refers to the rules and regulations governing values and behaviour that are set out in the official documents of the SAPS, including its Code of Ethics and Code of Conduct. These are the ‘by the book’ standards that govern the occupation of policing

(Waddington, 2008:1). Jermier *et al.* (1991) emphasise that the formal or official culture of the police is characterised by extensive formalisation and bureaucracy.

The second level, that of institutional culture, has been introduced into this study to describe a level that functions somewhere between the formal, 'by-the-book' culture espoused in official documents and the informal culture at work among ordinary members in their day-to-day operations. This quasi-official level encompasses the set of values and statements about appropriate police behaviour that are made by the senior leadership of the SAPS and propagated as part of the proper functioning of policing. They do not necessarily conform to all elements of the formal culture of the organisation but carry considerable authority within the institution. This level of police culture thus derives from the official culture as proposed by Jermier *et al.* (1991). However, it may go beyond and even contradict the official, written rules and regulations governing the conduct of the SAPS in certain respects.

The third level, informal or canteen culture, refers to the unofficial culture of policing and is defined by Waddington (2008: 1) as

the mix of informal prejudices, values and working practices commonly found among lower ranks of the police that influence the exercise of discretion. It also refers to the police's solidarity, which may tolerate corruption and resist reform.

The day-to-day experiences of ordinary officers are essential in understanding this level of police culture. The views of officers on grassroots level do not necessarily reflect the values stipulated in the formal culture or the ideals propagated on the institutional level. Kingshot and Prinsloo (2004:11) describe this as the level where 'real' policing is experienced by the operational members of policing organisations.

Masculinity and gender

The understanding of masculinity used in this study draws on the definition provided by Leach (1994: 36), who stated that "unlike the biological state of maleness, masculinity is a gender identity constructed socially, historically and politically. It is the cultural interpretation of maleness, learnt through participation in society and its institutions". The definition of masculinity is closely linked to, and cannot be understood apart from the concept of gender.

According to Connell (1995: 71) “‘Masculinity’ ... is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practice through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture.”

For this specific study the account of gender proposed by Connell (1995: 71) will be employed:

Gender is a way in which social practice is ordered. In gender processes, the everyday conduct of life is organized in relation to a reproductive arena, defined by the bodily structures and processes of human reproduction.

She proposed a three-fold model of the structure of gender which distinguishes between relations of power, production relations and ‘cathexis’ (or emotional attachment). Connell goes on to explain that while both men and women engage with gender, Western societies (as with most others) are historically patriarchal. Contemporary society is based on gender relations which generally accord social, political and economic dominance to men above women and affirm the pre-eminence of values associated with what Connell (1995: 64) describes as “hegemonic’ masculinity”. Masculinity as a social construction thus reflects and reinforces gender systems in which men are traditionally dominant and women in positions of submission. In the context of this study, the cultural values associated with hegemonic masculinity in particular include the traits Waddington has recognised as part of the “cult of masculinity” (1999: 298). These attributes typically pertain to those listed in Bem’s (1974) sex role inventory and include aggressiveness, assertiveness, forcefulness and willingness to take risks.

The extent to which they feature in the organisational culture of the SAPS is a key focus of attention in this study, across all three levels of police culture identified above.

Intersectionality

Connell’s model, which is expanded upon in the next chapter, is considered particularly useful for an analysis of masculinity within the SAPS. However, it is important to recognise at the start that masculinity cannot be understood as an isolated construct but has to be considered in relation to other aspects of social identity. Here the concept of intersectionality is useful. Davis (2008: 75) explains how the term provides a useful visual imagery of how identity is constructed at the

crossroads or intersection of different aspects of identity and how this can be applied in different contexts and in specific social situations or locations. She defines intersectionality as

the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of differences in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power (Davis, 2008: 68).

2. Background: the promotion of gender equality within the SAPS

Although the research project focuses on an individual research site, it is clear that the police culture found at this one site has been shaped by the country's tumultuous past, and that masculinity and police culture at The Dorp Police Station can only be understood if this is taken into account. This history is discussed more fully in Chapter 4 below. However, at this point some brief comments on the official commitment to gender equality within the SAPS are considered appropriate.

In South Africa the 1990s was a decade marked by far-reaching change, not just at the level of the government, but in the wider society. The need for transformation and change was especially urgent within the then South African Police (SAP). At the time the institution was faced with a severe crisis of legitimacy among the majority of South African citizens. During the apartheid era, the SAP had been tasked with the responsibility of enforcing a brutal and racist regime. Newham, Masuku and Dlamini (2006: 5) describe the transformation as follows:

From a militant and racist organisation serving the interests of a numerically small white elite, moves were made to transform the SAPS onto (*sic*) a democratic institution that would reflect the demographic diversity of a country and serve the interest of all South Africans.

One of the first tasks at hand was to unite the then eleven policing agencies into one amalgamated South African Police Service (SAPS). Before 1995, each of the ten black homelands established by the apartheid government had its own policing agency with its own uniforms, rank structures and conditions of service. The eleven police agencies (the ten homeland organisations and the old SAP) were united under the new SAPS and on January 29th 1995 General George Fivaz was appointed its first National Commissioner (SAPS, 2011a). This amalgamation was accompanied by other major organisational changes, including around

representivity within the service, not only in terms of race⁴ (which has received considerable research attention (Rauch, 2000; Brewer, 1994; Brogden and Shearing, 1993; Marais, 2008)), but also in terms of gender. The stated aim of the new SAPS was to establish an organisation that reflected the “demographic diversity of the country and serve[d] the interests of all South Africans” (Newham *et al.*, 2006: 5). At the time of the transition to democracy, commentators including Stevens and Yach (1995) and Van Rooyen (1994) emphasised that the biggest challenge the new SAPS faced was to become a representative service to society and to change the historically negative attitude within the police force towards historically oppressed groups.

The SAPS is still faced with considerable challenges in this area, not least with regard to the promotion of gender equality. Gender equality features as a core value in South Africa’s post-apartheid Constitution (Act 108 of 1996). Its Bill of Rights protects the citizens of the country and includes the right to equality in terms, *inter alia*, of race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic origin, sexual orientation, culture disability and age (clause 9). While much has been achieved in terms of gender equality and the rights of women, certain major problems persist. When considering that South Africa has one of the highest incidences of rape and domestic violence (Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002), elevated infection levels of HIV among women (Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, Gray, McIntyre and Harlow, 2004) and poor maternal mortality (Pattinson, 2003), it is clear that much remains to be done.

While, as discussed more fully in Chapter 4, the SAPS aspires to be representative in terms of gender, in practice it is still a heavily male-dominated structure. In 2010 75.4% of the sworn-in police officials were men (SAPS, 2011b). However, compared to the rest of the world, South Africa has a relatively high rate of female employment within the police (at just under 24%). In this respect it compares favourably with Australia and the United Kingdom (UK), and very well in relation to the United States of America (USA). Australia and the USA have female police employment rates of 21% and 12% respectively (SAPS, 2011b). In 2006, the UK had a 20% female employment rate in the police force (Office for UK National Statistics, 2007).

⁴ For this study, the observation made by Newham *et al.* (2007: 11) is drawn upon to justify the use of apartheid-era categories to define ‘race’ classification will be used throughout. They noted the following on race categories: “these four racial classifications [White, Black, Indian and Coloured] were invented as legal classifications during the apartheid era and are still in use today, primarily as a means of assessing the success of policies and legislation promoting racial equity”.

3. Research problem and rationale

Linking issues around masculinity to an investigation into the complexities of police culture, the research problem that this thesis addresses can be summarised as follow. The official policy of the SAPS promotes the principle of gender equality but the scholarly literature on policing in this country and elsewhere shows that the police force demonstrates a strongly masculinised culture (that is, one infused with the values of masculinity such as physicality, toughness and aggression) which is likely to impact on men and women officers in particular ways. Understanding the experience of male and female police officers in this regard is thus important for an understanding of the functioning of the police force, which is facing many organisational and societal challenges. At the same time, although most theorists tend to label a masculinised police culture as necessarily detrimental, it is considered worth investigating if certain aspects of a masculinised police culture may be beneficial to the effectiveness of the service in a society displaying high levels of criminality and violence.

Rationale

Although South Africa entered the democratic arena after the 1994 elections, the country is still plagued by social ills such as poverty, unemployment, HIV/AIDS and a worrying Human Development ranking of 110 (out of 148 countries) according to the United Nations Human Development Report (UNDP, 2010). Furthermore, high levels of gender-based violence against women indicate that although the principle of gender equality is enshrined in the South African Constitution, this is far from being realised in practice and for most South Africans, male dominance over women is, rather, the norm in everyday life. The crime rate in the country is also amongst the highest documented in the world. By way of example, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) has listed the international rates for intentional homicide for the period 2003 to 2008. According to this report, South Africa has a rate of 36.5 per 100,000 people, compared to the USA's rate of 5.2 and Australia's rate of 1.2 (UNODC, 2008: 68).

The high rate of crime seems to be taking its toll on police officers. This manifests itself in gendered ways. In a study by Matthews, Abrahams, Jewkes, Martin, Lombard and Vetten (2008) on intimate femicide-suicide, it was found that perpetrators of femicide (the murder of women)

were more likely to be from the security sector (police, army or security guards) than other occupations. The ICD (2009) also compiled a report on the increasing number of family murders amongst members of the SAPS. It found that high levels of stress, access to firearms and substance abuse are major contributing factors to incidences of femicide and family violence amongst police officers. Pienaar and Rothmann (2005) conducted a study about suicidal thoughts and actual suicide in the SAPS and found that officers in the SAPS had high rates of suicide ideation (that is, thinking about suicide). Mostert and Rothmann (2006) also did a study on work-related well-being in the SAPS and found that officers experience high levels of job-stress and burnout.

In conjunction with the worrying crime rate, police officers in South Africa face a serious challenge with regard to image. The image of a violent and oppressive organisation that was passed on from the police force of the previous regime has been further tarnished by ongoing allegations of corruption, fraud and brutality. In July of 2011, former Police Commissioner Jackie Selebi was found guilty on charges of corruption and defeating the ends of justice (*Mail & Guardian*, 2010a). The current National Police Commissioner has also been linked to allegations of corruptions and the mismanagement of funds (Prince, 2011) and in October 2011 was suspended, pending further investigation (Child, 2011).

Policing is one of the most strenuous occupations and the contributing stressors such as crime, strained relations with the public and personal stress are adding to a work environment riddled with difficulties, including in gender relations. In this environment ordinary police officers are faced with the paradox that Kingshot and Prinsloo (2004: 3) have identified: “Police are criticised for being aggressive, insensitive, and brutal and often corrupt... on the other hand, the media criticises the police for being weak and failing in the public’s expectations of them”. In this context, a study of masculinity is timely.

4. Research questions and research design

The above rationale provides the context for this study. It is organised around four main research questions:

- To what extent is the SAPS a ‘masculine institution’, in Connell’s terms (1995: 73)?
- What are the experiences of male officers in the SAPS in this regard?
- What are the experiences of female officers in the SAPS in this regard?
- To the extent that the SAPS can be described as a masculine institution, what, if any, positive consequences might a masculine police culture offer policing in the current South African context?

The methodology adopted for this study is primarily qualitative. The research design involves a case study of The Dorp Police Station in the Western Cape, drawing largely on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with both male and female police officers at the station. A textual analysis of *SAPS Journal*, the official online journal of the SAPS, using computerised data analysis techniques, also forms part of the study.

Although authors such as Meyer and Steyn (2009), Bezuidenhout (2001) and Brown (1998) have used quantitative designs to explore issues of gender in policing, I have favoured a qualitative design to achieve an in-depth understanding of the issues from the perspective of police officers themselves. I believe that an understanding of how masculinity is presented in police culture in this one police station, as well as the experiences with regard to masculinity among both male and female police officers, are important for understanding the way in which police culture (formal, institutional and canteen) plays itself out in the South African context. As previously stated, I am also interested in whether a masculinised police culture is necessarily negative in terms of the effective operation of the police service. A fuller discussion of the methodology is provided in the third chapter.

5. Chapter outline

This first chapter has functioned as an introductory chapter and provided the reader with the key concepts used in this study as well as its rationale. It has also offered a very brief preliminary account of the methodology that has been adopted. The body of the thesis is divided into four chapters structured as follows.

Chapters 2 and 3 develop the conceptual framework and research methodology. Chapter 2 presents a theoretical discussion of gender, masculinity, intersectionality and police culture. As

part of the conceptual framework, an overview of selected literature relating to the SAPS as well as to policing in other countries is also provided. Chapter 3 expands on the research design and also addresses ethical considerations and the limitations of the study.

Chapters 4 and 5 provide an analysis of my substantive research findings. Chapter 4 provides an historical overview of policing in South Africa, including a discussion of masculinity historically and the process of recruiting women into the organisation. It concludes with a profile of the current police service. Chapter 5 presents the findings from my field work. This includes a discussion of my in-depth interviews, interviews with key informants and informal observations at The Dorp Police Station as well as findings from my content analysis of selected articles from the online *SAPS Journal*. The discussion is organised in terms of Connell's (1995: 74) account of gender as structured around power relations, production relations and cathexis.

Finally, Chapter 6 contains my conclusion, and provides space for reflection on the study as well as recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Conceptual Framework and Literature Review

In this chapter the conceptual framework for the study is discussed. The first section of the chapter explores theories of gender, masculinity and intersectionality that are considered relevant for this study, drawing primarily on Connell (1995) and Butler (1988; 1999). The second section looks at the theoretical literature on policing and police. This discussion includes particulars on policing both internationally and in the South African context.

1. Gender, masculinity and intersectionality

Gender

As already noted, the definition of masculinity requires an understanding of the concept of gender. Distinguishing between “sex” and “gender” has been central to feminist theory since the 1970s, and since then has moved increasingly into mainstream sociological discourse. According to the online source, *The Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy* (Mikkola, 2008), Robert Stoller, a psychologist, was the first social scientist to draw a distinction between these terms, using “sex” to refer to an individual’s biological traits and “gender” to refer to the amount of femininity and masculinity an individual exhibited. This was useful for his explanation of transsexuality, when a person’s sex and gender identity did not appear to coincide. Subsequently, feminist theorist Gayle Rubin (1975: 165) used the concept of a “sex/gender system” to describe the “set of arrangements by which the biological raw material of human sex and procreation is shaped by human, social intervention”.

In the past, the biological differences between men and women have been used by society to justify prejudice and discrimination against women, for instance, the exclusion of women from universities, because the female mind was considered too delicate to deal with academic work (Connell, 1995:28). In the 1970s women were excluded from the field of aviation, as they were believed to be hormonally unstable (Rogers, 1999: 27). Many other examples exist and even today, women are excluded from, or marginalised within, certain occupations because of widespread perceptions about their biology and how this renders women less competent than men for certain tasks. As discussed further below, this continues to apply to policing. Miller (1999, cited in

Steyn, 2008: 413) argued that the employment of police women was seen to undermine some of the more “masculine qualities of police culture and instead engender a ‘softer, kinder’ form of policing”. In her study on gender and policing, Westmarland (2001: 1) focused on the embodiment of gender in an occupation where bodily strength is often emphasised. Her aim was to explore “the way gendered bodies create a situation which perpetuates beliefs about certain occupational roles being designated either ‘male’ or ‘female’”.

It is this view, that an individual’s biological sex directly determines the way in which he or she behaves, that inspired feminist theorists to move towards theories of gender as a social construction, as opposed to theories of sex as a biological fact.

As already noted in Chapter 1, within this broad body of literature Connell (1995) defines gender in terms of the ordering of social practice around the so-called reproductive arena, which is closely linked to the processes of human reproduction. This implies that gender relations are rooted in social practices and behaviours that are linked to the reproductive body. However, Connell (1995: 71) goes on to argue that although “gender is social practice that constantly refers to bodies and what bodies do, it is not social practice reduced to the body... gender exists precisely to the extent that biology does *not* determine the social” (1995: 71). This means that gender relations and gender identities reach beyond the reproductive sphere. Connell thus emphasises the distinction between the social and the biological in the ordering of gender relations.

Connell’s three-fold model for understanding how gender relations are structured in society is considered particularly helpful for my analysis of masculinity within the SAPS. The three dimensions are power relations, relations of production and what is termed cathexis, or emotional connection (1995: 73). According to Connell, relations of power are the central point around which gender is ordered in society. It is through relations of power that a system of patriarchy has been established whereby men are generally in positions of domination over women while women are generally in positions of submission to men. However, although a system of patriarchy persists into the present day, there are several sources of challenge to the system, including reversals in the traditional roles of men and women and the resistance to female subordination brought about through feminist movements. While Connell is referring

largely to the European and North American contexts, this analysis is also applicable to the South African context.

Connell (1995: 74) also highlights the significance of production relations in ordering gender. Here she draws attention to the division of labour along gendered lines, based on perceptions about men and women's different reproductive functioning. The unequal valuing of tasks associated with women has been a major focus of resistance among women. Several duties and tasks have been historically assigned along gender divisions and the police service, as discussed further below, has been no exception. The gendered division of labour often has negative economic consequences for women, as 'male' work is accorded higher status and men are thereby in a position to acquire better wages than women.

Connell's third dimension, that of cathexis or the emotional attachment to objects of desire, is seen as a critical force in the structuring of gender relations and gender identity in society. According to Connell, in a patriarchal society sexual desire is harnessed and organised in favour of the social dominance of men over women. In terms of this study a serious exploration of the operation of cathexis within the SAPS is regarded as an important undertaking but it is one that would have required a separate study to do it justice. This dimension is thus relatively under-explored in this study, although some findings relating to the treatment of the body, sexuality and sexual desire, along with their implications, are considered in the discussion on research findings in Chapter 5.

Masculinity, hegemonic masculinity and performance

Historically masculinity studies as a body of work within gender studies developed mainly through what has come to be known as the New Men's Movement, which itself developed in response to feminism as a social movement. Masculinity theory has become increasingly visible since the 1970s in the USA, Australia and the United Kingdom. The New Men's Movement in these countries was not necessarily an opponent of feminism, but, rather, considered itself to be an ally, organising men to reflect on their dominant status in society and to support the movement for gender equality. Raewyn Connell and Jeff Weeks were amongst the first major

commentators to focus on masculinity as a social construct and to show how the practice of masculinity was implicated in gender inequality (Morrell, 2001).

As already noted, Leach (1994: 36) has pointed out that "unlike the biological state of maleness, masculinity is a gender identity constructed socially, historically and politically. It is the cultural interpretation of maleness, learnt through participation in society and its institutions". According to Grodan (2008), men are expected to identify with the social institutions that construct masculinity. Their behaviour needs to reflect what these institutions view as acceptable. As will be discussed further in the section on police culture, police work has traditionally been viewed as 'men's work' in South Africa (and elsewhere) because it is 'tough work'. The institution can therefore be perceived as being a masculine organisation, one of those societal institutions within which masculinity is learnt and performed.

Here the theoretical work of Connell, including her work on hegemonic masculinity and the operation of multiple masculinities, is considered particularly relevant for this research project. Much theory on gender and masculinity has been concerned with socialisation and so-called 'sex roles'. According to this, society expects men and women to fulfil different, well-defined roles and to adhere to social expectations based on these roles. Masculinity and femininity are understood as the outcome of the internalisation of these sex roles, through socialisation. Connell (1995: 26) however has rejected simplistic accounts of masculinity in terms of sex roles for men:

In sex role theory, action (the role enactment) is linked to a structure defined by biological difference, the dichotomy of male and female – not to a structure defined by social relations. This leads to categoricism, the reduction of gender to two homogenous categories, betrayed by the persistent blurring of sex differences with sex roles.

Connell questions the utility of sex-role theory and expands instead on the possibility of multiple or various masculinities within a given society. In *Masculinities* (1995) she develops the idea of a hierarchy of masculinities, with contestations between different expressions of masculinity or different masculinities. In similar vein, Mason (1992: 27) has noted how the superiority of men over women appears to be naturalised as part of the order of nature. Yet while this sustains a specific patriarchal order, not all men benefit from the gender order and some men remain powerless.

Connell suggests that men's positions within the larger social hierarchy of power in a given society shape the different arrangements of masculinity they embody, and identifies four major categories of masculinity:

- Hegemonic masculinity: This type of masculinity is placed at the top of the hierarchy, and, in a given social space and time, will support gender inequality.
- Complicit masculinity: This describes the group of men who benefit from hegemonic masculinity, but do not endorse it.
- Subordinated masculinity: This describes the group of men (usually gay men) who are oppressed by the structure of hegemonic masculinity.
- Marginalized masculinity: This describes the group of men who are in positions of power regarding gender, but not in terms of race or class (Connell, 1995: 77-80).

The idea of a social hierarchy of masculinities, rather than a single masculinity, is useful for an analysis of police culture within the SAPS. Hegemonic or dominant masculinity may shape how police officers conduct themselves and perceive their duties and occupation, without necessarily corresponding to the understanding of gender relations espoused in the official culture of the organisation or adhered to by all individual men and women within the service in terms of their participation in 'canteen' culture. At the same time, Connell makes the important point that even though many men may not themselves express hegemonic masculinity in their behaviours and attitudes, most (but not all) men still benefit from the dominance of hegemonic masculinity within the system of gender relations. This is what Connell (1995:74) refers to as the "patriarchal dividend".

The presence of a hegemonic masculinity, as part of the hierarchy of masculinities mentioned above, asserts certain expectations of men and in failing or falling short of these expectations, individuals experience strain. Boon (2005: 301) identified a paradox facing American men. He noted that increasingly those characteristics defined as masculine, such as violence and authoritarianism, are rejected by society and men are thus forced to distance themselves from these traits. However, when men distance themselves from these traits, they are no longer perceived as 'real' men. This therefore creates a situation of strain.

Connell (1995: 73) also reflects on the gendered aspects of institutions. She notes that institutions such as the police are substantively and not just metaphorically gendered. This leads to her idea of the state (or the police force) as a masculine institution. A masculine organisation involves much more than simply the dominant positioning of men in high office or in positions of authority over women in the organisation. State organisational practices are structured in relation to the reproductive arena. She notes that there is a “gender configuring of recruitment and promotion, a gender configuration of the internal division of labour and systems of control, a gender configuring of policymaking, practical routines, and ways of mobilising pleasure and consent” (1995: 73). These aspects are all structured along gendered lines and reflect behaviours and ideals associated with the masculine as the norm.

The value of Connell’s work is that her model provides for an understanding of masculinity as fluid and allows for conflict and contestation within its different manifestations. The model also recognises the weight that masculinity carries and that, in institutions, men are still largely in positions of dominance. However, masculinity is not understood by all authors in this more open-ended way. For this reason, Pascoe (2007) notes that we need to consider the concept of masculinity and associated categories carefully and that we are aware of the limitations of rigid typologies.

Butler’s exploration (1988, 1999) of gender as performance is also considered useful for this study. Like Connell, Butler (1988) goes beyond simple sex-role theories although she comes close to blurring the conceptual distinction between sex and gender in her suggestion that sex is also a social construction. She explores the idea of gender, in relation to both masculinity and femininity, as a performance or an act. She describes one’s gendered identity as a “performative accomplishment, which the mundane social audience, including the actors themselves, come to believe and to perform in the mode of belief” (1988: 520). Gender is thus continually performed and re-performed and in this way gendered identities are constructed. The so-called “performative accomplishment” is kept in place by both the social sanctioning of certain behaviour and the labelling of taboos. It is the repetition of a performance and the ritualising thereof that ensure that certain behaviours and expectations are legitimised. When considering the occupation of policing and the expected behaviours of police officers, it is evident that certain behaviours are associated with male officers, for instance pursuing criminals and

exposing themselves to dangerous situations, and others, for instance dealing with victims of rape and traumatised children at crime scenes, with female officers. Audiences of fellow officers or the public are both likely to appreciate these performances of gender, and thus these performances or acts become accepted as reflecting the gendered norms within the specific setting.

Butler also notes that gender is not a stable construct, from which acts are brought forth. It should rather be considered as

an identity tenuously constituted in time – an identity through a stylized repetition of acts. Further, gender is instituted through the stylization of the body and, hence, must be understood as the mundane way in which bodily gestures, movements, and enactments of various kinds constitute the illusion of an abiding gendered self (1988: 519).

Gender is thus created through the repeating of processes. People constantly invoke or reference a gendered norm, which results in the belief that the norm is a timeless truth. However, gender is fluid, created in time and space and operating differently in different contexts.

In their study on the personal definitions of masculinity and femininity, Hoffman, Hattie and Borders (2005), found that without clear definitions of masculinity or femininity being provided, participants tended to revert to stereotypical definitions. According to Alexander and Andersen (1993), these stereotypical definitions typically involve binary opposites where the feminine is associated with the emotional, the maternal, care, sympathy, empathy and submission, and the masculine is associated with leadership, assertiveness, domination, rigidity and physicality. The implications are that the definitions of masculinity and femininity are socialised to the extent that they are perceived as natural. Gender is thus accomplished through day-to-day interactions. In terms of the institution of the police, the day-to-day workings of the organisation are considered as the space in which gender is not only performed but created, experienced and accepted.

Studies of masculinity in South Africa

While there is a broad range of literature available on gender in South Africa, the tendency has been to focus on issues surrounding women (Clarke, 2008; Bennett, 2009). Literature on masculinity in the South African context has been relatively sparse. Morrell (1998) emphasises

how studies of masculinity in Africa have been limited to recognition either of the colonial past, or more recently, the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Drawing on Connell and noting that South Africa is a multi-cultural society, Morrell challenges the assumption of a single South African masculine culture. His 1998 edited collection brings together a range of studies on the subject that illustrates this point. Crispin Hemson explores the changing masculine culture of black life-savers in Natal, and Louw explores homosexuality in a black community in Durban, where same-sex marriage was acceptable in a pre-Verwoerd setting. Reid and Walker (2005) have also edited a book with chapters focusing on changing masculinities in a southern African context. Chapters range over such diverse topics as sexual violence (Deborah Posel), structuring sex in men's prisons (Sasha Gear), and negotiating the boundaries of masculinity in post-apartheid South Africa (Liz Walker). The book addresses issues of masculinity in a South African context and highlights how the reorganisation of gender relations between men and women as a result of women's struggles for greater autonomy and social change has brought into question the nature of masculinity. The issue of a 'crisis of masculinity' is addressed throughout the book.

Although the idea of a 'crisis of masculinity' is relevant for understanding background issues regarding masculinity in the South African police force, there is little focus in the available literature on masculinity in South Africa on the police or security forces. (More specific studies on police and military culture are discussed in section two of this chapter.) While the idea of hegemonic masculinity implies a general set of traits and behaviours prescribed as the set of expectations for 'real men', it is crucial to note the related point that there are multiple masculinities in society, and therefore, by implication, different expressions of masculinity can also be expected to be found in the police. Morrell (2001) cited in Reid and Walker (2005) emphasises that in the South African context, men can be expected to respond in varying ways to societal change. There is no single masculinity and thus no single response. Yet while there is no single monolithic masculinity, certain traits are considered the norm, accentuating what the performance of 'proper' masculinity should entail. Although not all men may be in a position to assert hegemonic masculinity, there is an acute awareness among men of the authority of this construct.

In the context of policing, hegemonic masculinity reflects the configuration of gender practice within the larger society. According to Fielding (1994) hegemonic masculinity within the police

is infused with what he describes as hyper-masculine ideals relating to violence, sexism, racism and physicality. The link between masculinity and violence also forms part of the literature on masculinity in South Africa. As Morrell (2001: 12) emphasises, “masculinity and violence have been yoked together in South African history”. At the same time, Reid and Walker (2005: 1) note that, with the democratic transition in South Africa, several changes have been brought about in terms of the gender ordering of society. Patriarchy has been (formally) replaced by a system propagating equality. Just as the new ideals of equality have been laid down in the South African Constitution, so too have ideals of equality entered the official discourse of the SAPS. However, studies of the SAPS (including my own) make it clear that major discrepancies exist between the ideals of the Constitution and what happens in practices, setting up significant tensions within the organisation.

Intersectionality

The SAPS is an institution employing people from very diverse social and cultural backgrounds, with different histories of society and community. This reinforces the point that there should be no assumptions of a single or monolithic experience of masculinity in the police. The complexity of gender identity is clarified by recent developments in the theory of intersectionality. As already noted in Chapter 1, Davis (2008: 68) defines intersectionality as “the interaction between gender, race, and other categories of differences in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power”.

The idea of intersectionality is not new. Connell (1995: 75) noted that gender as a social practice is intricately linked with other social structures such as race and class, nationality and position in the world. Thus the analysis of masculinity must always take place in relation not only to feminine gender identities but also to other social identities. Butler (1999: 19) has also emphasised that a monolithic view of gender should be rejected as otherwise “the multiplicity of cultural, social, and political intersections in which the concrete array of ‘women’ [or men] is constructed” is not taken into account.

The image of identity as constructed at the crossroads or intersection of different aspects of identity is important for the study of the SAPS. It points to the need to consider masculinity in the police in terms of other considerations relating to culture and power, including race, class,

nationality and position within the force, and how these intersect and impact on the individuals involved in policing.

2. Police culture

In addition to engaging with theories of masculinity and gender, it is important for this study to take account of the large body of literature on police culture. Masculinity can only be understood in relation to the police service within the context of theories of ‘gendered organisations’, policing and police culture. Although the SAPS is an organisation with a distinctive history as well as a particular set of contemporary challenges, the general literature on police culture is extremely useful for an analysis of its organisation and functioning. The following section reviews this literature, with some application to the South African context. More background on the SAPS is found in Chapter 4.

The gendering of organisations

While police culture is essential to understanding masculinity within the SAPS, the general literature on how the structure of an organisation impacts on the ordering of gender within institutions is also useful. Alveson and Billing (2009: 72) have noted that “organisational and occupational structures, processes and practices may be viewed as culturally masculine and, perhaps less often, feminine”. They go on to explain that “the concept, gendered organisations, usually means paying attention to how organisational structures and processes are dominated by culturally defined masculine meanings”. While those meanings that have been associated with the masculine have been explored in the section on gender, it is again worth noting that these characteristics are usually associated with authority, leadership, physicality, independence, assertiveness and competitiveness (Palan, Areni and Kiecker, 1999: 365). Alveson and Billing (2009: 73) also expand on this in that they recognise that masculine organisations are “more hierarchical [and] rely on impersonal rules and standards”. Gender relations in organisations are therefore not only created by those who are part of the organisation, but are shaped by the actual structures and processes of the organisations themselves.

With regard to the institution of the police, it is evident, following this analysis, that the organisational structure reinforces traits associated with the masculine. The SAPS (like other law enforcement agencies) is hierarchical and depends on a strict ranking structure which is both authoritarian and assertive. It shares this masculinist organisational structure with that of the military, although, as discussed further below, there are also important differences in terms of function to note between the two organisations. Esterhuysen and Heineken (2012: 9) have identified the “bureaucratic/hierarchical nature of the military, [the] rigid rank and command system, [the] disciplinary codes, traditions, customs history and dress regulations” as key organisational characteristics of the armed forces. Heineken and van der Waag-Cowling (2009: 522) also emphasise that, as part of the structure of the military, the “former SADF officers were rigorously schooled in the classic Weberian bureaucratic principles of discipline and respect for the chain of command... they were indoctrinated to be conformist, authoritarian and bureaucratic”. This emphasis on bureaucracy and hierarchy is also found in the organisational structure of the police.

At the same time, the functions that police (and soldiers) perform are also strongly associated with the masculine. The police are expected to protect the citizens of the country; deal with crime, criminals and unlawfulness; carry guns; wear uniforms and maintain order in society. According to Martin (1999: 115), the “association of catching criminals with danger and bravery is what marks police as men’s work”. Alveoson and Billing (2009: 129) concur, stating that “the shared values of physical strength and courage... [are] values associated with the masculine”. In considering the SAPS as a gendered organisation, therefore, the interaction between organisational structure, functions and cultural values are in need of unpacking. Chan (1997: 225) also emphasises this point when she notes that

police practice is to be understood in terms of the interaction between specific structural conditions of police work (the field) and the cultural knowledge accumulated by police officers which integrates past experiences (habitus).

Organisational culture: formal, institutional and informal police culture.

As policing is not an occupation practiced in private, but a function performed as part of an official organisation, the theory of organisational culture can be used in considering the workings

of the institution. Ultimately, the study of police culture can be viewed as a subset within the study of organisational culture.

Overall, organisational culture encompasses the broad beliefs and values visible in an organisation (Hicks-Clarke and Iles, 2000). Faull (2008:45) notes that these beliefs “lead to assumptions about clients, employees, missions, products and activities”. The assumptions that underscore the behaviour and beliefs of members of an organisation have several implications for our understanding of the organisation as such. Driskoll and Brenton (2005: 5) define organisational culture as the way in which “members create and/or are indoctrinated into unique beliefs and assumptions that form the basis for acting together”. More sophisticated understandings of organisational culture suggest that it should be analysed in terms of two categories: the official culture of the organisation, and the unofficial culture. Jermier Slocum, Fry and Gaines (1991: 170) describe official culture as the extensive formalisation, authoritarianism and high bureaucracy often associated with organisations while unofficial culture refers to the “basic, taken-for-granted assumptions and deep patterns of meaning shared by organisational participants *and* manifestations of these assumptions and patterns.”

The distinction between official or formal culture and unofficial or informal culture within any organisation is extremely useful for gaining insight into how organisations work and is used in this study. However, in the course of this research a third level, sitting between the formal and informal levels of culture, has been identified as salient for analysing masculinity within the SAPS. My subsequent analysis of the organisational culture of policing within the SAPS thus works with the following typology:

- Formal or official culture: This level of culture relates to the official construction of appropriate norms, values and forms of behaviour as presented in written laws, policy frameworks and rules and regulations relating to the SAPS. An example is the Code of Ethics of the SAPS (2011c). This stipulates that officers are to perform their duties with integrity, respect for diversity, respect for the law, and striving for excellence and that employees should work with the approval of the community. Similarly the Code of Conduct states that members of the service “act in a manner that is impartial, courteous, honest, respectful, transparent and accountable; exercise the powers conferred upon [them] in a responsible and controlled manner” (SAPS, 2011d). Both the Code of Ethics

and the Code of Conduct hold up a certain image of what it is that police officers should exemplify. The implication is that police officers are beacons of honesty and responsibility, upholding not only the law, but also keeping the moral fabric of society intact. Although there are values that are common to both official and unofficial culture, the asymmetry lies mostly in the sanctioning of certain behaviours. Jermier *et al.* (1991: 172) note that it is the official culture that determines and specifies how actions and practices are legitimised for the public, while the unofficial culture is a reflection of the practical beliefs of the members involved in the organisation.

- Institutional culture: This level of organisational culture is understood as a level that sits somewhere between and straddling both the official and the unofficial levels of police culture. It is reflected in the statements made by the leadership of the SAPS and articles found in the online journal of the SAPS. According to Jermier *et al.* (1991), the top management of an organisation plays a central role in constructing the official culture of an organisation. Yet although at times reflective of the official culture of the SAPS, the views expressed by the senior leadership within the SAPS do not always align with what is stated in the formal rules and regulations of the organisation but still carry significant authority within and influence on its organisational culture. For this reason the term 'institutional culture' is used to refer to the views and statements made by the leadership of the SAPS where they do not necessarily conform with the official culture of the SAPS, for instance, the 'shoot to kill' views of the National Commissioner discussed further below.
- Informal or unofficial and 'canteen' culture: The third level of culture is associated with the informal practices and values expressed in the everyday interactions of ordinary officers. This is sometimes also described as police subculture (Herbert, 1998:343). The term 'canteen culture' is extensively used by Waddington (2008: 1) to explain the informal culture present in policing agencies. Although the idea of the canteen derives from studies of organisational culture in the USA, the term is widely used and hence retained in this study. Waddington, (2008: 1) states that unofficial police culture entails "the mix of informal prejudices, values, attitudes and working practices commonly found among the lower ranks of the police". The reason for the use of the term 'canteen' relates to the space

in which this level of culture is commonly expressed and created. Waddington (1999: 295) notes that “the canteen offers one of the rare opportunities for officers, whose actions on the street are normally ‘invisible’, to engage in displays before colleagues”. Canteen culture is thus about the way officers talk about their work with each other. Canteen culture does, however, extend beyond the canteen as a particular social space. A broader understanding of the term implies a certain means of understanding the world even when one is engaged in the formal functions of policing. It is about more than just the attitudes displayed in the line of duty. It encompasses the way in which officers complete their duties, their approach to specific situations, the way in which informal socialisation takes place, the language used and the general way in which officers perceive their occupation, each other and the world at large. Chan (1997: 43) refers to this aspect of police culture as a “layer of informal occupational norms and values operating under the apparently rigid hierarchical structure of police organisations”.

It is important to note that all three levels of organisational culture are gendered and hence important for this study. However, given its focus on the experiences of masculinity among ordinary police officers, the large body of literature on informal or ‘canteen’ police culture is of particular interest to this study and is explored further below.

Informal ‘canteen’ police culture and masculinity

Several accounts of the construct of unofficial police culture in relation to masculinity have emerged. Amongst these is that by Dick and Jankowicz (2001: 182) who note that canteen culture is coupled to the view that policing “promotes ‘masculine values’ which engender particular views of women, of the nature of policing and of the roles for which men and women officers are believed to be most suitable” The account emphasises that canteen culture is associated with specific styles, views and attributes that reflect masculine ideals. This is a prominent theme in studies of canteen culture.

One of the reasons why canteen culture is often associated with masculinity is the nature of the occupation. Police functions generally involve the keeping of order and the settling of disputes in terms of health and safety (Siegel, 2009: 497). In his definition, Holdaway (1989: 65) lists several

features as essential to informal police culture. These include a “perception of the world as a place that is always on the brink of chaos, held back from devastation by a police presence”. In this police view, “people are naïve and potentially disorderly in all situations [and] control, ideally absolute control, is the fundamental police task”. Linked to this and part of canteen culture, police officers generally view themselves as upholders of a moral order, keeping chaos at bay. Kay (1994, cited in Pagon and Lobnikar, 1996: 10) notes that policing entails:

the enforcement of laws, and, by implication, morality, often through the use of force. From this perspective, police officers are involved in a morality play in which the forces of evil would prevail were it not for police officers. They form the thin blue line protecting civilized society from anarchy.

Waddington (1999) suggests that the emphasis on control in informal police culture is yet another reflection of the acceptance of masculine ideals.

The link between canteen culture and masculinity is one that emerges repeatedly in the literature on policing. Fielding (1994: 47) goes so far as to claim that the stereotypical values of canteen culture should be understood in terms of hegemonic masculinity. This fits well with the model of masculinity that Connell (1995: 77) proposes. Fielding (1994: 47) lists the following decidedly masculinist attributes as central to informal police culture:

- Aggressive, or physical action
- A strong sense of competitiveness and a fixation on the image of conflict
- Exaggerated heterosexual orientations, often articulated in terms of misogynistic and patriarchal attitudes towards women
- The operation of rigid in-group/out-group distinctions whose consequences are strongly assertive of loyalty and affinity in the case of in-groups.

Kingshot (2003, cited in Kingshot and Prinsloo, 2004:7) also lists certain norms in police agencies that overlap with traits traditionally associated with masculinity. Amongst these are conformity, discipline, elitism, militarism, physical fitness, coarse language, territorialism, specialised police language, and loutish behaviour.

It is clear that there is an overlap between the dominant traits commonly associated with ‘canteen’ culture and those traditionally associated with hegemonic masculinity. However,

Fielding (1994: 51) warns against the assumption that police culture is monolithic. He notes that not all police officers adhere to the traits associated with the masculine and that certain values tied to police culture have higher validity in some groups of police officers than others. Those most likely to identify with a strongly masculinist canteen culture, according to Fielding, potentially include younger officers, male officers and officers in lower ranks in operational positions. This analysis of diversity in relation to masculinity is consistent with the previous discussion on hegemonic and subordinated masculinities, and needs to be borne in mind in the discussion that follows.

Manifestations of masculinity within canteen culture

Police canteen culture has been identified with several distinguishable features. Four of them relate specifically to masculinity and are discussed further here. The first feature entails the general resistance to women's presence that can be observed in policing, as well as the gendering of certain duties. The second involves the expressive use of the war-metaphor and the militarisation of police culture. The third feature relates to the body and the specific physical traits or attributes associated with policing. The fourth aspect discussed here involves police talk and the perception of danger expressed by police officers.

Resistance to women and the gendering of duties

Studies of police culture tend to focus on the masculine aspects of the occupation. Implied in the literature is a general resistance towards women in policing. Canteen culture generally constructs women as 'the other' in the organisation, with men considered to be the norm. Although much has changed in terms of increased opportunities for women in policing, the literature still identifies a persistent culture of resistance to the presence of women within police forces (Pagon and Lobnikar, 1996).

The resistance to women in policing involves more than just their exclusion from particular positions in the organisation. In her study, Franklin (2005) found that male support for their peers' perpetuated behaviour that undermined the standing of women, with female officers often obligated to attend to quasi-police functions that are deemed appropriate for women. In their study on the acceptance of female officers in the UK, Dick and Jankowicz (2001) noted that

women were more frequently deployed to “safe” and non-violent incidents than men. They found that the progression of women in policing was impeded by the intersection of the dominant structures already in place in policing with broader perceptions of women’s appropriate role in society.

When considering the responsibilities associated with policing, women are often confined to certain duties. The ability of female police officers are constantly being questioned in an occupation that is traditionally male-dominant (Tarng, Hsieh and Deng, 2001). The acceptance of women in policing is dependent on the roles they wish to take on in the organisation. If they choose to keep to the roles traditionally assigned to them (administration, dealing with rape victims or victims of domestic abuse), they are accepted. However, if they deviate from these roles, conflict emerges (Pagon and Lobnikar, 1996: 1). Louise Westmarland (2001: 1) noted that “gendered bodies create a situation which perpetuates beliefs about certain occupational roles being designated either ‘male’ or ‘female’”. In her book, she questions the roles assigned to women and challenges the masculine culture in policing organisations.

Incidents of resistance to women in policing in South Africa have also been reported in the literature on policing. In the SAPS, it is official policy that “advertised posts are filled in order to promote representivity in the police service” (SAPS, 2011e). Resistance to the presence of female officers operates therefore essentially at the institutional or informal level. In her study on women in the SAPS in the Vaalrand area, Morrison (2004: 188-201) reported several findings that support the notion of resistance towards women in the police. Female officers reported instances of gender bias; there were isolated cases of sexual harassment; female officers were not being treated as colleagues; men viewed women as the weaker gender; women were excluded from certain training courses; while ‘transformation’ was promoted at the top level, at the grassroots level, there were few changes; there was also a lack of recognition of women officers on the part of the public. Participants also reported that “equal opportunities... still only existed on paper”, with severe discrepancies between what is stated on paper and what happens in practice (Morrison, 2004: 189, 202).

In her discussion on canteen culture in the USA, Rabe-Hemp (2008) noted that concern over female officers’ abilities to perform policing duties only came to light after women were allowed to participate in the formerly male task of patrolling. She considers the continued resistance to

women in the force as part of canteen culture. Male officers' resistance to women, the "glass ceiling" effect experienced by women and the obstacles such as their exclusion from supervisory positions are all reflections of the unofficial culture of masculinity as the norm. In a recent study, Meyer and Steyn (2009) found that both male and female recruits in the SAPS experience isolation during college training. However, at the end of field training, the experience of female recruits shifted as they experienced increased feelings of isolation, indicating that there are differences in how male and female recruits experience basic police training outside the initial classroom phase. These feelings of alienation experienced by female recruits can be seen as symptomatic of the informal resistance towards women in the SAPS. Marks (2008: 656) also found that discriminatory practices persist in the SAPS and that policing is often viewed as an occupation unbecoming to women. There are similarities here with the experience of women in the military. Women in the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) have also reported feeling inferior to their male counterparts and experiencing pressure to be perceived as masculine and to be "more like men to be accepted as proper soldiers" (Heineken and van der Waag-Cowling, 2009: 528).

Thus the general findings in both the international and the South African studies are that a gender division of labour continues to operate in policing, with certain tasks and duties associated with female police officers and others with male police officers. It is also clear that tasks associated with "real" policing, outside the office, are mostly associated with men and masculine norms. Women are confined to administrative or 'soft' duties and those that deviate are faced with resistance from their male counterparts.

It should be noted, however, that the way in which women perceive their abilities as police officers might not correspond with male perceptions or general expectations. Osarenren and Ogunleye (2009) have found that there is no significant difference in 'Jobs Ability Perception' for male and female professionals in male-dominated professions. Although their study focused on professions such as engineering, statistics, medicine and estate management, it is possible that similar findings could emerge in the field of policing. Because there are no studies specifically focused on 'Jobs Ability Perception' among women working in the police, questions regarding this issue were included in my research schedule.

Although the discrepancy between male and female expectations in the service may be an area where unofficial police culture is challenged, the notion that canteen culture generally maintains an attitude of resistance towards women in an occupation that has traditionally been reserved for men is supported in the literature. However, understanding police culture as masculinist goes beyond a simple resistance towards women and the limiting of duties in the service. There are other aspects linked to dominant masculine identities that also form part of canteen culture.

Idealised personal and physical traits

The term ‘traits’ used in this section loosely translates to attributes, norms or behaviours associated with either male or female officers. Rabe-Hemp (2007: 252) describes law enforcement as “typically associated with aggressive behaviour, physical strength and solidarity”, features that are associated with archetypal masculine qualities in terms of Bem’s (1974) Sex Role Inventory (as cited in Waddington, 1999). The following features are listed as masculine in this Inventory: ‘aggressive’, ‘assertive’, ‘forceful’, ‘willing to take a stand’ and ‘willing to take risks’. These features are frequently found in descriptions of policing and canteen culture.

The identification of desirable masculine traits within policing also leads to the identification of traits that are associated with the feminine, the two acting within a binary. Hunt (1990, cited in Little, Stephens and Whittle, 2002: 230) has listed the traits commonly associated with male and female domains that are seen as central to assumptions about gender roles and identities in unofficial canteen culture, as captured in the following table:

Table 1: Traits associated with male and female domains in policing (Hunt 1990, as cited in Little, Stephens and Whittle, 2002:230)

Female traits	Male traits
Formal	Informal
Academy	Street
Inside	Outside
Management	Street cop
Administration	Crime fighting
Social service	Rescue activity
Paperwork	Crime fighting
Formal Rules	Informal Rules
Emotional	Instrumental
Intellectual	Physical
Clean	Dirty

The male/female binary within policing culture is, however, more complex than simply the listing of contrasting male and female traits. There is a value attached to the attributes and duties associated with the male that is lacking with the female set in the binary. While female attributes may be accepted as appropriate for certain aspects of police work, overall male attributes are valued more highly.

Within this framework of a male/female binary, stereotypical expectations of ‘toughness’ as a core feature of policing emerges. The image of police officers as infallible, Ramboesque figures is highlighted in studies of US police culture. In her study on the acceptance of women in policing in the USA, Rabe-Hemp (2008: 252) emphasise that the expectations for police officers are “based on a crime-fighting image of ruggedness [and] toughness”. Brown (1998) has also noted that the social construction of policing conjures up the image of danger and the corresponding need for physical strength. Because of the focus on physical strength, women’s contribution is often downplayed in canteen culture, with women generally deemed unsuitable for the physical demands of policing. The focus on the physical in policing goes beyond the actual capacity to perform ‘toughness’. Westmarland (2001: 5) has noted that the body possesses what

she terms “physical capital” and that it is those who are seen to hold physical capital who are also seen as the possessors of power. Within the occupation of policing, men rather than women are generally seen as the ones with physical capital. In this study these issues around perceptions of the body are explored further in relation to Connell’s notion of cathexis.

The tools of policing often operate as an extension of the toughness associated with police culture. Westmarland (2001: 1) emphasises how the “tools of the trade” - the handcuffs, truncheons, uniforms and insignia - function as the materialisation of police culture. With regard to uniforms, Rafaeli and Pratt (1993: 41) note how:

members of organizations often share perceptions of core organizational (*sic*) values. These values, in turn, help define the organizational identity, which is made up of those characteristics of the organization that members view as central, distinct, and enduring... [The] values inherent to the organizational identity may be conveyed by the dress in the organization. Specifically, dress attributes are proposed to act as a symbol of core organizational values (*sic*).

Uniforms are thus seen as symbolically important in promoting the image of a cohesive police culture. Forsyth (1987) concluded that gendered attire influences how managerial traits are perceived. Here it is worth noting that within the SAPS distinctions are made between male and female attire. While the field uniforms for male and female officers are the same, there are differences in terms of office wear and ceremonial wear (see Appendix 1). Different occasions require different occupational dress. For official ceremonial occasions, a female officer is expected to wear a “ceremonial skirt, long sleeve blouse and bow-tie with bunny jacket” while a male officer is required to wear “summer trousers, [a] long sleeve shirt and [a] tie with bunny jacket” (SAPS, 2011f). The gendered aspects of police culture are thus, to some extent, articulated through dress.

Other ‘tools of the trade’ also bear symbolic meaning and set the police apart from the rest of society. The most powerful of symbols, the gun, also plays a central role in police culture. The gun is often interpreted as a masculine object (Green, Fuller, Rutley and Hendler, 1972; Cooke and Puddifoot, 2000) and is a key object in shaping masculine police culture. Jermier *et al.*

(1991: 172) state that the meaning attached to these symbols can only be understood in relation to the “hidden structure of meaning with which it corresponds”. This hidden structure of meaning is embedded within the operation of canteen culture in policing.

Police talk and the perception of danger

The conversations between police officers is another significant arena in which the values and stereotypes discussed in relation to idealised personal and physical traits find expression as features of canteen culture.

A significant study in this regard is the international study on the continuities and discontinuities in police talk around the use of force, by Waddington, Adang, Baker, Birbeck, Feltes, Gabaldón, Machado and Stenning (2008). Although this study spanned over a number of different cultural, historical, political, social and geographical conditions, it found that in many respects police officers in very different settings talk about the use of force in similar ways. The authors also make the point that the way in which officers talk about force is not necessarily related to actual behaviour regarding force. Officers tended to exaggerate the necessity and the actual force applied in the field. While the use of force was the focus of many conversations, actual use of force in the field was not as common as the talk suggested.

This discrepancy between conversation and behaviour can be linked to gendered expectations of police work. Fielding (1994) has noted that police are more likely to spend time doing social service than fighting crime. However, the image of action, violence and authority, especially in relation to crime, persists. According to Fielding:

the excitement and status attached to physical danger are crucial in policemen’s self-image and lifestyle, fuelling occupational imageries featuring exaggerated stories of violence and sexual conquests amounting to a ‘cult of masculinity’.... describe[d] as hedonistic, tough and adventuresome.(1994: 50),

The theme of violence features prominently in SAPS materials. In 2011 the organisation issued a statement that noted that “it is a well known fact that the environment that police work in and the type of people police are confronted by are generally of a violent nature” (SAPS, 2011g).

Linked to the imagery of violence is that of the perception of danger as a constant threat in police work. The available literature suggest that images of violence, bravery, danger and authority form an essential part of canteen culture and reinforce the masculine image of police officers.

Military and police culture

At this point it is useful to consider the similarities and differences between military and police culture.

As already noted, police work is widely considered one of the most dangerous and stressful occupations in the world (Rothmann and Pienaar, 2005). In South Africa, police are subjected to violent protesters, high crime rates and police fatalities. From January 2011 to the end of September 2011, more than 70 officers were killed in the line of duty (SABC, 2011). In this context, Kingshot and Prinsloo (2003: 8) have noted how the metaphor of war is often used to make sense of policing. Police are described as being “at war” with the criminal element or “fighting crime”. They state that the military vocabulary “unites officers in militaristic identities, creating yet another bonding environment for the police culture”. This feature of informal police culture is extremely significant in the South African context, and can also be seen as part of the institutional culture identified above. However, while both institutions are concerned with the safekeeping of the citizens of the country, there are also clear differences in their functions which need to be understood in relation to their organisational cultures and the impact of a so-called military culture on the conduct and ethos of the SAPS.

Waddington (1999: 298) notes that a key distinction between these two organisations lies in the fact that, unlike the military, the police are not tasked with “confront[ing] the ‘enemy’, but fellow citizens and that makes their position acutely marginal, for they must exercise authority whilst retaining at least the grudging acquiescence of those over whom such authority is wielded”. Martin (1999: 112) notes that policing is defined in terms of “fighting crime and or catching criminals, although it involves a far wider variety of tasks”. Policing is also defined by Bezuidenhout (2000: 4) as the regulated safeguarding of the citizens of the country. While the prevention of crime and the maintenance of peace is part of the functions of policing (Bartollas, 1997), the main purpose of the police is to respond to crimes that have already been committed. The police are therefore placed in a reactive role, where they address crime and unrest after the

event. There are also certain societal expectations of police officers as upholding morality in society. Kingshot and Prinsloo (2004: 12) note that “communities demand a higher standard of ethical conduct from their police officers than they do of other professions” in the belief that the police should provide a service that is “impartial and works for the benefit of society as a whole”.

The military, on the other hand, is faced with the responsibility of safeguarding the country against foreign or outside forces and is governed by the need for combat readiness. Compared to the police, their role is thus considered to be more proactive as they actively seek to prevent hostilities. In a war situation, furthermore, there is the expectation that the military will engage in fighting, even if this entails an aggressive approach to conflict situations. A further difference is that the military is expected to engage with outside forces or enemies, whereas the police are confronted with citizens of the country, thus complicating their reactions against the ‘enemy’.

Thus Esterhuysen and Heineken (2012: 3) emphasise that the cultures associated with the military and the police are dictated by the distinguishable purposes of these organisations. According to them the primary reason for the existence of the military is that of combat-readiness; thus “warfighting still determines the central beliefs” of the military (Esterhuysen and Heineken 2012: 9). There is the expectation that the protection of the country requires a soldier who is in control, disciplined, ready to display aggression if need be, bellicose and steadfast in his (or her) readiness to display the warrior ethos. While there is the view that this culture has been softened to some extent by the implementation of peace-keeping missions and the inclusion of women in the military, military culture is still centrally shaped by the ethos of the warrior and combat-readiness. In the police, on the other hand, the focus on combat-readiness and war is much more subdued than in the military. Although there is also a focus on aggression, physicality and discipline (Fielding, 1994) this is tempered by the emphasis on the protection of citizens, the need to serve the community and the importance of camaraderie among officers. The culture of policing goes beyond the need to be ready for war.

Yet notwithstanding these differences, there are also significant affinities between the culture of policing and the culture of the military. As discussed further below, the SAPS can be regarded as an organisation with an ambivalent attitude towards militarisation. The historic relationship between the military and the police and their part in maintaining the apartheid state has left a

legacy of mistrust against overly close cooperation between the military and the police. However, in recent years the SAPS has leaned towards a more militaristic style of leadership. One example is the prominent use of war imagery in official descriptions of the fight against crime in speeches, statements and press releases by the National Police Commissioner, the Minister of Safety and Security, Nathi Mthetwa and other spokespeople in the SAPS. This is explored further in the following chapter.

In this regard, various studies have explored how militarisation is an aspect of policing that is closely linked to masculinity (Silva, 2008; Dunivin, 1994). In the South African context, Jacklyn Cock (1991) has explored aspects of gender in the South African military during the apartheid regime and highlighted how military culture is intricately linked to ideals of masculinity. In the USA, a military mode of policing in the past has been criticised by academics. It has been branded as “ill-suited” for the purpose of policing (Lorinskas and Kulis, 1986: 184), and it has been noted that the “paramilitary model of policing has created a myriad of problems” and it “received little support from any sub-grouping” (Jermier and Burkes, 1979: 1). In the South African context, the shift back to militarisation is fairly recent and the impact thereof not yet fully assessed. The link drawn between militarisation, the police and masculinity in the literature renders this an important issue for analysis. The views of participants regarding militarisation as well as the meaning attached to the introduction of the new system of more militarised ranks (see Appendix 2) are thus explored as part of this study.

Sustaining police culture

Research suggests that informal police culture is sustained through several avenues, including the academy or training college, field training and interaction with peers. However, the potential influence of both superiors and subordinates should not be overlooked.

According to Kingshot and Prinsloo (2004:2) “police culture is commonly sustained through the way members are selected, trained and accepted into the police ranks”. Waddington (2008) emphasises the significance of the informal influence of peers. For instance, during early experiences of patrolling, newcomers are advised to learn how real policing is done on the streets. Although most studies support the notion that the culture of policing is shaped mainly by

peers and training, Janet Chan (1999) emphasises the larger process at work. Police culture is something that is deeply embedded and for this reason very difficult to change. She believes that police subculture should be viewed as shared organisational knowledge which is shaped by the political and social order of the day. Police culture is thus shaped not only by the organisation, but also by larger societal norms. This is an important point that needs to be borne in mind in looking at police culture in South Africa.

Despite the difficulties associated with changing police culture, several suggestions appear in the literature around how to reform the hyper-masculine features of police culture. In the South African context, Meyer and Steyn (2009) suggest that an intake of more female members might have some effect. Miller (1999: 136) also states that an increase in women in policing could soften police culture and lead to a more androgynous type of police service, a theme which I develop further below. Kingshot and Prinsloo (2003: 9) propose that one way of addressing police culture or changing the dominant police culture is through “comprehensive training programmes”, and stress that “education and ethical policing are inextricably linked”. However, it is unclear from their discussion how interventions on a formal level would percolate through the organisation and shift police culture at the unofficial level.

3. The South African context

The above discussion has shown how features identified in the international literature as central to a masculinised police culture, especially at the level of canteen culture, can also be seen at work in the South African case. This concluding section elaborates on certain issues drawn from the South African literature on policing and police culture.

There are relatively few studies on police culture in South Africa and the literature on masculinity within police culture is even sparser. Brogden and Shearing’s 1993 study explored aspects of police culture and identified certain elements that they claim were universally found among rank-and-file police in the former SAP before 1994. These included

a sense of ‘mission’..., a combination of suspicion and paranoia..., the isolation of police as a community-within-a-community..., conservatism..., a gender-based chauvinism (where

masculine force is the key problem-solving device), stereotypical assumptions about race, and qualities of realism and pragmatism ... (Brogden and Shearing, 1993: 43).

Although much has changed with regard to policing in South Africa, some of these elements are still present in the SAPS.

Other studies reflect on the process of transformation from the old SAP to the current SAPS in terms of both continuity and change. The changing of the police force from an organisation that reflected “its political masters’ racist ideology” (Newham *et al*, 2006: 5) to an organisation that serves as “protector of the peace and security of all South Africans” (Brogden and Shearing, 1993: viii) has served as a crucial symbol of the political and social shift towards democracy. However, Marks (2005: 113) makes the observation that in the transition of South Africa into democracy, “there was never any real possibility of replacing the old with the new; the outcome of transition would always be an assimilation of the two”. This process of assimilation has been a focus of several studies, including those published at the time of transition to democracy (Brewer, 1994; Cawthra, 1993; Brogden and Shearing, 1993) and those written later with the advantage of hindsight (Newham *et al*.,2006; Marks, 2005).

The focus of Marks’s 2005 study is on the transition of the Public Order Policing (POP) unit in Durban. This specifically addresses the inevitability of change in the service and how members have dealt with organisational changes. In examining if the unit had actually changed, Marks found that the community it served was better represented in terms of the membership composition of the unit. The prevalence of brute force and unprovoked violence was something of the past and a more peaceful approach to crowd management had been adopted. The unit was also demilitarised. However, Marks noted that although there had been important changes in training, policy and governance, these did not necessarily render changes on an operational level successful. Changing norms and the organisational culture was also more challenging than the adoption of policies and training processes.

In 2008 Marks published a follow-up article on the struggles of equality in the SAPS that also looked at the POP unit in Durban. She found that even though there had been far-reaching reform in the organisation, there were still instances of internal racial discrimination and exclusionary practices towards women. She listed possible explanations for the persistence of

such destructive behaviour. A major reason is that although structural and policy changes have been implemented, they only provide a framework for change. While structural change could lead to cultural change in the long run, the process is not assured or direct. She also notes that cultural knowledge is difficult to unlearn and police culture is not always experienced as group solidarity. Police leadership is often unable to deal with individual instances of discrimination and the process of reform is not always a linear one. Discrimination operated in terms of both gender and race. Thus Marks notes that, although much has changed in the policing arena, it is still viewed by some as a “job that is unbecoming for a woman” while “officers from different race and ethnic groupings will... retreat into their racialised comfort zones” when not conducting operational work (2008: 657). What her study makes clear is that although important changes may have taken place at the level of official culture, change at a more grassroots level is still problematic.

A significant topic of research on policing in South Africa is that of the stress and strain experienced by police officers. As already noted, policing in South Africa is by no means an easy occupation. In addition to high levels of crime and the physical and emotional threats of a work environment in which violence is regularly witnessed and at times required, there is the difficulty of a historical context that renders many members of the public either hostile or unsympathetic to police officers. Various studies show high levels of stress and stress-related psychological disorders within the police force. In their study on work-related well-being in the SAPS, Mostert and Rothmann (2006) attribute the high stress rate to the effects of apartheid, high levels of crime and the pressure of transforming the previous police ‘force’ into the current police ‘service’. They focused on background variables, job stress and personality traits to predict work engagement and burnout, and found that stress caused by difficult job demands and lack of resources was the best predictors of burnout, exhaustion and cynicism. The chronic lack of resources has also been reported in the media. There is a need for more vehicles and it is directly affecting the efficiency of the police (Basson, 2008).

As already noted, Meyer and Steyn (2009) conducted a study on feelings of isolation for new police recruits at training level. They found that both male and female recruits experienced feelings of isolation when arriving at police training colleges and that these feelings increased during the course of the training experience. However, at the end of field training, female recruits

continued to feel socially isolated while male recruits experienced feelings of acceptance. This study thus points to gendered differences in the experiences of male and female recruits. Meyer and Steyn recognise that the police colleges provide the organisation with a crucial opportunity to shape or influence the attitudes of recruits and emphasise that this should be used in a more positive way. The well-being of recruits is essential to the efficiency of the service.

Pienaar and Rothmann (2003) focused on coping strategies among members of the SAPS. They specifically chose the SAPS for their study because members of the service have to deal with high crime levels. Their study indicates that individual members of the SAPS are not coping well with their environment, as can be deduced from the high number of members with illness or suffering from post-traumatic stress; high levels of substance abuse among members; reports on suicide levels, as well as evidence of reduced job satisfaction levels and high numbers of resignations. They found four main forms of coping among officers: approach coping (which entails coming up with strategies to cope in times of stress or by concentrating efforts to solve the cause of strain); avoidance of problems (by turning to alcohol in times of strain or pretending upsetting events did not occur); seeking emotional support from friends, family and professional health care workers, and, finally, turning to religion. It was found that on a national level, 'turning to religion' was rated highest in terms of coping mechanisms, something that emerged in my own study. Other studies have also found that officers turned to religion, in order to deal with the stress associated with the occupation, (Beehr, Johnson and Nieva, 1995; Tix and Frazier, 1998; Harrison, Koenig, Hays, Eme-Akwari and Pargament, 2001). Interestingly, the SAPS employs chaplains as permanent members of the service. Pienaar and Rothmann (2005) recommended that further research be conducted on the effectiveness of these coping strategies.

Of major concern as an indicator of both high levels of stress and unbalanced gender relations is the evidence relating to femicide and intimate femicide among police officers that has already been identified. In their study, Matthews, Abrahams, Jewkes, Martin, Lombard and Vetten (2008) found that men working in the security industry (such as the police) were more likely to commit femicide than people employed in other sectors. The definition of intimate femicide, as used by Matthews *et al.*, (2008: 553) entails "the killing of a woman by an intimate partner. This includes the woman's husband, boyfriend (dating or cohabiting), ex-husband (divorced or separated) or ex-boyfriend, same sex partner or a rejected would-be lover". While the definition

leaves space for femicide within same-sex relationships, the majority of incidents of femicide in South Africa are committed by male partners. This clearly brings issues of gender power dynamics and male identity to the fore, although this is an under-researched area. The Proactive Research Unit of the Independent Complaints Directorate (2009) conducted a study to gain an understanding of femicide within the police force. They reported that from 2004 to 2007 there were a total of 43 incidences of femicide, with Kwazulu-Natal and the Western Cape reporting the highest number of cases (eight each) followed by Gauteng, with seven cases. In the majority of the cases police officers used their work firearms to kill their spouses. The researchers found that the factors leading to femicide could be organised around several themes. These include contributing factors at home such as financial problems; a relationship between stress, financial problems and the abuse of alcohol or other substances; lack of emotional support from family members; intention to divorce; uncertainty about the future; taking work problems home; issues around unfavourable work conditions and workload; problems with SAPS management (such as issues surrounding promotions), and the ready access to firearms. Although the SAPS has an Employee Assistance Programme for officers facing personal problems, the report suggests that this service be improved.

Another area of concern relates to suicide. Rothmann and Pienaar (2005) conducted a study on suicide ideation in the SAPS. As described above, suicide ideation in this specific study refers to the “thoughts and cognitions about suicide” (2005: 67), which is considered to be an early indicator of suicidal behaviour. The study reported that police officers have higher rates of suicide when compared to the general population (2005:81). Citing earlier studies by Rossouw (1997, 1998, 1999), the authors found that suicides in the SAPS decreased between 1995 and 1999 but there was a sharp increase from 2000. They also found that black and Indian police officers were high-risk groups. A suggested explanation is that officers with lower ranks (constable or sergeant) and low levels of education are more at risk because of the lack of alternative employment opportunities and difficulties coping with conditions inside the organisation. Officers at lower ranks are also more exposed to scenes of crimes that might be considered traumatic. Alcohol or substance abuse as well as the presence of medical conditions also increased the likelihood of suicide ideation.

There are several support structures in place for members of the SAPS or members of their families experiencing problems. The Employee Assistance Programme has already been mentioned above. In the course of my research I came across an unofficial page on the social network, Facebook (2011). This page is titled “SAPS Support Group for Family Loss” and is dedicated to “family members who lost a SAPS member – to give support and guidance”. The group has a total of 251 supporters. In June 2010 the Minister of Police was asked a parliamentary question concerning psychological counselling for members of the SAPS (Ministry of Police, 2010b). He replied that the SAPS has access to and makes use of several mental health care practitioners, including psychologists, social workers and chaplains. Counselling, including spiritual counselling, trauma counselling and work-related counselling is also provided to members in need. Members also have access to telephonic counselling and support groups. The Employee Health and Wellness (EHW) of the SAPS is responsible for the mental and physical well-being of members of the service. According to the Minister of Police, in the period 2009 to 2010, 16.7% of the SAPS (or a total of 31 785 members) attended some form of counselling. Trauma counselling is not compulsory, but there is a continuous effort to inform members of the services available.

The literature suggests that an understanding of masculinity within the SAPS requires an engagement with the high levels of stress and strain that are clearly associated with working for the SAPS, and the implications for policing of a culture that foregrounds war talk and values the perceived masculine virtues of toughness, risk-taking and assertiveness.

Chapter 3: Methodology

The literature review shows the relevance of exploring the experiences of police officers to gain a better understanding of the culture involved in policing. This study considers the experiences of ordinary police officers as central to the analysis of masculinity and police culture. The primary strategy of enquiry adopted for this study has thus been qualitative. The underlying epistemology is situated within a constructivist and phenomenological philosophical world view as opposed to the adoption of a naturalist metatheory. The phenomenological world view proposes that knowledge is confined to the contents of personal consciousness (Groenewald, 2004) and this understanding has guided the research design. In the context of this study, the personal views and opinions of police officers in the SAPS are primary sources for the knowledge gained in this study.

In this chapter I reflect further on the methods of data collection and analysis used for this study. First, an overview of the research design and my research site is provided. Second, the specific research methods and techniques, including sampling decisions, data gathering techniques, and analytical methods, are discussed. Thereafter, third, the very cumbersome process of gaining access to the research site is related, along with a brief discussion of problems encountered during the research process and various limitations to the study. Finally, in the fourth section the ethical considerations associated with the study and my positionality as a researcher are briefly considered.

1. Research methodology and research design

Because this study is concerned primarily with the way in which individual men and women members of the SAPS experience masculinity, a qualitative methodology was deemed to be the most suitable methodology to guide the research design. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 270) describe qualitative methodology as an approach to research in which

the researcher takes as its departure point the insider perspective... in an attempt to study human action from the perspective of the social actors themselves... [and to] describe and understand rather than explain human behaviour.

A qualitative methodology can thus enable the researcher to take into account the specific reality of the participants - a considerable advantage for this study where the experiences of the participants are central. Ambert, Adler, Adler and Detzner (1995: 880) emphasise that qualitative research “seeks depth rather than breadth” with the aim to “learn how and why people behave, think, and make meaning as they do”. The questioning and ‘making meaning’ of masculinity in a traditionally masculine occupation is ultimately entwined with the agents involved in the occupation.

Qualitative research is critiqued by certain authors for being deficient in terms of reliability and validity (Kincheloe and McLaren, 2002; Burns, 1989). Ways of countering possible problems of validity include making use of multiple methods of gathering data (such as interviews and content analysis) and triangulating relevant data (Ambert *et al.*, 1995: 885). These techniques have been employed in this study.

The case study

The research design selected for this study is that of the case study, in this case a case study of the experience of masculinity within the SAPS within one police station. Creswell (2009: 13) defines the case study as a “strategy of enquiry in which the researcher explores in depth a program, event, activity, process, or one or more individuals”. Yin (2009: 18) expands on this definition, stating that the case study

copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest... and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulation fashion, and as another result, benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis.

The case study offers the researcher the opportunity to investigate the research problem within a specific location, and thereby throw light on complex social issues in actual contexts. Flyvbjerg (2006: 228) notes that it may be possible to generalise on the basis of a well-chosen and well-designed case study, emphasising the importance of the case study as an example of broader patterns or features of behaviour:

One can often generalize on the basis of a single case, and the case study may be central to scientific development via generalization (*sic*) as supplement or alternative to other methods. But formal generalization is overvalued as a source of scientific development, whereas “the force of example” is underestimated.

In their study on diversity in the SAPS, Newham *et al.* (2006) note that, due to the size of the SAPS as well as the fact that the organisation is spread throughout the entire country, a national study project would be beyond their capacity. Given the nature of my project I was faced with similar limitations and this also favoured the adoption of a case study research design. Although this sets limits on my ability to generalise, the case study approach has offered me the opportunity to look into the workings of police culture at a specific police station and draw inferences about masculinity within the organisational culture of the SAPS based on it. Thus while my study does not claim to be strictly representative of all police stations in South Africa, The Dorp Police Station can be seen to illustrate how issues around masculinity are playing out in policing in South Africa in the field, and the wider value of my findings should not be disregarded.

The research site

The police station selected for the study is one of the bigger stations in the Western Cape. It was chosen as my research site for two reasons: firstly for convenience as I was able to access it relatively easily and secondly, because there had been some negative media reporting on alleged harsh behaviour against the public by officers from this branch in 2008 and 2009. Although it is not the aim of this study to focus directly on the issue of police violence, given the links between violence and masculinity that have already been drawn in the literature, it was felt that this was a consideration to take into account in my selection of a research site.

The employment profile of The Dorp Police Station in terms of race and gender of its personnel is summarised in the table below. This profile is presented here because it informed my decisions around sampling for my interviews, which are discussed in the next section.

Table 2: The Dorp Police Station: Distribution of officers by Department, by gender and race (Source: Provided by The Dorp Police Station to the researcher)

Department	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female	Female	Female	Female	Total
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	
Support Staff	4	8	0	2	6	17	0	7	44
Operational / Shift Staff	36	62	2	10	9	12	1	3	135
Flying Squad	5	9	0	2	0	1	0	0	17
Detectives	5	15	0	6	1	6	0	4	37
Total	50	94	2	20	16	36	1	14	233

This shows that of the 233 officers in the police station, 166 or 71% are male. The majority (130 or 56%) are Coloured. The majority (135 or 57%) of the staff are employed as operational staff.

Tables 3 and 4 show the distribution of police officers at the station in terms of their age by gender and race, as well as the distribution by rank, by gender and race.

Table 3: The Dorp Police Station: Distribution of officers by age, by race and gender (Source: Information provided to the researcher by The Dorp Police Station to the researcher).

Age	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female	Female	Female	Female	Total
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	
<25	2	7	0	1	1	2	0	0	13
26 – 40	39	53	1	5	11	22	1	10	142
40<	8	33	1	15	4	12	0	5	78
Total	49	93	2	21	16	36	1	15	233

Table 4: The Dorp Police Station: Distribution of officers by rank, by race and gender (Source: Information provided by the Dorp Police Station to the researcher).

Rank	Male	Male	Male	Male	Female	Female	Female	Female	Total
	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	Black	Coloured	Indian	White	
Brigadier	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
Colonel	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	2
Lieutenant Colonel	0	2	0	3	0	2	0	1	8
Major	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Captain	4	9	1	5	2	2	0	3	26
Lieutenant	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Warrant Officer	2	20	0	11	2	4	0	6	45
Sergeant	3	6	0	1	2	2	0	4	18
Constable	30	51	0	4	9	16	1	1	112
PSA LEVEL 3 + 4	2	4	0	1	3	10	0	0	20
Total	41	94	2	25	19	36	1	15	233

Table 3 shows that the majority of officers (61%) are in the 26-40 age bracket, with white males heavily concentrated in the oldest age bracket, relative to other groups (over 40 years). In terms of rank, the four most senior ranks are occupied by people of colour, one of whom is a woman. Table 4 shows that, although a few women have been appointed in senior positions, the majority of women are employed in the lower ranks.

2. Research methods and techniques

The multiple sources employed in this study of The Dorp Police Station included in-depth semi-structured interviews with a total of 19 informants (11 male and 8 female), additional interviews with three key informants from a police training facility in the area, and a content analysis of documentary sources from the police online journal, *SAPS Journal*. These data-gathering techniques were supplemented by more informal activities such as on-going observations of activities and interactions at The Dorp Police Station in the course of my more structured field work, as well as limited participation in events at the police station. Immersing oneself in the research site and participating in patrols or enrolling at training facilities have been employed as research strategies by several researchers (for instance, Steinberg, 2008; Westmarland, 2001; Prokos and Padavic, 2002). In my case, direct participant observation was limited to taking part in a march organised for the launch of the *Men for Change* group in the area. In this case I was invited to join men and women from police stations in the area in marching through the streets of The Dorp to celebrate the launch of a campaign to create an awareness of issues of gender in the police. In my case the extent to which I could participate in such events was restricted by the limitations of time as well as the relatively restricted terms on which I sought and was granted permission from the SAPS for my study.

These various data-gathering techniques were combined in a process of triangulation to provide a more thorough understanding of the results of the study and increase the level of confidence in its findings. Patton (1999: 1192) notes that

the logic of triangulation is based on the premise that no single method ever adequately solves the problem of rival explanations. Because each method reveals different aspects of empirical reality, multiple methods of data collection and analysis provide more grist for the research mill.

In what follows each of my research strategies are discussed in more detail.

The in-depth interviews

Sampling

For this study probability sampling was considered to be too limiting and the selection of participants for the interviews relied on a process of non-probability sampling. Ambert *et al.* (1995: 880) note that, “instead of drawing from a large, representative sample of an entire population of interest, qualitative researchers seek to acquire in-depth and intimate information about a smaller group of persons”. In this study the nature of the research site made purposive or judgemental sample selection most suitable. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 166) note that in certain projects it is “appropriate to select your sample on the basis of your own knowledge of the population, its elements and the nature of your research aims”. My reliance on the availability of potential participants also played a role in the selection process. As the study was conducted with public servants during their working hours, officers were not always available, due to official duties, emergencies or changes of schedules.

It is also important to note that the selection of participants was facilitated by a senior officer at the police station. The officer enquired about the nature of the sample needed and encouraged members to participate when asked to take part in the study. The implications of the involvement of this officer (ethically and in terms of bias) are discussed in the final section of this chapter.

Within these constraints, I attempted to select participants that would reflect the diversity and relative weighting of the police station in terms of its gendered and racial composition as presented in tables 2 to 4 above, without restricting myself to strict comparability. The personnel information from my study site shows that some 71% are male and 29% female. The proportion of female personnel is thus higher than the national average of 24% (SAPS, 2011b). The racial make-up of the station is as follows: coloured: 56%, black: 28%, white 15%, and Indian: just over 1%. In terms of age, 5.5% were younger than 25.61% between 26 and 40, and some 34% were 41 years and older (all percentages are rounded.)

My 19 male and female participants were selected from different ranks, ages, language preferences and racial groups. Eleven of the 19 were male (58%) and eight were female (42%). In terms of their racial identity, eight were coloured (42%), five were black (26%), five were

white (26%) and, one was Indian.⁵ None of the participants interviewed was younger than 25. A total of 13 officers were between the ages of 26 and 40 (68.4%) and the remaining six (31.6%) officers were older, ranging between 42 and 55. In terms of rank my sample consisted of the Brigadier, four Captains, three Warrant Officers, four Sergeants and seven Constables.

Although the make-up of those interviewed does not mirror the numbers presented in the statistical overview of the police station, it should be noted that this is a qualitative study and it was considered important to hear a range of voices across the major social categories in the police station. It was my intention to interview a variety of participants in terms of gender, race, rank and age rather than strive for a strictly representative sample. The final sample was also affected by the availability of individuals.

The format of the interviews

Participants were interviewed using a semi-structured interview schedule. Thirteen interviews were conducted in Afrikaans (my first language) while the remaining six were in English (in which I am fully fluent). DiCicco Bloom and Crabtree (2006: 315) describe the semi-structured interview as an interview “organised around a set of predetermined open-ended questions, with other questions emerging from the dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee/s”. This form of interviewing was used because of its open-ended approach to gaining information, and the freedom it affords to explore issues as they emerge during the interview. Participants are also able to express themselves freely in their own words rather than be restricted to the pre-determined language of a structured questionnaire.

The interview schedule (see Appendix 3) was designed to be flexible while giving the interviewer some structure and guidance. It is based on the schedule used by the HSRC (2008) in a study on women’s property rights, HIV/AIDS and domestic violence in the Amajuba district of KwaZulu-Natal. It contained 9 modules. Each module consisted of a possible introductory sentence, an explanation of the purpose of the module and a few prompt questions, in case they were necessary. The schedule was not designed to be followed in a rigid manner, but to allow freedom to move backwards and forwards across the modules as the interview progressed and

⁵ Participants were asked to enter their race on a basic information sheet. Classification was therefore not by the researcher, but by the participants themselves.

themes emerged. With the selected format of the schedule, I was able to interview participants in an informal and conversational manner while still having clear guidelines in the interview process. The modules were structured according to theme and addressed the following issues:

- Background information (also to establish rapport).
- Training, including views on gender and training in SAPS.
- Work-related questions, including experiences of work, duties, attitude to policing in general.
- Canteen culture and informal socialisation within the police.
- Transformation, including views and attitudes towards transformation regarding race and gender.
- Militarisation and views on the ‘shoot to kill’ statement.
- Gender, including perceptions of male and female police officers and attitudes towards gender in the police.
- Questions regarding the public, including information regarding relationship with the public as well as perceived pressure and expectations from the public.
- Personal questions, including information on family life, stress experienced and impact of occupation on personal life.

In addition there were specific questions for female and male officers designed to explore their experiences and views as female or male police officers.

Because of the lengthy application process for access to SAPS (described below), interviewing only commenced in April 2011 and ran over that month. Interviews were conducted at the police station. Several venues in which I could conduct the interviews with some privacy, including the kitchen area, a conference room, some of the offices of support staff, and, in one case, the call room, were made available to me.

Interviews were recorded with the permission of the participants and transcribed for analysis. Although Speer and Hutchby (2003: 333-334) note that the recording device is often viewed “as something which renders problematic the normalcy, naturalness and authenticity of data collected”, this is not necessarily the case and it also offers several advantages. Writing down responses may result in the inadvertent ‘sieving’ of data by the interviewer, a possibility that is

avoided when making use of recordings. For this study, all except two of the interviews were recorded and additional field notes were taken to support the recordings.

Police Journal entries

A textual analysis of the online version of the *Police Journal* was conducted in order to deepen the study. The online journal of SAPS is available to the public and accessible through a user-friendly link⁶ on the official website of the SAPS. The journal is divided into eight sections: The *Home* page; a section on the *Successes* of the police; a *Safety Hints* section with a link to the Crime Prevention Strategy page; the *Community Policing* section; the *Service Excellence* page, the *Assist and Serve* section dedicated to articles on missing suspects or wanted persons; the *Reservist* section, and the *Personnel* section. The *Personnel* section was selected for my analysis as it covers a wide range of articles on individual police officers, including stories on social events, sporting events, profiles on officers who excel and other articles relating specifically to individuals within the service. The timeframe chosen for analysis for this project was from August 2009 to the end of February 2011. The starting date was selected to coincide with the inauguration of current Police Commissioner, General Bheki Cele (“Bheki Cele named SA’s new police chief”, 2009). Within this eighteen month timeframe, a total of 208 articles were uploaded into the personnel section. A careful reading of these articles indicated that 117 of them related to issues concerning either police culture or gender within the SAPS. From this it was possible to select a random sample of 25% of the articles from the list for closer textual analysis. As the articles are listed in chronological order, there was no danger of listing bias.

The sample provided the opportunity for a deeper understanding of the organisational aspects of police culture and gender. Although the journal entries cannot be considered to be a direct reflection of the organisational culture of the SAPS, they do offer insight into the way in which gender issues are presented in the organisation.

Bryman (2008: 526) warns against some of the limitations of using documents for analysis, which need to be taken into account in this form of data collection. He states that it is

⁶ Official website of the SAPS available at www.saps.gov.za.

tempting to assume that documents reveal something about an underlying social reality, so that the documents... are viewed as representations of the reality of that organisation... and [they] will help us to uncover such things as its culture or ethos.

He describes the type of documents that are most appropriate for this form of analysis as documents that were not produced for the purpose of the study, were fairly heterogeneous and were relevant to the focus of the researcher. Atkinson and Coffey in Bryman (2008: 527) note further that the both the context in which documents were created and the implied readership of the documents should be taken into account. It is when documents are considered in this way that they “are significant for what they were supposed to accomplish and who they are written for”. It is the intention and audience that deem the documents as relevant sources for the reflection of the culture of an organisation. Atkinson and Coffey refers to the reflected reality in texts as ‘documentary reality’ which should be supported by other means of data collection. For this study, the qualitative interviews provided the major source for understanding of the issues at hand.

Analysis

The analysis of both the interviews and the articles gathered from the online journal was conducted through a process of qualitative content analysis and triangulation to provide an understanding of the results. Elo and Kyngäs (2007: 108) describe some of the benefits of making use of qualitative content analysis, including the flexibility in terms of the methods, the ability to go beyond a simple counting game and its usefulness in creating an understanding of the meaning attached to communication. To facilitate in the ‘systematic classification’ of the data, a Computer-Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software programme (CAQDAS), Atlas Ti was used.

In the case of the interviews, all the transcriptions of the recorded interviews and fieldnotes for the non-recorded interviews were considered for analysis. To facilitate in the process of analysis, the data collected was coded. Neumann (1997: 422) emphasises that coding has a twofold purpose. Firstly, it reduces the mechanical data and secondly, it categorises the data in an analytical fashion. Coding was done according to themes recognised either from the literature or as they emerged during the interviews. As the categories for coding emerged gradually from the

data, a process of inductive coding was employed to recognise the relevant themes (Pope *et al.* 2000). The literature review created an awareness of certain aspects of either police culture or masculinity that might be evident from the interviews. These aspects as well as emerging themes were considered when codes were assigned and the final analysis conducted.

In the case of the journal entries, although the analysis was done mostly using inductive or conventional content analysis, some aspects of summative content analysis were employed to understand the occurrence of gendered terms. Hsieh and Shannon (2005: 1283) state that summative content analysis is used “not to infer meaning but, rather, to explore usage”. Direct gender recognition terms such as ‘man’, ‘men’, ‘men’s’ or ‘male’ or the feminine phrases ‘woman’, ‘women’, ‘lady’, ‘ladies’, ‘girl’, ‘girls’, ‘women’s’ or ‘female’ formed part of the summative analysis.

Bryman (2008: 529) note that qualitative content analysis comprises of the recognition of underlying themes. As was mentioned, the selected articles were analysed and coded using Atlas Ti. Lonkila (1995) describe the process of coding as linking keywords to segments of text and the same process was used for this study. The codes used to analyse the data sources were identified to link to the themes used to analyse the qualitative interviews. Open coding was employed to recognise the following as codes: *The Body, Traits or Characteristics, Gendered Duties* and *Social Interaction*. A separate code has also been recognised to identify all aspects that are indicative of police culture or how policing is portrayed in the articles. The designated code is recognised as *Other*, and relates to any other aspect of gender-related issues of police culture noticeable in journal articles that fall outside the reach of the other codes.

3. Access, limitations, and ethical considerations

Access

One of the major challenges facing a researcher working on a government institution, such as the police, is that of access. The process of applying for permission to undertake research for my study was an undertaking of note. It took seven months to receive permission to conduct my

interviews. Delays in securing this permission restricted the amount of time I had in which to conduct my primary research and undertake my final analysis.

I initially contacted a captain at The Dorp Police Station of the SAPS in August of 2010 and was informed that I would have to apply to the Research Department of the SAPS in Pretoria to conduct my study. The initial application process involved the completion of several documents and submission of my research proposal, a copy of my research instruments, a letter of recommendation from the university, a letter of motivation for the research to be conducted and a document with relevant personal information. This information was sent to the Strategic Management Head office at the end of August 2010. In the second week I was informed that my proposal was receiving attention. I was also contacted via telephone and was told that my application had been approved by the Head Office and sent to the Western Cape Department of Police for final clearance.

From October 2010 through January 2011 I was in constant contact with both the national and provincial offices. My application forms reportedly went through the legal department of the Western Cape police department but final clearance was delayed during the festive season and into 2011. Several promised dates for the completion of my application documents passed without results until March 2011, when clearance was finally granted. Although personnel at the Western Cape department of police were friendly and always returned my calls, it remained a frustrating process. Without the necessary clearance I was forced to postpone the start of my fieldwork by several months.

Once official clearance had been granted, I scheduled a meeting at The Dorp Police Station to organise my interview programme. After an introductory meeting, the Brigadier in command of the station provided me with the opportunity to introduce myself and the purpose of my study to the entire department, and encouraged members of the station to participate. The Brigadier volunteered to participate as well.

Limitations and problems in the field

In her study on female police officers in managerial positions, Mouton (n.d) noted the following problems: cancelled interviews, respondents unwilling to participate in interviews, and language

issues where participants were not able to express themselves freely in the language of their choice. Some, but not all, of these problems were encountered in my study. Some of the interviews had to be rescheduled at short notice, as officers were called to respond to emergencies, shifts were changed or other official duties took precedence. However, although this impacted on my timeframe, participants were always willing to reschedule and make time for the interviews and my general reception was cordial. This was contrary to the expectation that I would be received either with suspicion or hostility.

As noted, the lengthy process of receiving official clearance for my research resulted in severe time constraints and interviews had to be completed in a shortened timeframe. Individual interviews were not compromised but whereas my original timeframe had allowed for a maximum of two interviews per day, I had to adjust my timeframe to fit in three interviews on the same day as far as possible. This increased the likelihood of researcher fatigue on my part playing a role during the research process and compromising the quality of my interviews and informal observations. Mandel (2003) notes that researcher fatigue or tiredness often plays a part in the research process and that, in her case, it led to a certain inflexibility and difficulties in setting aside biases. In my case, I did experience some tiredness, although not to the extent that Mandel describes.

On the positive side, I was fortunate to have participants who were mostly willing to participate. Generally they displayed a willingness to express themselves freely and without constraint and appeared open in their responses. I did not encounter an aversion to answering my questions or speaking about experiences, even though some of the issues under discussion could be considered sensitive. Although I took into consideration that rapport with the participants might be limited in my research design, generally I experienced an openness during the interviews which I experienced as positive and reflect on further below.

Several other limitations should be taken into account with regard to my research design. Firstly, the study was limited to one research site. Although the SAPS functions as a unified institution, police stations differ in terms of the area serviced, socio-economic group serviced and language and culture of police officers. Thus it cannot be assumed that the station in which I did my research is fully representative of all police stations in South Africa, or even for the Western

Cape, even though, as argued above, the case study method offers the opportunity to add depth to the study of an issue that goes beyond the individual case study site.

Secondly, I encountered some problems regarding preferred language. South Africa is a diverse country with eleven official languages. Respondents were given a choice between Afrikaans and English as I was able to conduct the interviews fluently in both languages. Four of the participants did not speak either Afrikaans or English as a first language. Although they indicated that they were comfortable enough speaking in English, this could be seen as potentially limiting as they might not have been able to express themselves as fully on the issues as if they had been speaking in the language of their choice. I attempted to deal with this by rephrasing questions that were unclear to these participants and participants were also told to ask questions as the interview progressed to clarify any misunderstandings. English is also considered the occupational language at the station and participants expressed comfort with the language.

The lengthy application processes for access could, potentially, have posed another challenge in terms of establishing rapport with the participants. Because of time constraints, interviews with participants were limited to single interviews lasting only about one to two hours. A lengthier timeframe could possibly have led to a better relationship between the interviewer and the participants. Nevertheless, as already indicated, my assessment was that good rapport was established with participants and a level of depth was achieved in the interviews.

For the analysis of the textual analysis several other challenges were presented. The possibility exists that the opinions being expressed in the articles by the author are not sufficiently representative of the dominant views or attitudes within the organisation. This has been taken into consideration during the analysis. The articles have been viewed as providing additional perspectives on the issues identified through the literature and captured through the qualitative interviews. As the articles are published on the official website it was felt that they can be regarded as legitimate sources for the study.

Ethical considerations

Research at sensitive sites such as government institutions and the police may offer several challenges in terms of research ethics. For this study, ethical clearance was received from the

Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at the University of Stellenbosch. In addition, the research application went through all the necessary stages of approval at the research department of the South African Police Service (see Appendix 4). The police station selected for the study was informed of the nature of the study from the Western Cape police department. I also had the opportunity to introduce myself at an information session and members of the station were informed of the study, the length of the study and the voluntary nature of the project. The nature of the research questions did not cover any sensitive or confidential data from the SAPS.

I followed standard procedures in terms of voluntary participation and informed consent. Participants who were interviewed completed consent forms (see Appendix 5) and were informed of their rights, including the right not to answer particular questions and to withdraw from the interview at any stage if they wished. Participants were also informed that recordings of the interviews were being made. All except two of the respondents agreed to being recorded and those who did not, agreed that I could make notes and use these notes in my study. Confidentiality and anonymity of participants were ensured through my not using names to connect interview schedules to respondents as well as the use of codenames during transcription and providing pseudonyms for participants and the police station in my final text. Transcriptions were also code-protected on my personal computer.

Certain ethical challenges did arise in the course of my research. At my first meeting with the Brigadier, I was introduced to a captain who was instructed to assist me as far as participants were concerned. I explained the purpose of my study and the type of sample that I needed. As it is a fairly big station with more than 200 people from different departments, selecting a sample on my own would have been challenging and my status as “outsider” might have resulted in difficulties with securing volunteers. For this reason, the captain took on the role of facilitator. He proceeded to make a list of profiles for possible participants, in terms of race, gender, ranks and language from the different departments at the station. He made a few phone calls and asked for willing members fitting the profile to partake in the study. He also volunteered to take part in the study and hereafter encouraged all other members to do so as well. He explained to potential participants that the interviews were of a more personal nature and that they had no need “to be scared” of me. He also stated that I would not ask any “funny questions” relating to anything confidential regarding SAPS. It should be noted that, despite my use of informed consent

protocols with each interview, the possibility thus existed that some participants may have felt pressurised to participate. However, their behaviour during the interviews did not suggest that participants were uncomfortable or felt pressurised and this possibility is therefore not considered a major concern.

Another ethical issue that arose during the studies was that of the burden of the trust placed in me by the participants. There were several occasions where informal conversation outside the formal interviews revealed much about police culture in practice, including information that could be regarded as personally compromising; however, this information was provided outside the framework of informed consent that guided the interview relationship. An example in this regard is a conversation I had with a few officers where humorous accounts were related regarding domestic violence. From the situation I realised I was perceived as being “part of the group” and it was expected that I should join in the laughter. Situations such as these also placed a strain on myself, both as woman and as social researcher, in terms of how to respond.

An ethical issue also arose in relation to the interest of some of the officers in my research. As was the case with Mandel’s research (2003), several of the participants took great interest in my research and requested feedback or a copy of my thesis at its completion. My concern with this was that despite my attempts to conceal the identity of my informants, this could compromise my undertaking of confidentiality to the peers who were interviewed. This issue was addressed by insuring anonymity and the use of pseudonyms. At the request of several of the officers, a shortened version of the completed thesis will be handed to The Dorp Police Station.

A further unanticipated ethical challenge was how to respond to the heightened expectations on the part of some participants about what I could do on their behalf. Several respondents viewed the interview as an opportunity to voice grievances against the SAPS and their working conditions. Some officers had the expectation that I would be able to “fix” the problems that they were experiencing at the station. Some also related accounts of personal ordeals, stress and trauma relating to the topic of gender relations and masculinity, which I was unable to alleviate. One participant told me of her experience of sexual harassment at the station and asked how my research would address the issue. I explained to her that a copy of my thesis would be sent to the SAPS main office, but that I was unsure if the information would be used to address the issue directly and could make no commitments in this regard. A copy of the research report will be

sent to the National Police head office and the hope is that some attention will be given to the grievances of police officers.

Another ethical aspect is that of “representing the other”. Burck (2005:242) emphasises the reality of the “complexities and inequalities of the research relationship” and warns against “othering” participants involved in the study. An awareness of these inherent intricacies and establishing rapport with participants are effective means of countering against these issues.

In their research, DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree (2006) encountered instances where participants had emotional experiences during the interviews, even though they were informed of the nature of the study and consent forms were signed. They also note that participants expressed relief after the interviews as they had the opportunity to express their feelings. To some extent, I experienced similar situations. As was mentioned, several participants compared the interviews to sessions with psychologists, where they “could get things off their chest”. The participants were not subjected to any questions that might be considered personally intrusive but were, rather, asked to reflect on their occupation and the way in which they perceived their positions as men or women. Nevertheless, some used the opportunity to vent their frustrations and feelings. This placed a certain level of strain on myself as researcher as I felt unable to address the issues raised by participants in any direct way. At the same time, I appreciated the openness that was displayed, which also suggested that far from being uncomfortable in the interviews, some participants responded positively to the opportunity to reflect on their situation.

From the onset of the study I made a conscious effort to remain aware of my position as a student, a woman and an outsider in the field of policing. As a student, I represented the academic world, a world not always trusted by the police. Marks (2005) has noted that sociologists and police in general are not known for their co-operation. Greenhill states “police often see sociological work as ill-informed, and sociologists tend not to take seriously what police do” (1981: 103). For the duration of my fieldwork I made a conscious effort to be open to what was being said by the participants without allowing my personal biases or views to interfere. The object of my study, masculinity in the police, is also challenging in terms of my own position as a woman. Studying masculinity in a traditionally male dominated occupation poses some problems. Several participants expressed views on men and women that could be considered sexist. These views did not always reflect my own views and could even have been

perceived as offensive, for instance the informal conversation with a few officers in which several sexist jokes hinting on domestic violence were told in my presence. I attempted not to let my own views impede the interaction and to maintain an open disposition throughout the interviews.

Chapter 4: A Brief Overview of Policing in South Africa

The current organisation of the SAPS cannot be understood without understanding the historical context that, ultimately, has shaped it. This chapter briefly traces the organisational history of policing in South Africa from the Union of South Africa in 1910, through the controversial apartheid years, to the establishment of the current SAPS in 1995. It then explores the history of the inclusion of women in policing in South Africa, within an international comparative perspective. The final section of the chapter provides a profile of the current SAPS.

1. The history of the SAP before 1995

After the ending of the South African or Anglo-Boer war in 1902 talks were held to establish a unified police force for the region. With the unification of South Africa in 1910 an *ad hoc* committee was established to discuss the possibility of a national police service. Reflecting the political dispensation of the time, this committee was, however, limited to representatives of the political elite from within the white community, which at the time was also confined to men only. The assembling of the new policing organisation can thus be considered one of the key moments when white power over the black majority in the newly established Union of South Africa was consolidated. In 1913 the South African Police (SAP) was officially founded. In accordance with Proclamation 18 of 1913, the head office of the SAP was located in the capital, Pretoria, overseeing 45 police districts around the country (Van der Merwe, 1997). The disciplinary ideology and structure of the SAP was based on the military. As Van der Spuy (cited in Marks, 2005) emphasises, the ethos was that of 'policeman-cum-soldier'. This militarised ethos was to have a profound impact on police culture and the history of policing in South Africa.

From its inception this police service reflected the ideology of white domination in South Africa. Ranks were assigned along racialised criteria, with black and white officers consigned to different ranks in terms of section 17(a) of the police regulations. Officers classified as 'European' (that is, white) could be assigned, in order of precedence, to the following ranks: Commissioner; Deputy Commissioners; Inspectors; Sub-Inspectors; 1/Class Head Constables;

2/Class Head Constables; 1/Class Sergeants; 2/Class Sergeants; Corporals (Mounted Branch) or Acting Sergeants (Foot Branch); and Constables. Officers classified as ‘Coloureds’, ‘Natives’ and ‘Indians’ were assigned to the lower ranks – Sergeants, Corporals and Constables (Dippenaar, 1988: 12). Until 1960, as discussed further below, all police officers were male.

Van der Spuy notes that the police force was shaped by what she calls an “emergent ethnic and political mobilisation of Afrikaner nationalism” (1990: 90). The earliest members of the force were mostly men of British origin, but by the end of the 1920s, the main body of the police force was comprised of men from a rural, Afrikaans background.

After the unification of South Africa, several policies were implemented which accelerated the process of racial segregation in society that was to become the basis of the apartheid system after 1948. These included the Land Act of 1913, which established ‘native reserves’ on 7% of the country, the 1923 Urban Areas Act, which decreed that black people were allowed to reside in urban areas only if they were economically active, and the 1937 Native Laws Amendment Act, which provided for the removal of African people to rural areas and made it more difficult for African women to enter urban areas (Posel, 1991; Maylam, 1990). The process of formalised geographical segregation slowly gained momentum until, in 1948, the National Party was voted into power by an all-white electorate and proceeded to enforce its apartheid policies. The 1950s brought with it a sequence of policies that helped shape apartheid. These included the Population Registration Act (1950), the Group Areas Act (1950), the Job Reservation and Separate Amenities Act (1953) and the Bantu Education Act (1953).

These policies impacted directly on the role and duties of the SAP. The SAP was entrusted with the task of enforcing the geographical segregation as determined by the laws enacted by the National Party government, often under violent and hostile conditions as black protest escalated. In the 1950s there was also a marked increase in the tightening of the pass laws, which required a massive police involvement. The pass laws justified daily street-corner interrogations of black people by police officers, and often led to immediate arrests (Frankel, 1980). Although both black and white officers were involved in the enforcement of the pass laws, the apartheid government instituted a policy of devolving responsibility for the policing of black township areas to black police officers. This policy led to the establishment of nine exclusively black

stations in the Witwatersrand area, Bloemfontein, Pietersburg, and Port Elizabeth (Dippenaar, 1988).

The 1960s have been labelled the years of 'Grand Apartheid', with evermore segregationist laws making their appearance in the South African law books. In this time the former 'native reserves' were reconstituted as 'Self-Governing Territories' and 'Development Regions' (also known as homelands). During the 1970s the apartheid government proclaimed Lebowa, Gazankulu, KwaNdebele, Kangwane, KwaZulu and QwaQwa to be 'self-governing' homelands within South Africa, while Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei were provided with a nominally independent status. They were, however, not recognised as such by the international community. This period saw an increase in resistance among black South Africans, including the decision by the African National Congress (ANC), which went into exile after 1960, to launch an armed struggle. The SAP seemed increasingly ill-equipped to deal with the civil unrest, as became evident in the 1976 Soweto uprising and its bloody outcome (Pickles and Woods, 1992; Posel, 1991).

The 1980s saw the SAP involved in enforcing the several States of Emergency proclaimed by the National Party. This involved cooperation with the military (SADF), which brought with it a new paramilitary operational style, with riot control being the order of the day (Dippenaar, 1988). The mood in South Africa was one of mounting anxiety and stress among both the oppressed and the oppressors. Those being subjugated by the laws of apartheid were the victims of increasingly violent suppression by the SAP and SADF. However, the apartheid government was also suffering from stress, as reflected in a speech by then Minister of Law and Order, Minister Le Grange, in which he thanked the SAP for reacting positively "against the forces of anarchy and violence that so often comes close to us" (Dippenaar, 1988: 691).

Finally, after decades of unrest, violent suppression and several civil uprisings, the start of the 1990s ushered in a period of political negotiations between the National Party and the ANC that led to South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 and the start of a new political era under an ANC government. These radical changes at the level of the state necessitated the development of a new mode of policing. The Interim Constitution of 1993, followed by the final Constitution of 1996, provided for a police service designed to represent all South Africans and serve the

entire population (Marks, 2005). However, as discussed further in the section below, this transformation has not been without its problems.

The recruitment of women into the police force after 1960

The history of women's involvement in the police service is important for an understanding of gender dynamics within the organisation. Here a comparison with other countries is instructive. While women have been employed in the police in the USA and the UK since the late 1800s, in South Africa the inclusion of women is a fairly recent development, dating to the 1960s.

In the USA the first women employed in policing were known as matrons and were set with the task of either preparing food or doing laundry for the police force. The first female police officer with the right to arrest offenders was employed at the Chicago Police Department in 1893, and in 1905 the first female police officer with full police privileges was employed in Portland, Oregon (Brown, 1998). Between 1905 and 1915 several other police stations in the USA employed women, but it was generally accepted that these women were employed to do gender-specific tasks such as clerical or social work. With the increase in the number of female officers, a Women's Bureau was established in 1920 (Koenig, 1978: 268). Even though female officers were employed as full police officers, they functioned as a separate division within the police and were not allowed to wear uniforms or carry weapons. They also earned lower salaries, despite often being more highly qualified than their male counterparts (Franklin, 2005; Rabe-Hemp, 2008). These discrepancies lasted until the late 1960s when Dr Louis Higgins stepped in and began working for better positions for women in policing. She found, however, that most women believed that having separate policing organisations for men and women was the only way in which women could be independently promoted (Bezuidenhout, 2001). Even after the incorporation of the Women's Bureau into the main police organisation in 1920, women encountered extreme resistance to their full participation on the part of their male colleagues (Franklin, 2005).

In Europe, female policing followed a similar trend. Initially women were used as either clerks or social workers, with lower salaries than men. The outbreak of the First World War in 1914 created a need for more women in policing as male police officers were diverted to the army. In

the UK the first female police officer was employed in 1914 in Liverpool. Heidensohn (1992, cited in Brown, 1998) argues that because of the UK's unitary police governance system, British women had to lobby more vigorously than their American counterparts for acceptance in the police force. In 1922 the Chief's Association Convention accepted a resolution that women would in future be incorporated as full-fledged members of the police force. This decision was, however, not without resistance and it was only in 1975, with the passage of the Sex Discrimination Act, that separate women's police departments were fully incorporated into the police in the UK (Bezuidenhout, 2001).

Developments in South Africa mirror some of the features of female participation in policing in North America and Europe. It is significant, however, that the employment of women in the police service is much more recent. It is suggested that the delayed inclusion of women reflects the far more conservative political and social environment in South Africa, with the apartheid government being notoriously patriarchal in its views and policies (Marks, 2005).

As noted, the first full-time female employees in the SAP were recruited in 1960. Initially women were employed in clerical positions. This was done to enable physically fit men to sign up for active duty. As was the case in Europe during the First World War, the apartheid government's war against national liberation movements in southern Africa created the situation where most young men were deployed to active duty with the military. This led to a shortage of recruits signing up for the police force. Dippenaar (1988) cites this as one of the reasons for the employment of women in the force, as this was considered to be one solution to the problem of declining manpower. The 1960s were thus an era of innovation in terms of gender relations in South African policing, but it is important to note that these initiatives were structured along racial lines. At this stage steps towards greater gender equality was limited to the intake of white female officers.

The announcement in 1971 by then Minister Muller (Minister of Foreign Affairs), that women would in future be employed as full-fledged members of the force was nonetheless unexpected. On the 6th of November 1971 the Commissioner of the South African Police described the role of the proposed Women's Police Force thus:

Naturally, Women Police will be employed in specific tasks, particularly in cases where female accused and witnesses are involved, but primarily also in criminal cases where the complainants are women ... The women will receive basically the same departmental training as male members of the force, with less emphasis, however, on the military aspect (Dippenaar, 1988: 429).

Thus although women would henceforth be allowed to join the police, it was in terms of gender-specific roles within the organisation. The first two female commanders were appointed to the new 'women police force' on 1 January 1972 (Groenewald, 1984 as cited in Dippenaar, 1988). Both women were white and Afrikaans-speaking. The newly assigned head of the female section, Brigadier Duveen Botha, was given the task of supervising the recruitment of women and the establishment of the Women Police. By the end of the first year there were 102 female police officers, all of them matriculants. It is worth noting that educational entry requirements were viewed as tougher for women, as can be seen in 1973 statistics which show that all 170 female recruits to the police force were matriculants while only 24% of male recruits had this qualification (Brewer, 1994: 241).

According to Mouton (n.d), already at this early stage the Public Service Commission instructed that there should be no discrimination in the treatment of men and women in the police force. The formal implementation of a non-discriminatory police service is representative of the formal culture of policing that promotes equality. However, the institutional and canteen culture of the SAP was reflected in the differential treatment of women as was evident with regard to employment, training and official duties. Although men and women received equal training regarding firearms, women received less attention in the drill section. Men in the SAP often saw women as 'weak' and unable to perform the physical tasks that were required of police officers (Mouton, n.d). Women were thus, at first, not assigned to duties such as patrols. They were mainly used for victim support administration, clerical duties, administration and typing. In terms of the unofficial police culture at the time, the employment of women was initially met with great reluctance by male members of the SAP. According to Dippenaar (1988: 428) "the average policeman on the street smugly dismissed the Minister's announcement as unrealistic, impractical and mere wishful thinking". These responses echo American policing history, where although women were allowed to enter the police force, they had to perform tasks that were considered to be "women's work", such as working with youth or doing clerical tasks (Police

Foundation, 2010). It was only during the late 1970s and early 1980s that South African women police officers were allowed to do vehicle patrols and participate in investigations. This was largely driven by the political unrest, which drove the demand for more operational members in the police force.

The inclusion of female officers was initially limited to the inclusion of white women. The first coloured female police officers started training at the Bishop Lavis Training College in Cape Town in 1981, and in 1982 the first Asian recruits started their training in Chatsworth, Durban. It was only in 1983 that the first black (African) women were enrolled at Hammanskraal Training College. These women received the same training as their male counterparts (Morrison, 2004, as cited in Mouton: n.d). Also in 1983 Warrant officer Indera Chetty became the first black (Indian) woman to be promoted to Lieutenant (Dippenaar, 1988). However, it was only after 1994 that women were formally placed on an equal footing with male officers in terms of their conditions of employment and the promotion of gender and racial equality was prioritised.

2. Developments in the South African Police Service since 1995

As the above history makes clear, in 1995 the SAP was an institution infused with militaristic, patriarchal, racist and sexist practices and values. Changing the institution into one ready to serve the newly democratic “rainbow nation” after 1994 posed enormous challenges. Some of the most pressing matters identified at the time by Rauch, Levin, Lue and Ngubeni (1994) included the efficient amalgamation of the homeland police agencies, implementing affirmative action and community policing, changing the legislation and the training process, and empowering civil society in relation to the police.

Rauch (2000: 121) provides a historical account of the transformation of the SAPS in the 1990s. The present-day SAPS is an organisation markedly different from the SAP of twenty years ago. Its responsibilities are specified in the Constitution of the Republic of South African, 1996 (Act 108 of 1996) as follows:

- prevent, combat and investigate crime;
- maintain public order and uphold and enforce the law.
- protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property; and

- create a safe and secure environment for all people in South Africa.
- prevent anything that may threaten the safety or security of any community
- ensure criminals are brought to justice; and
- participation in efforts to address the causes of crime (Rauch, 2001: 121).

These responsibilities are carried through into the Code of Conduct that all police officers are required to sign. Although they may appear commonplace today, in the past policing in South Africa was not about ensuring the safety and security for all citizens. The 'safe and secure environment' was not destined 'for all people in South Africa', but rather for the white minority served by the apartheid government.

In late 1995, after a lengthy phase of drafting, the SAPS Act was passed. According to this Act, the SAP was to be integrated into one police service and restructured to police the provinces of South Africa. The first Minister of Safety and Security, Sydney Mufamadi, was appointed and the position of Police Commissioner was occupied by George Fivaz. On a symbolic level, several changes were made. Firstly, the name change from the South African Police to the South African Police Service demonstrated the shift from a militarised force to a people-orientated service. Secondly, the rank structures were also changed from one based on military ranks to a system based on the British model which is more service orientated and less 'force' orientated. There were also changes in the insignia, uniform and colour of police vehicles.

It is evident that in 1995/96 several far-reaching organisational changes were made to policing in South Africa. Yet although the above changes can be regarded as critical for the transformation of the SAPS, on their own they would not be enough. In 1994 Rauch *et al.* noted that in addition cultural changes would be vital to legitimise the new police service. The changes would need to go beyond the cosmetic and percolate through to the inner workings of the organisation. Here the record has been patchier as the following discussion of accountability to the public, gender transformation and the emergence of a more militaristic institutional culture makes clear.

Accountability to the public

Improving the relationship between the police and the public was considered central to legitimising a new police service. The previous history of policing had severely damaged the

fostering of good will between the organisation and the public. Gastrow and Shaw (2001: 262) note that:

it was obvious that the SAP could be used effectively by the new government only if two conditions were met: if the police became more accountable to those whom they policed; and if the people came to see the police as legitimate agents of the new regime.

Since 1995 the SAPS has taken several steps designed to improve the relationship between the public and police. Attempts by the SAPS to better the relationship between the public and the police include the development of a user-friendly website, where any individual can access web-pages on missing persons, projects initiated by the police, community policing, and crime prevention. A journalistic style programme, *When Duty Calls* (2011), is aired on Monday evenings on one of the SABC channels. This programme showcases the achievements of police officers, provides examples of cooperation between police and the public, and informs the public on missing or wanted persons. The programme is presented in several languages. Other initiatives include the Teddy Bear Patrol in conjunction with the radio station *5fm* (in which teddy bears are collected and handed out to children who have been affected by crime) and the ACT (against crime together) campaign, which promotes crime awareness and prevention (SAPS, 2011h). The police were also very visible during the 2010 Soccer World Cup, with a security plan that included “air sweeps by fighter jets, joint border patrols with neighbouring countries, police escorts for cruise ships and team security guards” (News24, 2010e).

Probably the biggest step towards fostering cooperation between the SAPS and the public has been the implementation of a community policing initiative (Rauch, 2000). Several structures have been put in place to facilitate greater community involvement in policing. This includes the reservists, the community policing forum, community patrol groups, street watches, neighbourhood watches and business watches (SAPS, 2011d). However, crime remains a major obstacle to improved relationships between the public and the police. Although the crime statistics released in September 2011 indicate an overall decrease in crime levels (SAPS, 2011i), the high crime rate in South Africa continues to hinder trust between police and the public (Rauch, 2000). Another impediment has been the heavy-handed response of the SAPS to protesters in several ‘service delivery’ protests around the country, as was seen in the Andries

Tatane incident, where the death of a service delivery protester in Ficksburg was caught on film (Serraro, Williams and Jooste, 2011).

Gender transformation

The SAPS is committed formally to the principles of race and gender equality, both in its engagement with the public and within its internal organisation. As already noted, this forms part of the official culture of the organisation. In terms of gender, the SAPS has undertaken to provide equal opportunities to all personnel; empower women; sustain gender equity in the workspace; provide employee assistance to all personnel, and enable women to function optimally and realize their career aspirations in the SAPS (SAPS, 2011e). The commitment of the SAPS to change and gender equity is reflected in the establishment of the Women's Network and Men for Change groups (as explored below). The organisation has also demonstrated its commitment by organising events such as the SAPS Gender Conference in November 2010 (Nono, 2010a). The conference was focussed on the promotion of gender awareness, the empowerment of women and equality within the SAPS.

These commitments have seen an increase in the number of women employed in the SAPS. Table 5 (on the following page) shows the statistics on the occupational categories in the SAPS disaggregated according to race and gender. According to the organisation's Annual Reports, more women have been employed each year since 1995 and the latest (2010) figures show a total employment number of 56 770 female officers compared to 126 002 male officers. The majority of people employed across all categories in the SAPS are African (black) males (94 064 officers). Indian female officers make up the smallest category with only 1475 officers in South Africa.

Table 2: Total number of Employees (including employees with disabilities) for each of the occupational categories as of 31 March 2009 (SAPS, 2011e).

Occupational Categories	Male African	Male Coloured	Male Indian	Male White	Female African	Female Coloured	Female Indian	Female White	Total
Legislators, senior officials and managers	177	31	28	137	45	4	4	32	458
Professionals	2444	371	263	1653	1618	310	184	1713	8556
Clerks	6164	919	300	604	13879	2791	773	5302	30732
Service and sales workers	81565	11084	3048	12448	21033	2985	483	3173	135783
Craft and related trades workers	398	75	45	309	21	0	0	6	854
Plant and machine operators and assemblers	136	8	3	5	2	0	0	0	154
Elementary occupations	3119	508	25	51	1927	353	4	49	6036
Other permanent	61	10	4	9	74	6	9	8	181
Total	94064	13006	3716	15216	38599	6449	1475	10247	182754

According to these figures, in 2009 female employees accounted for 31.6% of the total workforce.⁷ What these figures also show is that despite the gains since 1995, women are still under-represented across all levels. It is also noticeable that while women make up approaching one third of the total police service, women in managerial positions make up only 18%. Coloured and Indian officers are also underrepresented across the spectrum (SAPS, 2011e).

The emergence of a more militaristic institutional culture

There have been several recent changes impacting on the institutional culture of the SAPS in a way that strengthens the association between masculinity and police culture as discussed in Chapter 2. In July 2010 General Bheki Cele was appointed National Police Commissioner. His

⁷ The figure stated in Chapter 1 (23.7%) comprises of the sworn in officials while Table 5 represents all personnel working for the SAPS.

appointment followed the expiration of the contract of former Commissioner, Jackie Selebi, who had been placed on special leave in 2009 pending his appearance in court on allegations of fraud (*Mail & Guardian*, 2009). Under the supervision of the new Commissioner several changes have been made that are indicative of the promotion of an institutional culture that can be seen as espousing more militaristic ideals than those envisaged in 1995 when the British model of rank structure was adopted. In 2009 President Jacob Zuma had proposed the necessity to change the system of ranks within the SAPS from a non-militarised system to one that was modelled on a militarised system. The new rank structure was implemented in 2010 (Burger, 2010), with General Cele claiming that it would have a positive impact on the police and would encourage officers to perform better (News24, 2010c). The decision to militarise the rank system has been met with resistance from the opposition party, the Democratic Alliance, who have compared the new ranks to the system used during apartheid (*Mail & Guardian*, 2010b).

During the 1990's a process of demilitarisation was considered key in transforming the much criticised SAP into the new SAPS. The SAPS Policy Document of the time noted that "the Police Service should offer a respectable, professional career. In order to achieve true professionalism, the police profession must be demilitarised. The system of discipline should be informed by professional, rather than military values" (Newham, 2000: 9). As part of the process of legitimising the new SAPS, the police were distanced from the military, both in terms of the ranks used as well as the expected behaviour. However, with the perceived rise of crime and the perception of imminent danger, there has been a shift to re-introduce the paramilitary approach to policing.

The most controversial effort to redefine the institutional culture of the SAPS in a more aggressive direction is captured in statements made by the National Commissioner in 2010 in relation to an amendment to Section 49 of the Criminal Procedure Act. The changes made to the Act were in terms of the use of the term 'deadly force'. In the Criminal Procedure Act, 'deadly force' was defined as "force that is intended or likely to cause death or serious bodily harm." (Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, 2010: 3) Police officers were allowed to make use of deadly force in the following circumstance:

If any arrestor attempts to arrest a suspect and the suspect resists the attempt, or flees...
and the suspect cannot be arrested without the use of force, the arrestor may... use such

force as may be reasonably necessary and proportional in the circumstances to overcome the resistance or to prevent the suspect from fleeing: Provided that the arrestor is justified in terms of this section in using deadly force [that is intended or is likely to cause death or grievous bodily harm to a suspect,] only if he or she believes on reasonable grounds (Criminal Procedure Amendment Act, 2010: 4).

This new development around the more ready use of fire-power has been dubbed the “shoot-to-kill” policy (Carte Blanche, 2009) as a result of comments made by General Cele in August 2009 (Goldstone, 2009; Mthembu, 2009). According to the newspaper, *Beeld*, the period since the initial “shoot-to-kill”⁸ comments of General Cele have seen a significant increase in the number of shootings of civilians by police officers. However, Johan Burger from the Institute for Security Studies has questioned the connection between the “shoot-to-kill” policy and the increase in civilian shootings. He has stated that the correlation might be due to an increase in violent crimes and the need for officers to react accordingly (Fourie, 2010).

Commissioner Cele has also been at the forefront of a national fitness campaign for members of the SAPS. The programme, *Viva Fitness!*, encourages officers to participate in exercise programmes and to follow healthy diets. Officers will be required to have their BMI (body mass index) monitored and new officers will be expected to maintain uniform sizes after they leave the academies, (News24, 2010b). Cele also stated that officers will be required to weigh themselves in an official capacity twice a year (News24, 2010d). While these developments can be seen as necessary to improve the fitness of the police force, they have been accompanied by other examples of more aggressive physical training. Police training camps have been under the spotlight on more than one occasion in 2011. The influence of the training of police officers has recently come under scrutiny as the *Mail & Guardian* (Gumede-Johnson, 2011: 4) published a worrying exposé on the police training facility in Pretoria. The newspaper reported that recruits were exposed to “assault, harsh punishment and sleep deprivation” to “toughen them up” as part of their training. Recruits were told by instructors that “the SAPS is now a police force and that policemen should behave accordingly”. Trainees at the college were also subjected to extended physical training sessions and physical abuse and threatened with expulsion if they were to complain. They were constantly reminded that they were soldiers and encouraged to use force, if

⁸ Since his suspension in October 2011, he has denied that he has promoted any form of ‘shoot to kill’ (News24, 2011b).

necessary, to protect themselves. An expert cited in the article notes that “if the police are trained with verbal and physical abuse, there is a strong possibility that they will act that way towards communities”. In a separate case, a trainer was suspended at Ulundi Police College after forcing a female recruit to shave her head (News24, 2011).

The more aggressive and militaristic approach to the training of recruits is cause for concern. The evidence that the use of force by officers is sanctioned by senior management in the SAPS suggests a new institutional culture is emerging within the organisation, one which promotes an overtly masculinist institutional culture that diverges from the official culture of the SAPS as envisaged in the Constitution. As previously discussed in Chapter 2, many studies of police culture have shown that the use of force and aggression are associated with a particular understanding of hegemonic masculinity. The responses to these developments among ordinary members of the police force and the consequences for our understanding of masculinity within the SAPS are explored further in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Research findings

This chapter presents the findings from my in-depth interviews and observations made during the study, as well as the content analysis of the online *SAPS Journal*.

As was stated in Chapter 1, my underlying research questions can be summarised as follows:

- To what extent is the SAPS a ‘masculine institution’ (Connell, 1995: 73)?
- What are the experiences of male officers in this regard?
- What are the experiences of female officers in this regard?
- To the extent that the SAPS can be described as a masculine institution, what, if any, positive consequences might a masculine police culture offer policing in the current South African context?

The presentation of my findings around these research questions has been organised in relation to Connell’s three axes of gender – power relations, production relations and cathexis – as well as the three levels of police culture discussed in Chapter 2, i.e. formal or official culture, institutional culture and informal or canteen culture. The discussion is divided into four sections.

The first section addresses the issue of power relations in terms of the authority accorded to masculinity in the organisational culture of the SAPS, looking in particular at the themes of resistance to women, militarism, and the valuing of traits regarded as masculine (such as toughness and aggression) as identified in the general literature on police culture. This study found evidence of both resistance towards women on the part of male officers, and the valuing of masculine traits by both male and female officers. At the same time, there is also some evidence of resistance towards patriarchal values and behaviour, particularly among women officers. The second section explores the issue of production relations in the SAPS by examining the gendered division of labour which Connell (1995: 74) has identified as an important element of production relations. This explores the extent to which police duties are gendered in practice in my research site as well as in general, according to reports in the online journal. The third section presents findings related to perceptions of the body and sexuality in the context of policing, as relevant dimensions of gender in relation to Connell’s notion of cathexis. The fourth section discusses

some general findings relating to police officers' perceptions of their occupation and the stresses they experience at The Dorp Police Station. These issues do not fit neatly into Connell's threefold model of gender but do provide additional insight on masculinity and the experience of formal, institutional and canteen culture within the SAPS.

1. Masculinity and power relations in the SAPS

The SAPS is a bureaucratic organisation in which a formal structure of hierarchical power is in place. The most visible form of this lies in its rank structures. Seniority is indicated through a system of ranks, each with its corresponding level of authority or power over junior ranks. Nominally these ranks are gender neutral. However, the exercise of gendered power goes beyond the formal rank structure. In this section unequal power relations are explored in terms of the themes identified in the general literature as reflective of masculinity in police culture: firstly, resistance to women in the police force and secondly, the valuing of masculine traits, the latter including issues related to militarism and police talk. Each of these themes is explored in terms of the formal culture, the institutional culture and the canteen culture of policing.

Resistance towards women

In the SAPS, there is currently a formal acceptance of women as qualified to be appointed at all levels and a formal commitment to ensuring equality in terms of gender within the organisation. (As already noted, this has not always been the case and women were only allowed to join the organisation as operational members in 1972 (Groenewald, 2004), and to take part in vehicle patrols in the late 1970s (Mouton, n.d).) The official stance of the police towards women is proclaimed on the website of the SAPS where it is stated that "the SAPS undertakes to provide equal opportunities to all personnel; empower women; sustain gender equity in the workspace; to provide employee assistance to all personnel; enable women to function optimally and realise their career aspirations in the SAPS" (SAPS, 2011e). Thus the official culture of the SAPS encourages and propagates equal opportunities for men and women in policing.

The content analysis of the *SAPS Journal* shows that the empowerment of women is a matter that is currently discussed within the organisation at a senior level. A few articles in the sample make

specific reference to the importance of gender equality. A January 2011 article on the welcoming of new recruits (Mbatha, 2011) made special mention of the gender ratio for the intake of new trainees. It reported that a total of 954 male and 891 female students had joined the service. This ratio, it noted:

is in line with the government's call to ensure that women are not only empowered, but they also get the same opportunities and undergo a rigorous training programme like their male counterparts (Mbatha, 2011: n.p.).

Several articles showed gender awareness in drawing attention to both male and female officers in the reporting, for instance an article noting how "men and women in blue receive praise" (Mbatha, 2010a), another on the focus to "appoint a woman or a man" (Mbatha, 2010b), as well as one reporting on police participation in the annual Comrades Marathon race, in which the performances of both male and female athletes were praised (Naidoo, 2010). One article showed specific awareness of issues concerning gender power dynamics when it stated that a female officer was "not promoted only to address the question of equity, but because of her hard work" (Nono, 2011).

One article addressed issues of gender inequality directly. The article (De Beer, 2009) described a workshop held by the Provincial Commissioner of the Western Cape in September 2009, hosted by the Women's Network and the Men for Change group. Although the focus of the workshop was on gender relations generally, most statements referred only to women. Representivity in the service was discussed and it was said that "women need to be recruited for the SAPS in large numbers so that there can be a 50-50 ratio of men and women in the organisation". The National Commissioner also noted the importance of women in a "male dominated world" and expressed his concern "about the way in which women have seemed to disempower themselves over years of oppression". The only mention of males in the article was in relation to gender-based violence, where "men need a platform where they can find a voice to discuss their problems without resorting to an aggressive approach".

These journal articles reflect support for the values of gender equality in official police culture and report on various efforts to promote them. My interviews, however, show that resistance to female officers in the police service is found to varying degrees in the institutional and canteen

culture of the SAPS. The senior officer at The Dorp Police Station, Brigadier Xolani Vavi⁹, is a black female officer. Her views on gender, equality and women in the SAPS reflected the formal culture of the SAPS. She noted, however, that in her experience it was challenging to be a female in a senior position and reported that male officers are sceptical of female officers in higher positions. She stated that:

Sometimes, you have male colleagues that feel that you are after all a woman, and nothing but a woman. What to do is to convince the male colleagues that we can do the job and if you're appointed for a job, to do the job so that you cannot be judged on gender, you'll be judged by doing the job.

Although Brigadier Xolani Vavi was placed in a position of seniority and received formal support from the organisation, she faced challenges to her authority as a woman from officers at the level of canteen culture. Strong views endorsing unequal power relations between men and women were expressed by most male officers in my sample who described women as weak and a hindrance in the field. The resistance to women in the SAPS was most noticeable in those officers who were actively involved in patrol work who regarded women as unable to live up to the standards of men. A few male officers saw female officers as representing a particular burden of responsibility in dangerous situations. Sergeant Danmur April said:

Men have to be protective over women. He is the one in charge of the household, so with a woman, he has to protect her. It is his duty to protect his female colleague. It is his duty to protect her; I believe that. [*Mans moet beskermend teenoor die vrou wees. Hy is die een wat in beheer is van die huishouding. So met 'n vrou, hy moet haar beskerm. Dit is sy plig om sy vroue-kollega te beskerm. Dit is sy plig om die vrou-beampte te beskerm; ek glo dit.*]¹⁰

Most of the men who were interviewed stated that they preferred to work with other men in the field. Different reasons were cited, including the physical strength of male partners and the perceived inability of female partners to respond to dangerous situations in the field. Constables

⁹ All names used in the study are pseudonyms. The pseudonyms chosen reflect the gender and race of the person interviewed.

¹⁰ Interviews conducted in Afrikaans have been translated and both the translated and the original quotes are provided in the text.

Jacobs and Shabangu and Warrant Officer Brian Alberts (all operational officers) explained these concerns thus:

I would prefer to work with men if you are going to certain cases, when it is men fighting with each other; gang violence and so on. It is only men fighting with each other. Only to cover you, you need extra men. It is not that I don't trust the ladies, but a lady can't take a man like a man would take a man. It is like they say; a woman can't do a man's job. Paperwork is fine. They can work outside as well. But in certain cases like gang violence it is just easier to work with a man. Because you know if you are looking ahead, someone is watching your back. *[Ek sal verkies om met mans te werk, want na al die gevalle wat jy na toe gaan is dit mans wat baklei met mekaar. Bende geweld en so. Dit is net mans wat baklei met mekaar. Net om vir jou te 'cover' is daar ekstra mans nodig. Dit is nie dat ek nie die dame vertrou nie. Maar 'n dame gaan nie 'n man kan vat soos 'n ander man 'n man sal vat nie. Hulle sê mos 'n 'woman can't do a man's job'. Papier werk is 'fine'. Hulle kan ook buite werk. Maar in sekere gevalle, soos bende geweld, is dit baie makliker om saam met 'n man te werk. Want jy weet as jy voorentoe kyk dan kyk hy agter jou.]*(Const. Jacobs)

I do not prefer to go with a woman [on patrol]. I know how a man is going to act and I know how a woman is going to act when we get there. So I don't want to put my life in danger. Being a woman, you think like a woman, you act like a woman (Const. Ayanda Shabangu).

It is difficult to put a male and female officer in a patrol van in an area with gangs. If you are not working with a strong woman it can be problematic at the end of the day. The women cry when the shots are being fired. *[Dit is moeilik om man en vrou in 'n patrolliewa te sit, veral in 'n bendegeteisterde plek. As jy nie met 'n redelike sterk vrou is nie, dan kan dit problematies wees aan die einde van die dag. Die vroue huil as die skote klap.]* (WO Brian Alberts)

Captain Peter Kanwar said:

They [men] prefer to work with a male partner in a vehicle rather than a female partner. A female, no matter how strong or well trained; she still has this fear with her, to panic. With a male partner you can always know you have your backup.

Sergeant Letole, a black male, reflected on what women officers needed to do to be able to 'survive' in the SAPS:

Don't tell yourself you're a woman. The minute you tell yourself you're a woman, you're a failure; tell yourself I AM a man. Like this, if we have to fight, we must fight together as one.
Don't tell yourself you're a woman. The guys don't want to work with women.

The informal use of space at The Dorp station also reflected the marginalisation of women within the office environment. The newly refurbished gymnasium, available for both men and women to use, was frequented mostly by male officers. A room similar to a relaxation room, with a television, was also dominated by men. This room was used mostly for meetings but when not in use in this way, sporting events, such as rugby, cricket and soccer would be playing on the television and it was mainly male officers who would convene and watch these events together. Although not defined as such, it was evident that this was a masculine space where sport would be discussed and viewed. Women, on the other hand, congregated in smaller groups in the offices of those who had offices. There was no public space that could be identified as being a predominantly female domain.

The resistance towards women through exclusionary practices in everyday practices serves to maintain gendered power relations and masculinity as the norm. The police station is perceived as a place for men where women function on the periphery. However, The Dorp Police Station also provided evidence of alternative views about women's presence among male officers. Thus some of the male officers voiced their appreciation of female officers.

If a woman is with you, I like that. To have a woman with you is a plus. For me, it is better to work with a woman. [*As 'n vrou saam is hou ek daarvan. Om 'n vrou te hê is 'n plus. Dit is vir my beter om met vroue te werk as om met mans te werk.*] (Sgt. Danmur April)

Women can listen to you if you have a problem. [*Vroue kan ook 'n beter oor hê om te luister na 'n ou se probleme.*] (WO Brian Alberts)

These statements demonstrate that while a generalised resistance towards women could be identified, there was more than one view on the issue. Men listed compassion, empathy and

kindness as the reasons why they sometimes enjoyed working with women. However, although there are multiple views and challenges, the overwhelming outlook was one of hegemonic masculinity. It seems that masculinity cuts across race and histories, so that, even taking intersectionality into account, the SAPS is still a masculine institution. At the same time, the general resistance towards women within the police extends beyond the organisation and is also reflected in broader society. In this regard Sergeant Thando Lethole, a black male, related how female police officers are subjected to sexist views outside of the police:

If I go with a lady police officer to a pub, they will tease that lady. Not me, so they see a police officer, not a man. Here is a police woman; they tease her.

This account demonstrates that while the male officer is respected as an officer of the law, the female officer is less likely to be taken seriously by the public at large. The subordination of women in the police can therefore be viewed as partly a reflection of gender power relations in the wider society. It is also evident that the resistance to women is not bound to race, culture or age, but rather that this demonstration of masculinity transcends the borders of intersectionality.

The valuing of masculine attributes

As already discussed, unequal gender power relations are reflected in but also reinforced by a general valuing of masculinity in society over femininity. The previous discussion indicates that while there were a range of views, the traits traditionally associated with the masculine are held in high regard by most officers, both male and female. This point was emphasised by one of my key informants at the training institution, Captain Michelle Erasmus, when she noted that the idea of the police as a female institution is a laughable one. The acceptance of policing as a masculine occupation where masculine traits are valued is one that both men and women subscribe to. In my interviews at The Dorp Police Station, most male and female officers made mention of an image of police officers as tough, physical, masculine objects. This is in line with the reflection of Austin (1996: 4) when she noted that policing is often presented as an occupation constantly in the process of inflicting or avoiding a “never ending series of stab wounds, black eyes, broken noses and death defying stunts”.

The formal values of the SAPS are reflected in the Code of Conduct (SAPS, 2011e). In this document, principles relating to integrity, respect for diversity, honour, professionalism and excellence are emphasised. The document underlines values that can be seen as gender-neutral, with no emphasis on the traits associated with aggression and physicality that have been identified as masculine through the literature review in Chapter 2. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, recent developments with regard to the militarisation of ranks and the ‘shoot to kill’ approach can be considered indicative of the revalorisation of masculine ideals in the institutional culture of the SAPS. The endorsement of masculinist traits in institutional culture is strongly evident in the statements, behaviour and person of the National Commissioner of Police, General Bheki Cele who has been described as being tough on crime, militaristic and even as a ‘cowboy’ (Prince, 2011).

The Minister of Police, Nathi Mthethwa, has explained the purpose for the changing of the ranks of the SAPS in 2010 thus:

Police forces around the world are referred to as the Force and their ranks are accordingly linked to such designations. We have taken a stance as this government of fighting crime and fighting it tough. The rank changes are therefore in line with our transformation of the force, not only in terms of a name-change but change in attitude, thinking and operational duties (SAPS, 2011d).

These sentiments were endorsed by the head of The Dorp Police Station who noted the following in her interview:

I think the ranks have an impact. This is just the coming back of the old ranks. They use to be there. To me it seems as if somewhere, somehow discipline is affected by the new naming of the ranks. That is good.

An analysis of the sample of online journal articles (in terms of their association of personal qualities of traits with male and female officers) is also revealing of the way which masculine traits are valued above feminine ones in the institution. Whereas the nouns used to describe male officers are limited to ‘man’ or in one case as ‘young man’ (Gerber, 2010), female officers are described not only as ‘women’ but also, on several occasions, as ‘ladies’ (Ninzatti, 2010;

Gamielien, 2010; Smith 2010; Naidoo, 2010; Ehlers, 2010; Smit, 2009), ‘young ladies’ (Ehlers, 2009), ‘girls’ (Joseph, 2009; Smit, 2009) and even, in one case, ‘tannie’, although this related to an individual outside the police service (Plaatjies, 2010). The adjectives used to describe male and female officers are also split along gendered lines. Phrases used to describe men in the selected articles highlight their discipline and productiveness (Ngxukumeshe, 2010a), their leadership skills and responsibility (Ngxukumeshe, 2010b) as well as their determination (Gerber, 2010), and present them as prepared, diligent and successful (Mbatha, 2010b). Phrases used to describe women cover a wider spectrum and include the following: pride; competent leaders; knowledgeable and portraying organisational skills (Mbatha, 2010b); sophisticated and dynamic (Gamielien, 2010); possessing interpersonal skills (Joseph, 2010a); humble and fair (Ehlers, 2010); strong, communicating well, proud and excellent with weapon handling (Weilbach, 2010); a born communicator, multitasking and a good mother (Smit, 2009). The attributes attached to female officers thus feature ‘softer’ or more feminine qualities, alongside qualities more conventionally associated with masculinity and male police officers. It is noticeable that the ‘softer side’ of men are never explored in the journal articles.

The overall valuing of masculine traits is evident in the SAPS journal in terms of the military metaphors used throughout the articles. Policing is described as “a disciplined paramilitary organisation” by General Cele and officers as “brave and honest warriors” and the “protectors of the community” while “criminals have declared war on law-abiding citizens” (Nono, 2011). Members are encouraged to “fight cross border crimes” and be “effective in crime fighting” (Mbatha, 2010c). Other stories report that officers are “geared to fight crime” (Ehlers, 2010) and to be “all out in full force to combat all elements of crime” (Nono, 2010) while the fitness plan was seen to “boost combat readiness and sharpen survival skills” (Joseph, 2010b). Camaraderie in the face of adversity was reflected in the statement: “SAPS members, my family, pushing back the frontiers of evil” (Mbatah, 2010a). One of the articles in the study did describe officers as “instruments of peace” (Joseph, 2010c). Overall, however, these statements are in line with the valuing of masculinity and military attributes as discussed in the literature review and the findings of the in-depth interviews.

The articles also go on to identify the general characteristics that are associated with members of the service. General Cele encourages members “uphold discipline and remain morally upright...

to serve their country with excellence and [to] enforce the law at all times without fear or favour” and to “perform training and duties with pride, respect and integrity” (Nono, 2011). The theme of integrity is also emphasised when it is stated that “we would rather lose hundred corrupt cops and be left with ten morally upright, committed and disciplined officers” (Mnisi, 2010). Members are also told to “serve... society with dedication, humility and care (Nono, 2010b), and to “earn the respect and trust of communities” (Mbatha, 2010a).

The values emphasised in these articles mirror the values emphasised in the literature review. Ideals such as pride, integrity, respect and honour are in line with the masculine ideals associated with the police. These values promote a police service that is masculine in its institutional culture, although they do not support the hyper-masculine ideals often associated with informal police culture. Unequal power relations in terms of gender are not identifiable through the journal articles as clearly as they are in the in-depth interviews. However, the journal articles do support an image of what it is that proper police officers should embody which reflects masculine ideals.

On the level of canteen culture within The Dorp Police Station, the valuing of masculine ideals was experienced in different ways. At times the way in which masculinity is entrenched in the culture of the organisation is in demonstrated quite subtly, as the conversation I had with Captain Edwina Loots, one of the more senior women in the station. When asked about the changing of the ranks, Captain Edwina Loots used the following analogy to explain the authority hidden in the name given to a rank:

[After 1994], a warrant officer became an inspector and so that made that we transformed from a military organisation to a service, which is good. The idea around it was good, providing a service to the outside, but inside the organisation there was a lack of discipline. If you say ‘Warrant Officer’, immediately there is authority in the name. You can’t call your dog or your Rottweiler “*Meisietjie*” (Little Girl). People will laugh at you! But you can call it Nimrod, there’s authority in that name. So it is good that that kind of approach is coming back, bringing back the discipline and so. [*’n Adjutant offisier was ’n inspekteur (na 1994) so, daai het gemaak dat ons maar mos van militêr verander na ’n diens, wat reg is. Die idee rondom dit was reg, dienslewering buitekant toe, maar binne die organisasie was daar ’n*

'lack van discipline'. As jy vir iemand sê AO [Adjutant Offisier], dan is daar onmiddelik autoriteit in jou naam. Jy gaan nie jou hond of Rotweiler 'Meisietjie' noem nie, hulle gaan vir jou lag. Maar noem vir hom 'Nimrod'. Jy weet, 'there's authority in a name'. So dit is goed dat daardie benadering terug gekom het, om 'discipline' weer te kan toepas en weer terug te bring.]

Although she was explaining the meaning attached to the naming of police ranks, she inadvertently compared the perceived power of a masculine name such as 'Nimrod' to that of 'Meisietjie', 'Little girl'. By her own admission, the second is a name without power, without authority and without influence. The very presence thereof in the police force is portrayed as ridiculous.

When other participants were asked about the rank structure, they also linked the new rank structure to the revival of discipline. Male and female officers welcomed the idea of the return of orderliness. There was also the idea that ranks inspire a certain type of conduct amongst office.

So it is about improving discipline. That is what I would say. [So dit gaan oor om dissipline te verbeter, dit is wat ek sal sê.] (Capt. Mari Roets).

They use that ranks of Major or General; those things are from the military. So automatically they adopt those ambitions and the rules and regulations of the military (Const. Phiwe Mabuza).

Although officers were inclined to focus on discipline and order in the police, militarisation goes beyond the renaming of ranks and extends to a cultural or attitudinal change in the way in which policing is performed. As was mentioned in the literature chapter, one of the key differences between the military and policing resides in their functions. A shift towards militarisation implies a move away from the expected reactive role of the police towards a more pro-active or aggressive and assertive culture. This has serious implications the police are not dealing with outside enemies, but with the citizens of the country. The so-called shoot-to-kill policy can be considered as manifestation of the shift from reactive to proactive.

When asked about the shoot-to-kill policy, officers had varying views. Several participants, male and female, supported the idea that officers should be able to protect themselves. They appreciated the encouragement of the National Commissioner, as in this comment made by one relatively senior woman officer:

Maybe it is a good thing, in the sense that we can show we are the law. The criminals are doing just what they want to because they believe the law is on their side. This is a boundary that needs to be drawn. It is a risk, shooting to kill, and there will be consequences, but the message should be clear: We are the blue line of the law. You can't push us. [*Dit is miskien 'n goeie ding in die sin van om te wys: 'ons is die wet'. Want kriminele maak net wat hul wil, want hulle dink die wet is aan hul kant. En dit is 'n 'boundary' wat getrek moet word. Dit is nogsteeds 'n risiko, want as jy skiet is dit om dood te skiet. So daar gaan nog 'n groot ondersoek wees. Die boodskap wat hulle moet kry is: ons is die blou lyn van die gereg. 'You can't push us'.*] (Capt. Mari Roets).

Other participants were wary of the implications of the policy and stated that officers should use their own judgement. Another senior woman emphasised the need for personal judgement when using weapons:

The minister is not going to stand on trial with you if you shoot someone. What you do outside, they are not going to cover you. You have to take responsibility [*Die minister gaan nie in die hof staan as jy iemand geskiet het nie. Wat jy doen daar buite, hulle gaan jou nie 'cover' nie. Jy moet verantwoordelikheid neem.*] (Const. Leanie Maree).

Although there was no single view on militarisation and shoot-to-kill, there was a general acceptance of the masculine ideals these policies embody. Both male and female officers welcomed the notions of respect, authority and discipline they were seen to promote. During the interviews, it became apparent that most officers also identified 'toughness' as an essential trait. Male and female officers were aware of the value of physical size, fitness and ability as an important aspect of policing. However, when defining toughness, male and female officers explained that toughness extended to both the physical and the emotional aspects of police work, which was also seen as more likely to be a male than female quality. The ability to react in

situations of danger, being physically strong and coping with the emotional demands associated with policing were all seen as crucial for survival in the SAPS.

When describing physical toughness, it was noticeable that male and female officers repeatedly mentioned the physical abilities of male officers while those of female officers were seen as lacking. Men were the possessors of “physical capital” (Westmarland, 2001: 5) as their physical capabilities exceeded that of their female counterparts. Warrant Officer Malherbe, a white male, stated that

You can't expect a woman to have the same training as a man, but if they want to play outside with the men, they have to be trained like the men. [*Jy kan nie van 'n vrou verwag om dieselfde opleiding te doen wat die mans doen nie. Maar, as hulle wil buite wil met die manne speel, moet hulle saam met die manne kan opegelei word.*]

Female officers in my interview sample repeatedly noted how men were physically bigger and stronger than women. This was viewed as an advantage for male officers:

We are not as strong as they are. If we run, we are not as fast. There is a difference, definitely. Their physical capacity is greater than ours. [*Ons is nie so sterk soos hulle nie. As ons hardloop is ons nie so vinnig soos hulle nie. Daar is 'n verskil. Verseker.*] (Capt. Mari Roets)

That physical strength, as a women you will not always have the same strength as a man (Capt. Edwina Loots).

As already noted, toughness also included emotional endurance. Constable Ayanda Shabangu noted:

You have to be strong. Even if there are some difficulties and you are a weak person you can't overcome them. But if you are strong then you know what is good for you and what you don't need and what you will allow, like stress.

Female officers also underlined more abstract traits of toughness such as leadership, emotional strength, bravery and assertiveness. Sergeant Santie Smit emphasised the need for toughness:

You have to be physically strong, otherwise you don't belong here. Not just physically, but you have to have a strong personality. You have to be able to handle the stuff we see every day, otherwise you don't belong here. [*Jy moet fisies sterk kan wees, anders hoort jy nie hier nie. Nie net fisies nie, maar jy moet 'n sterk persoonlikheid hê; die goed kan hanteer wat ons alles sien en aanskou en deurgaen. Anders hoort jy nie hier nie.*]

Yet women also valued their own physical strength and abilities and the extent to which they measured up to their male peers. Their own display of physical strength was a source of pride and the ability to display the physical traits commonly associated with the masculine was highly valued. Constable Leanie Maree noted her experiences during the training process:

We were trained like men and we suffered like the men. And you have to be strong. Those who weren't strong dropped out. [*Ons was redelik opgelei soos mans en het deurgeloop soos mans. En jy moet redelik sterk wees. Die wat nie sterk was nie het uitgeval.*]. (Const. Leanie Maree)

Thus Constable Maree set herself apart from those women who were 'weak' and unable to complete the training. By describing the training in this specific way, she was emphasising that only those who are strong, tough and able to 'survive' the training would be able cope in the police. Male officers also expressed their appreciation for women who displayed masculine traits:

The police really isn't a career for a woman. But you get women that are tough. On the other hand, you get women who hide behind the idea "I am a woman and I have to be treated differently" and that is not the police. You came to the police and you knew what it was about, you knew what you were letting yourself into. [*Die polisie is regtig nie 'n loopbaan vir 'n vrou nie, maar jy kry vroue wat hard is. En tog kry jy baie vroue wat skuil agter 'ek is 'n vrou en moet anders behandel word' en dit is nie polisie nie. Jy het polisie toe gekom en jy het geweet waaroor dit gaan, en jy het geweet waarvoor jy jou inlaat.*](WO Brian Alberts)

When it comes to the physical capacity, it can be a limitation. When a guy is under the influence and he has used drugs and you have to arrest him, then it is about your physical capabilities and whether you have the power to get him under control. But I have to tell you, there are women that I know that won't take a step back when it comes to the arresting of

men. They can handle a guy just as rough as any man and they would be able to get him under control. [*Wanneer dit by fisiese vermoë kom kan dit 'n beperking wees. Wanneer 'n ou onder die invloed is of dwelms gebruik, en jy moet die ou arresteer, dan gaan dit maar oor jou fisiese vermoë en of jy die krag het om daai persoon onder beheer te kry. Maar ek moet sê, daar is dames wat ek ken wat nie 'n tree sal wegstaan wanneer dit kom by die arrestasie van mans nie. Hulle sal 'n ou net so hardhandig kan behandel om hom onder beheer te kry.*] (Capt. Luan Pretorius).

The valuing of certain traits and bodily expectations creates a culture where masculinity is considered the norm. As was stated in the literature review, the ideal of masculinity need not be confined to the male body. Societal expectations and the performance of gender, (as proposed by Butler, 1990) shape the identity of women as feminine. However, in the occupation of the police, it is evident that these expectations of women are less clear. Since there is a value attached to masculine ideals, there is the expectation that women in the police should aim to embody these ideal traits and that both male and female officers should 'perform' masculinity.

Perceptions on femininity in the police force

While the focus of this study is on the experiences of masculinity in the SAPS, the perceptions and experiences of femininity within police culture should also be noted.

In this regard, while the formal culture of the SAPS does not focus on femininity (or masculinity) per se, the *SAPS Journal* does offer some insight on how femininity is regarded within the institutional culture. One trait that is generally regarded as typically feminine and awarded some value is that of peace-keeping. For instance, an article on a SAPS Gender Conference in November 2010 drew attention to the role of women in peace keeping missions (Nono, 2010a). During this conference women's positive role in this regard was highlighted. Statements were made that "women have a vital role to play in peacekeeping missions", and that "women not only bear the brunt of armed conflicts, but are equally important agents of change". Delegates also put an "emphasis on breeding more women leaders in the SAPS", advocated the "increased recruitment and deployment of women", and acknowledged that "women are born leaders" and that the "universe will be better when women take responsibility of running the world" (Nono, 2010a).

On the institutional level there is thus an appreciation of women and their contributions in peacekeeping in the SAPS. While this represents a positive attitude to certain aspects of femininity at an institutional level, the experiences of women at the level of canteen culture reflects the daily challenges of being a woman in a traditionally male occupation. In their theories, both Connell (1995) and Butler (1990) have noted that there is no simple acceptance of one form of gender and rejection of the other. Rather, there are multiple displays of what has been termed masculinity and femininity in any one society, organisation and even individual. The intricacies around the presentation of gender are evident when considering the views of Captain Edwina Loots. While her analogy of a dog named ‘*Meisietjie*’ described in the previous section displayed a devaluing of certain female traits, she went on to affirm the importance of women not ‘giving up’ on their femininity:

In the eye of the public, a woman has to notice how she behaves herself. Don’t be a man. You don’t have to give up your femininity. You can still be a woman and be firm. Unfortunately some of the women think you have to swear louder and assault guys outside to show that they are men. You don’t have to swear and shout to make an arrest. *[In die oog van die publiek moet ’n vrou op let om haarself te gedra. ‘Don’t be a man’. Jy hoef nie jou ‘femininity’ prys te gee nie. Jy kan nogsteeds ’n vrou en ferm wees. Ongelukkig dink van die dames hulle moet harder kan vloek en ouens buite kan aanrand en wys hulle is ’n man. Jy hoef nie te vloek en skel om arrestasies uit te voer nie.]*

Her rejection of the display of hyper-masculine traits by female officers is indicative of the complicated balancing of gender roles that female officers are expected to perform. While they are expected to be tough, there is also the expectation that they should remain feminine to some extent. Female officers were therefore faced with contradictory expectations of being simultaneously tough but not hyper-masculine and feminine but not ‘soft’. Charmaine Daniels told how the occupation of policing has changed her.

When I started, I was very ‘soft’, but now I am very ‘hard’. You have to be ‘hard’ [tough] to be able to cope. *[Ek het eers ‘sag’ begin, en nou is ek baie ‘harder’. Mens moet ‘hard’ wees om te ‘cope’.]*

Brigadier Xolani Vavi, on the other hand, noted how female officers are expected to 'be like men', but rejected this:

I don't want to be a man - a man is a man. There'll always be differences, the important thing is accepting who you are, accepted as ladies. What the police is doing - they're expecting us to change, to be men.

While Charmaine Daniels, an operational officer, reflects on the pressure to conform to masculinity within the service, Brigadier Vavi (a senior officer in an administrative post) resists the notion of conforming to the masculine. There are thus contradictory pressures and responses across the interviews. The expectations around the performance of femininity by female officers by the SAPS also reflect stereotypical views of women's sexuality on the part of both male and female officers. Captain Mari Roets noted the following:

Often they say: "You are very feminine", or "You look different and beautiful in your uniform." This tells me that they expect a butch police woman. You will see if you speak to these women, they are very nice and feminine and they are just like normal women. [*Baie word daar gesê: "Jy is darem vroulik", of "Jy lyk anders en mooi in jou uniform." Dit sê vir my hulle verwag 'n 'butch' polisie-vrou. Jy sal sien as jy met vrouens te doen kry, dit is oulike vroulike vroue wat soos normale mense is.*]

The contradictory attitudes around the expected 'butch police woman' and the 'normal, nice and feminine' woman are indicative of the balancing act women in policing are expected to maintain and the ambivalence around the contribution that qualities perceived as feminine can make in police culture.

2. Production relations: the division of labour

As argued by Connell (1995:74) the division of labour along gendered lines forms part of the structure of unequal gender relations in society. The general literature on policing provides evidence of duties being delegated along gendered lines, with women more likely to be delegated to inside work and men to perform outside and dangerous tasks (Westmarland, 2001; Fielding,

1994). In this section, the division of labour in the SAPS is explored in relation to gender on the level of formal culture, institutional culture and canteen culture.

The SAPS formally advocates employment gender equity in the service and no reference is made in high-level policy documents to the gendered division of labour. The level of female employment, at 24% of the national total, is relatively high in global terms. Furthermore, several initiatives within the SAPS are focused on promoting the empowerment of women within the organisation and broader society. After 1995 the Women's Network was established to support women working within the organisation, with the following aim:

to forge strong bonds between women in the SAPS; ensure that women in leadership positions help mentor those at lower levels; and ensure that women see themselves as equal to their male counterparts. This will enable them to establish cooperation between all employees, thereby improving service delivery (SAPS, 2011m: n.p.)

The above makes it clear that the formal culture of policing advocates gender equality. However, in The Dorp Police Station, the institutional culture shows signs of deviating from this ideal. Although the establishments of organisations such as the Men for Change and Women's Network were established to provide support for male and female officers, the existence of the Women's Network appeared to have little impact on the daily realities of police officers. For instance, in her interview Constable Leanie Maree described how the head of each operational section determines who is to perform which duties for each shift in this way:

During the shifts, the men are working outside while the women have to do admin. But we don't want to be in the office the entire time. They put the women in the 'ops room' [operational room]. They give the men a lot more hours as well. The women have to be 'safe' and inside. But you have to make your arrests and if you are working inside, you are not going to reach your PEP¹¹ numbers. There are a lot of disadvantages if you work inside. And the men don't like writing, so the women do it. [*In die skofte werk die mansmense meer buite terwyl die vroue meer admin moet doen. Maar mens wil nie heelyd in die kantoor sit nie. Hulle sit die vroue in die 'ops' kamer. Hulle gee ook vir die mans baie meer ure. Die vroumense moet "veilig" en binne wees. Maar jy moet jou arrestasies maak en as jy binne*

¹¹ PEP: Performance Enhancement Process.

werk kan jy nie werk aan jou PEP nie. Dit is baie nadelig om die heelyd binne te werk. En die mans hou nie so baie van skryf nie, so die vroue doen dit.]

The experience of Constable Maree shows that there are practical consequences for women of the bias displayed against female officers working outside. If officers do not complete the criteria specified in their PEP documents, they are not eligible for promotion (SAPS, 2005). It should be noted that it is not only male officers in leadership positions who engage in the gendering of duties. At one meeting I attended, I observed how a senior female officer asked another female officer to take the minutes. At first I made nothing of this, but subsequently several female officers told me how a man would never be asked to do these simple duties. It is evident that even the seemingly most innocent assignment of tasks is shaped around gendered expectations.

The *SAPS Journal* articles also reflect the way in which duties are regularly gendered on an institutional level, particularly in relation to women. In my sample of articles, only three had a specific focus on men (Minnaar, 2011; Ngxukumeshe, 2010b; Gerber, 2010). These articles did not reveal any specific details on the division of labour. The majority of the articles focused on women, with ample coverage of events around the Women's Network. These articles showed women police officers reading to children, visiting hospitals and singing Christmas carols (Ninzatti, 2010), planting geraniums to create an awareness of 'living green' (Plaatjies, 2010), providing food parcels to the vulnerable, the poor and those affected by domestic violence (Nono, 2010a), handling lectures, maintaining vegetable gardens, attending self defence courses (Smit, 2009) and also attending information sessions and demonstrations on make-up trends. One article in the sample described the athletic performance of a female athlete and linked her to soccer, volleyball, netball and karate (Joseph, 2009) while another focused on a female officer who had successfully obtained her pilot's licence (Ehlers, 2009). With the exception of the sporting star and the female pilot, female officers were thus generally associated with 'softer' tasks.

In her research Louise Westmarland (2001) found that gendered understandings of bodies are often used to allocate certain duties to officers. This was confirmed during my interviews, in which it became apparent that both male and female officers tended to regard certain duties as female while other duties were perceived as reserved for men. The duties associated with

women were mostly confined to inside or 'safe' office work while men were drawn to outside or dangerous work. There was a clear distinction between 'men's work' and 'women's work'. Constable Lucas Jacobs emphasised this point:

If you want to be fair, you can't have a woman doing a man's job. So you can't expect a woman to take on a man if you know he is going to fight with her. *[As jy wil redelik wees kan jy nie altyd wil he 'n vrou moet 'n man se werk doen nie. So jy kan nie verwag 'n vrou moet nou 'n groot man aanvat wat jy weet gaan baklei met haar nie].*

Several male officers stated that while men were better at dealing with operational matters or 'outside' work, women were better at doing administrative duties or dealing with cases of rape or domestic abuse. Warrant Officer Willem Malherbe explained it thus:

This is going to sound funny, but according to me women are much better administratively. We are men and we want to prove we are better outside. I have noticed that women are better with administration. And that is it. In terms of communication and communication posts, there are few men who can keep up with the women. *[Ek gaan nou snaaks klink, maar volgens my is vrouens baie meer administratief aangelê as meeste mans. Ons is mans en ons wil wys ons is beter daar buitekant. Wat ek opgelet het is dat vrouens baie meer administratief is - en klaar. Kommunikasie gewys, as jy 'n kommunikasie-pos in die polisie self aanvat - daar is baie min mans wat by die vroue kan hou.]*

Captain Peter Kanwar also noted the different expectations for men and women at the station:

Yes I believe that men enjoy the fieldwork and love the action. That is what a policeman loves. Females, they prefer sitting behind a computer and doing admin work, and at the end of the day, going home to their families.

These thoughts were mirrored by Sergeant Danmur April and Warrant Officer Brian Alberts:

Women are better than men in doing administrative work. The men are better in being active, being outside. Yes, women are better organised than men. *[Vroue doen beter administrasie werk as mans. Die mans is beter aktief, om buite te wees. Ja, 'n vrou is beter georganiseerd as mans.]*

The ladies working with me, you have to give them credit. They have those nice admin skills. *[Die dames wat saam met my werk, jy moet tog vir hulle 'credit' gee. Hulle het daai lekker admin vaardighede.]*

However several of the female officers voiced their frustrations with this division of labour. Constable Charmaine Daniels, an operational officer, noted the following:

At [this police] station I feel things are very manly. They view a woman as admin. Men see women as barefoot and pregnant in the kitchen. Now here (at the police station) they see you: woman equals admin. *[By [hierdie polisie stasie] voel ek dinge is meestal maar manlik. Hulle sien of ag 'n vrou as net admin. Mans sien mos 'n vrou 'barefoot en pregnant in the kitchen'. Nou hier sien hulle vir jou: 'woman equals admin'.]*

She went to explain her resentment at the gendered expectations at the police station:

We do the same work anyway, but actually we don't do the same work [at this station]. Here they think only the women can work inside and the men can work outside. It makes me so angry. I went through the same things [during training] as the men. It makes me so angry. All the things we have to do here. You have to open dockets and listen to complaints. We learned this at the station. Now why can't men learn how to do this? It makes me hysterical. This station is very sexist, very. *[Ons doen in elk geval dieselfde werk, maar tog doen ons nie dieselfde werk [by hierdie stasie] nie. Hier verbeel hulle vir hulle net die vrouens moet binne werk, maar die mans moet op die pad werk... Dit maak my so kwaad omdat ek dieselfde deurgemaak het [dieselfde opleiding], wat mans deurgemaak het. Dit maak my so baie kwaad. Al die goed wat ons hier doen - jy moet 'dockets' oopmaak en klagtes luister. Dit het ons geleer hier by die stasie. Nou hoekom kan mans dit nie ook leer nie? Dit is wat my baie histeries maak. Die stasie is baie seksisties, baie.]*

Female officers emphasised that they went through the same training as men but were expected to do administrative duties that were not expected of male officers.

Aside from administrative duties, male officers also expected of the women at the station to attend to cases of rape or domestic abuse. This is consistent with the findings of Westmarland

(2001) that men have specific expectations - when it comes to the handling of cases of domestic abuse or rape, this is a woman's job. Captain Luan Pretorius noted the following:

Look, with the treatment of victims, especially where women are involved in terms of violence, the structure is organised in a way so that women can handle it... This type of approach might be better for the ladies than it would be for a man. [*Kyk met die behandeling van slagoffers, veral waar vrouens betrokke was ten opsigte van geweld, is die struktuur ook so gerat dat die dames dit moet hanteer... die aanslag is dalk beter vir 'n vrou as wat dit vir 'n man sal wees.*]

Yes, there is certain situation where you need a woman in the field. A female has to be there - searching a woman, a man cannot do that. A female has to be there in a rape situation (Capt. Peter Kanwar).

Most female officers had similar views. Constable Lenise Rooi, an operational officer in her thirties, said the following:

Often they expect that only women can handle rape cases; because the men feel uncomfortable. But there are some men that don't have a problem. [*Baie keer verwag hulle net vroue mag 'rape'-sake vat, want partykeer voel die man dalk ongemaklik. Maar daar is mans wat nie 'n probleem het nie.*]

Women were assigned to these duties not because of their inability to perform other duties, but, rather, because of their perceived ability to handle these situations better as well as the discomfort of men and recognition of the needs of the victims. Female officers viewed their ability to intervene and to assist victims of rape or domestic violence as strengths, not limitations. The valuing of these skills could, potentially, be instrumental in redefining police culture, as will be discussed in the final chapter.

What my study also brings out is that female officers are often at the receiving end of being underestimated. As part of the perception of masculine superiority, women are confined to 'lesser' policing tasks such as administrative work, inside work and 'safe' work while outside,

dangerous, and traditionally 'tough' duties are considered to be spaces for men. Female officers are aware of this and told of their frustrations at being underestimated. Thus Sergeant Santie Smit voiced her annoyance at the fact that most men at The Dorp Police Station thought they had to look after women officers and their lives were in danger if a woman was to accompany them during patrol. Sergeant Vanessa Lottering thought that men were unable to accept that women were able to take on combat roles and thought the problem might be related to men's egos.

Although the authority of hegemonic masculinity is thereby affirmed in informal police culture, there is not an outright denial of the value of female or softer work, but, rather, a selective valuing of female and masculine traits. There are also several inconsistencies in the views and perceptions of especially male police officers about their female counterparts. Women are valued if they are able to perform the gendered duties allocated to them. Women are also perceived as unable to perform the duties associated with 'outside' or 'real' police work. However, women who are perceived to be tough are also held in high regard. Thus women must either perform their female duties as feminine officers or, in exceptional cases, be hyper-masculine in their performance of masculine duties. At the same time, officers are aware of the psychological pressures that such a tough exterior brings with it.

Furthermore, although the underlying police canteen culture is one infused with masculine ideals, these ideals do not go unchallenged. As part of her analysis of the structure of gender, Connell (1995: 85) explored the "collapse of the legitimacy of patriarchal power" in society. She noted that the legitimacy of male dominance has been challenged through the reversal of roles in society and through acts of resistance by both men and women. Because policing is traditionally associated with the masculine, the inclusion of women in the occupation can be seen as a form of role reversal in society, which is how it is sometimes viewed in official SAPS documents and policy statements. My interviews show that hegemonic masculine norms are often questioned in a subtle manner, though not through direct challenges. While officers uphold certain masculine traits such as endurance, resilience and toughness as the ideal, in practice they also struggle with the norm of the immovable and emotionless police officer. This was evident in the statement by Warrant Officer Brain Alberts:

Of the policeman there is expected to never cry, to not show emotions. When you go home tonight you can't tell your wife "I saw some horrible things and it is affecting me". You are forced to hit back when someone hits you. [*Daar word van die polisieman verwag om nie te huil nie, nie emosies te toon nie; om nie vanaand vir sy vrou te sê 'ek het 'n grusaame ongeluk bygewoon nie, dit affekteer my'. Jy word, tussen haakies, gedwing as iemand jou slaan om hom terug te slaan.*]

The questioning of the ideals of toughness and hyper-masculinity by both male and female officers demonstrate the complex ways on which gender and masculinity are perceived and experienced in the SAPS.

3. Cathexis: emotional attachment and sexuality

The third level of the structuring of gender relations in society is that of cathexis. Connell (1995: 74) explains that cathexis relates to emotional attachment or sexual desire. While issues surrounding sexuality were not a central focus of this study, some issues did emerge in the course of the interviews. This section also draws together findings related to the body, including the portrayal of gendered bodies in the SAPS online journal.

The Employment Equity Act (1998) to which the SAPS adheres prohibits discrimination of any sort. The Sexual Harassment Policy of the SAPS also states that no member, male or female, should be subjected to any form of sexual harassment. However, in practice police officers have different experiences in terms of both the institutional and the canteen culture of the SAPS.

On a national level, leadership of the SAPS have not been vocal regarding issues of sexuality or sexual harassment. An exception to this is the reaction to an incident in August of 2011 where a sex tape of a warder and a married female officer of the SAPS was leaked to the media. Although the affair was consensual, the female officer was unaware of the recording. Both parties were in full uniform, carrying weapons and on duty during the incident. The officer was suspended and Police Minister, Nathi Mthethwa described the "act as 'embarrassing' and 'immoral' while commending the South African Police Service's Gauteng leadership for dismissing the police officer" (Dlamini, 2011: n.p) The position of the leadership of the SAPS

regarding the transgression has been one of strong indignation. The incident demonstrates that, although sexuality is rarely explored in the context of policing, it is present in the SAPS.

During my fieldwork, I spoke to Captain Edwina Loots, a female officer who related how she has been sexually harassed at The Dorp Police Station. Although she has lodged a complaint to the head of the police station, nothing has been done to address the issue and she is still working with the male officer involved in the event. On the level of canteen culture, Captain Edwina Loots related how she was sexually harassed at The Dorp Police Station. Although she did not want to go into specific details concerning the incident, she did have the following to say:

If a man oversteps your boundaries and you say: 'I don't like that', he won't listen to you. If you make an official case, it is a lengthy process. So women have to learn to look out for themselves in the workplace. That is what I had to learn, straight from point one. It is not easy, but now I can teach the other girls: 'listen, you have to be hard, it is a man's world.' I am not afraid to say it, it is man's world. A woman is either going to wait a lifetime or nothing is going to happen. If it comes to sexual harassment, I am speaking from experience. It happened to me. That's why people were walking circles around me. When it comes to men, you have to be careful. When it comes to men and jokes below the belt, you shouldn't participate. Even if it is in a group or in a big meeting and everyone is laughing. What I do, I don't laugh with them. I know what it can lead to. That is where SAPS is lacking, it is a sad point. There are a few women that I know of that made cases and nothing happened. One lady said she is handling a case of rape of one of the women, a Captain, and she is struggling to get an answer from the police. Women just have to wipe their tears and move on. I am putting myself on the line by telling you this. I don't care. It's the truth. You are the victim. It shapes you. It is going to make or break you. *[As 'n man jou grense oorskry, en jy sê: 'ek hou nie daarvan nie', hy gaan nie na jou luister nie. As jy amptelike sake maak is die proses baie lank, so 'n vrou moet leer om haarself te beskerm in die werksplek. Dit is wat ek moes leer, 'straight van point one'. Dit is nie maklik nie, maar ek kan terug ploeg en vir meisies leer: 'luister hier, jy sal moet hard raak, dit is 'n manswêreld.' Ek is nie bang om te sê nie, dit is mans-dominant. 'n Vrou gaan óf 'n leeftyd wag óf niks gaan gebeur nie. As dit kom by 'sexual harassment', ek praat van ondervinding. Dit het met my gebeur. 'That's why people were walking circles around me'... As dit kom by mans, is dit die beste om te pasop. As dit kom by mans, 'below the belt', al is dit hoe klein 'n grap, 'don't participate', al is dit in 'n groep, soms in 'n groot 'meeting' en almal lag. Wat ek doen, ek lag glad nie saam nie, dit is net nie aan by*

my nie, want ek weet waarnatoe dit kan lei. Dit is waar die SAPS 'lack'; dit is 'n 'sad' punt. Daar is vroue wat ek van weet wat sake gemaak het en wat niks van gekom het nie. 'n Dame het gesê sy hanteer 'n verkrachtings-saak van een van die vroue, 'n Kaptein, en sy het gesukkel om 'n antwoord uit die polisie uit te kry. Die vroue moet maar net hul trane afvee en vorentoe beweeg. Ek sit myself op die lyn om dit te noem, 'I don't care. It's the truth'. Jy bly die 'victim'. Dit 'shape' vir jou. Dit gaan óf vir jou maak, óf vir jou breek].

Captain Edwina Loots told how she was disappointed with the reaction of her colleagues and the lack of support from the SAPS and the Women's Network support group. A similar complaint was seen in the case of 'Potgieter versus the National Commissioner of the SAPS' (2008). In this case, a female police officer lodged a complaint against a male constable. Her request to have the issue addressed was repeatedly ignored by officers in senior positions and she was eventually forced to take the matter to the labour court. It seems that, although there are formal rules and regulations in place regarding the sexual conduct of officers, transgressions occur on an institutional level. The reality of sexual harassment in the SAPS and the organisation's failure to act upon transgressions of its own formal rules and regulations confirm both the centrality of cathexis in the structuring of gender relations and the extent to which this is structured in ways that reinforce masculine power in the SAPS.

The body as an instrument of sexual power that is implicated in the structure of gender is also an area for analysis within the SAPS. Here the idea of 'physical capital' proposed by Westmarland (2001) can be seen to play a central role in policing, with the possessors of physical capital often in positions of power.

The *SAPS Journal* provides insight into the representation of bodies in the institutional culture of the SAPS. Key concerns that reflected in its articles relate to the body in terms of sporting events, fitness campaigns and the projected new image of the fitter and thinner police officer promoted by General Bheki Cele. In the 18 months since his appointment, a total of 43 articles out of 117 from the main sample frame related to sporting or fitness events. Alongside this was an emphasis on the new attitude towards fitness in which police officers were encouraged to be "physically ready and to monitor their health and physical fitness" and to "beef up [their] fitness levels" (Joseph, 2010d). One article emphasised that "being out of shape and overweight is a big disadvantage" and officers should "set an example and exercise in the gym" (Joseph, 2010b).

This article related an incident where General Cele saw two members talking and, referring to their weight, said that “their stomachs were kissing”.

There is also a gendered dynamic to the physical descriptions of officers. In two separate articles women are described as “petite” (Joseph, 2010e; Weilbach, 2010). One female officer is also described as being able to “prove to her male counter parts that she [is]... stronger on the physical level” (Weilbach, 2010) while another is described as a “lanky and muscular athlete” (Joseph, 2009). There is a noticeable absence of comparable physical descriptions of male police officers in the journal articles.

Westmarland (2001: 6) found in her studies that women’s bodies were generally disregarded or ignored in the police, in contrast to the general interest usually reserved for the female body in society. In my research at The Dorp Police Station, the female body as an object of sexist attention did come into focus in the incident where women’s bodies were objectified during the telling of jokes concerning domestic abuse by some male officers. In my interviews, however, women’s bodies were not objectified in this crude way and only mentioned in comparison to male bodies, where, as already noted, they were considered to be weaker by both male and female participants.

The implementation of the new fitness programme was an issue for discussion. At station level it created an awareness of the physical body and how police officers were no longer living up to the ideals of physical perfection in law enforcement. The implementation of the fitness programme at the The Dorp Police Station was visible in the new gym and lectures on fitness that officers were expected to attend. In their interviews participants were mainly positive; explaining that officers in the SAPS had gained too much weight and that there is a need for fitter, slimmer officers. The following was noted:

You can’t ask a police officer weighing in at 130 or 140kg to jump a wall. It’s not the same as a person weighing 50 or 60kg. Everyone should come done (lose weight). I’m all for it, definitely. A fit police officer is a better police officer. He has more stamina. [*Jy kan mos nie ’n polisieman van 130 of 140 kilogram vra om oor ’n muur te spring nie. Dit is mos nie dieselfde as een wat 50 of 60 kilogram weeg nie. Almal moet ’n bietjie af kom (in gewig). ‘I’m all for it’, verseker. ’n Fikse polisieman is ’n beter polisieman. Hy gaan bietjie meer uit hou, met meer stamina.*] (WO Willem Malherbe).

4. Personal experiences of policing and the SAPS

This final section picks up on two themes that emerged through my research that are considered important for the understanding of police culture but could not be fitted neatly into the discussion on gender relations in terms of Connell's model. The first is the emphasis on policing as a vocation and the way in which officers are able to distinguish between the occupation of policing and the organisation of the SAPS. The second section explores concerns of stress. Through these sections I am able to explore to what extent gendered expectations and masculinity contributes, exacerbates or relieves stress. Although the understanding of stress does not form a central focus of the study, a better understanding of the experiences of male and female officers in this regard offers the necessary background information.

The SAPS as an organisation vs. policing as an occupation

Police culture is shaped by the views that individual officers hold about their occupation and the specific organisation to which they are affiliated. This section discusses the attitudes of male and female officers at The Dorp Police Station towards the formal organisation of the SAPS, as a way of throwing further light on police culture.

In talking about the organisation, most officers expressed frustrations around what they saw as a severe lack of support from the SAPS. Complaints centred on the nature of the bureaucracy as well as the system in place regarding promotions. Participants also conveyed their general dissatisfaction with their work environment. It became clear, however, that these frustrations related to the organisation and were not directed against the occupation of policing as such. For instance, Warrant Officer Brian Alberts, a coloured male, expressed his disappointment with the organisation thus:

For 11 years I worked on the dark side of policing and for 11 years the police did not support me. I worked with some gruesome things and the police did not support me. We finished at the morgue and we move on, but not one officer came to me or said thank you. And that is why I feel abandoned by the police, they don't care. For years you serve the police. You sit with the rank of Warrant Officer. I know I am not a graduate, but I don't feel that you need a

degree to do police work. You sit with years of experience and you are not good enough to be promoted. Someone else will be promoted, he is good enough. You are only good enough to train that guy. It can make you totally negative. [*Vir 11 jaar het ek in die donker kant van die polisie gewerk, vir 11 jaar het die polisie my nie ondertseun nie. Ek het met grusame goed gewerk en die polisie het my nie ondertseun nie. Ons het klaar gemaak by die lykshuis. Geen offisiere het na my toe gekom en dankie gesê nie. Jare dien ek in die polise, jy sit met die rang Adjudant Offiser. Ek weet ek is nie 'n gegradueerde nie, maar ek voel jy het nie 'n graad nodig om in die polisie te werk nie. Jy sit met jare se ondervinding. Jy is nie goed genoeg om bevorder te word nie. 'n Ander ou word bo jou bevorder. Hy is goed genoeg. Jy is net goed genoeg om daai ou te leer. Dit maak 'n ou totaal negatief.*]

It is worth noting that the masculine structures (Alveson and Billing, 2009) that form the backbone of the SAPS, such as hierarchy and bureaucratic systems, are considered to be a source of alienation for many officers:

The thing is, those on top, there's no right information we get from them. If there's an instruction from the province, they keep that information up there so we know nothing what's going on... They don't give information. Our lives are in danger because of those who are on top (Sgt. Thando Letole).

These feelings of alienation in relation to the SAPS as an organisation stood in sharp contrast to the attitudes that officers expressed towards their actual occupation. The meanings that they attach to their work are an important part of canteen culture. Their reflections on the meaning of their profession made it apparent that officers view their occupation as more than just a job or a simple means to an end. While the formal culture of policing in South Africa promotes integrity and striving for excellence, the officers that I interviewed went beyond the prescribed official ethos and viewed policing as a calling that could only be performed effectively if officers were passionate about the occupation¹².

¹² It is also telling that many of the participants had family in the police or military. Officers told of brothers, sisters, fathers, grandfathers and uncles in the police, claiming that policing is often 'in the family'. From the 19 participants, a total of 29 family members in the police were reported. The potential influence of family members in the police on the cultivating of police canteen culture even before recruits join the police should also be

Warrant Officer Brian Alberts, a coloured male in his forties who has been working for the South African Police for more than twenty years was very vocal on this. He stressed that policing is a calling and those who assume otherwise do not belong in the SAPS:

It is my personal opinion that policing is a type of career, a calling. You come in and you think you have this or that behind your name... or you are looking for a job to earn a salary... you will run into trouble... because policing is a calling where money doesn't play such a big role, you are there to serve the community. [*Dit is my persoonlike opinie dat die polisie 'n tipe loopbaan is; 'n roeping. Jy kom in en dink jy het dit of dat agter jou naam... of jy soek net 'n 'job', om 'n salaris te verdien... dan gaan jy vashaak, want die polisie is 'n loopbaan en 'n roeping, waar geld nie so 'n groot rol speel nie... jy is regtig daar om die gemeenskap te dien.*]

Sergeant Santie Smit, a female officer who joined the SAPS after 1994 expressed similar sentiments:

It is a calling, like we have said all these years. It is not a job. If you are here for the job then you are not a police officer. Our policy is that you are on call 24 hours. It has always been this way, it hasn't changed. If you are home or if you are at the office, you are still a police officer. [*Dit is 'n roeping, soos wat ons nog al die jare gesê het. Dit is nie 'n werk nie... as jy hier is vir 'n werk dan is jy nie 'n polisieman nie. Ons beleid is ons is 24 uur op diens, dit was nog al die jare so, dit het nie weggegaan nie. As jy tuis is, net soos as jy by werk is, jy is nogsteeds 'n polisieman of -vrou.*]

It is evident that police officers attach value to their occupation. Their insight into their occupation is complemented by the way they see the roles they take on in the line of duty as extending beyond their official duties to include social interventions:

When you are here in the police it is like being a social worker. You are everything when you are in the police (Const. Ayanda Shabangu).

considered. As of yet, no research has been conducted to assert the influence of family members on police culture and it is recommended that further research be conducted on policing as a 'family business'.

We are pastors and marriage councillors, everything under the sun. What more can one say? [*Ons is predikante en huweliksberaders... en ons is alles onder die son. Wat kan 'n mens nog sê?*] (Sgt. Santie Smit).

The public expects the police officer to be police officer, to be the father, to be the boyfriend, to be the psychologist, to be the pastor, everything in one person. [*Die publiek verwag van die polisie om poliesmanne te wees -om ma en pa te wees, om 'boyfriend' te wees, om sielkundige en dominee te wees: alles in een mens.*] (WO Brian Alberts).

After explaining that he viewed the SAPS as an unsupportive work environment, Captain Peter Kanwar made it clear that he still felt passionate about the occupation of policing:

I'm sure you know by now why I don't want to be here. If you tell me now "you can go", I'd be very happy to move. Every day you come to work happy and you leave unhappy. People shouldn't make you unhappy. If you're unhappy, they should boost you up. If you are unhappy, you can't do your job. Then you roam around the station and just do nothing - but I still love doing my job!

Stress experienced

The nature of policing renders the occupation inherently stressful. As previously noted, Mostert and Rothmann (2006) found that stress, caused by difficult job demands and lack of resources, was a predictor of burnout, exhaustion and cynicism. Thus experiences of stress are also relevant for our understanding of the working conditions of the SAPS and ultimately the shaping of police culture.

Stress was experienced by the officers at The Dorp Police Station on several levels. Several participants mentioned how stress at work was affecting their personal lives. Issues of divorce and depression were raised in the majority of the interviews:

If you look at the colonel, he was working weekends and on Monday evening he will be on duty again. In the end, for police officers, their marriages don't last. It is just divorces and kids growing up without dads. [*Byvoorbeeld, die kolonel wat na-ure gewerk het, naweke ook,*

en Maandag is hy weer aan diens... Op die ou end verbrokkel die mense se huwelike. Dit is net egskeidings. Kinders word sonder 'n pa groot.] (Capt. Edwina Loots).

No one can say that I do my job and go home and I leave my job at work. You go home and sit with to your husband or your wife and you explain things to them. Sometimes they're there to listen and sometimes they're not there to listen. You are stressed and you ask them what to do. That is why many officers are stressed and they want to shoot themselves or they want to commit suicide. So you must have interaction with the social services to assist you here in the police (Capt. Peter Kanwar).

As was mentioned in the literature review, the issue of high levels of suicide and murder among members of the police is also a matter of concern for the SAPS. Although in my interviews participants were only asked to reflect on the stress they experienced as part of their occupation, several officers discussed the general issue of suicide amongst police officers. In this regard I had the following conversation with Sergeant Thando Letole:

- Sgt. T. L: So many guys wanted to commit suicide. So Fridays we have a suicide workshop because we see how these guys are going down.
- L.P: So you think the workshops are necessary?
- Sgt. T.L: Yes and I will attend it. Here, they see things after they did it and not before and the person ends up doing his own thing, then they clap hands. That is life with the police. I don't know about other jobs, but I think government institutions are like this all over. It's got the same problem. Our problem is [that] we are working with firearms. One of my colleagues shot himself twice, then they chased him away... And no one asks why.

As the Proactive Research Unit of the ICD (2009) highlighted in their study on femicide, in the majority of cases work firearms were used to kill spouses. There is an obvious danger attached to working under stressful environments with firearms, which was recognised by some of my participants. Constable Ayanda Shabangu, for instance, expressed his concern thus:

Because we are working with firearms, if you are not a strong person you might end up killing your colleague. Or go home with all that stress and kill all your family.

Another source of stress identified during my interviews was the perceived attitude of the public towards police officers. Officers felt that they did not have the support of the public:

The public, they fail to understand that we're not superheroes. It is stressful. They say you have a social worker to assist you. I've been here 21 years and that's not the case. Until they ask, "How are you?" and you say, "It's fine", they'll accept that you're fine. It's very hard to explain to a police woman that you're going through this problem or that problem. You tell them that you're stressed, and then they remove your firearm and discharge you. You get more charged (stressed) as a police officer than as a civilian (Capt. Peter Kanwar).

Officers described different ways of dealing with the burden of stress. Constable Lucas Jacobs, a male in his thirties, noted the importance of his peers who could be expected to have more insight into the issues than his family:

If, for instance, we had to attend to a nasty accident or we saw a shooting or something, we will sort it out at work with each other. I would tell my wife what happened, but she will never mention it again. She will try and keep my mind away from it. But at work, our partners sort it out with us. You can't take your work home with you. If you get home, you have to be a husband; you have to be a father. You can't take your stress and troubles home. I believe that if you come to work with problems from home then you can speak to your buddies and you can sort it out, then you don't have problems. [*Sê nou ons het 'n ongeluk gehad en ons het 'n lelike ongeluk gesien of iemand was geskiet of so. Dan sal ons dit sommer by die werk 'uitsort' met mekaar. Ek sal my vrou inlig oor hoe dit gebeur het. Sy sal my nooit weer vra daaroor nie. Sy sal liever my 'mind' probeer weg hou daarvan. Maar by die werk, ons' partners' moet dit probeer hier 'uitsort', maar jy kan nie jou werk saam met jou huis toe vat nie. As jy by die huis kom, jy moet 'n pa gaan wees. Jy moet 'n man gaan wees. Jy kan nie gaan stres en moelikheid maak by die huis nie.*]

This is consistent with previous studies that note that camaraderie is an important part of police culture (Kingshot and Prinsloo, 2004). Constable Charmaine Daniels, a female operational officer in her late twenties told of her experiences with stress in the service:

I have thought about it a lot. Every day I am happy-go-lucky and jolly. But sometimes I have sleepless nights. And I wonder why I can't sleep, I can't think of anything keeping me awake. You know police officers, we swear, we say our say end we go on as if nothing happened. Now I can't say it's not stressful. *[Ek het baie daaroor gedink. Ek is elke dag 'happy-go-lucky' and 'jolly'. Soms het ek slapelose nagte, dan dink ek: hoekom slaap ek nie? Ek kan nie nou dink aan soos iets wat my pla nie. Jy weet polisiemanne of vroue, ons vloek, ons sê onse sê en dan gaan ek aan asof niks gebeur het nie. Nou kan ek nie vir jou sê dit is nie stresvol nie.]*

Although religion was not a central issue in the design of my study and no probing questions were asked regarding faith, several of the participants referred to religion as being central in their lives. In the interviews eight officers referred to religion, mostly indirectly. They told how they turned to God for guidance or attended church for support. It was also noticeable that three of the participants displayed motivational religious material in their offices while two of the participants held positions of leadership in their churches. It was also telling that every event and meeting I attended was opened with a prayer, although this is not part of the official regulations of the SAPS. Turning to religion is thus a significant way in which police officers in my study try to cope with their stressful environment. This observation is consistent with the study by Pienaar and Rothmann (2003), who found that officers rated turning to religion highest on their list of coping mechanisms.

The presence of stress in this obviously dangerous occupation is cause for concern for policing in South Africa. From the interviews it is apparent that officers experience stress and that they are not always equipped to deal with the strain of the occupation. Officers often rationalise being tough as a means of coping with this type of stress, thereby cementing masculinity as part of their coping strategy.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

In this study I have set out to examine masculinity as a feature of police culture and to explore how male and female officers employed at the SAPS experience it in one police station in the Western Cape. As my theoretical discussion has made clear, masculinity is a complex construct and understanding the experiences of police officers in this regard is a challenging process. I have drawn heavily on the theories of Connell (1995) and Butler (1988, 1990) for my understanding of gender and masculinity. Connell's three-fold model of the structure of gender was found to be particularly useful for guiding my analysis of gender dynamics within the institution of the SAPS, while Butler's emphasis on gender as performance has also been illuminating. My study also draws on ideas on hegemonic masculinity, multiple masculinities and intersectionality to understand better the range of experiences and perceptions around masculinity within the SAPS.

The other body of literature my study has drawn on has comprised empirical and theoretical studies of police culture as part of organisational culture. As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, policing as an occupation has traditionally been associated with cultural ideals and practices in which ideas about masculinity and masculine norms and values feature prominently. Theories on police culture developed by authors such as Waddington (1999), Fielding (1994) and Westmarland (2001) were utilised to conceptualise masculinity within the organisational culture of the SAPS. This body of work draws attention to the differences between formal and unofficial or canteen culture for understanding the experiences of officers in the line of duty, to which this study has added the idea of institutional culture as an intermediate level that sits between the two. Police culture in its entirety thus encompasses the formal mission statement, codes of conduct and rules and regulations of the organisation, the institutional values and practices fostered by the senior leadership, and the informal level of the canteen and the values and practices that are expressed in daily police work.

The operation of canteen culture has been central to this study as it encompasses the way in which officers relate among themselves and to the public, complete their duties, and approach specific situations in their work. It involves the ways in which informal socialisation takes place, the language used and the general way in which officers perceive their occupation, each other and

the world at large. The perceptions of police officers in my study site were thus a key resource for making sense of the experiences of masculinity in the SAPS.

In this final chapter I draw together the findings of my thesis by revisiting my four research questions:

- To what extent is the SAPS a ‘masculine institution’ (in the way suggested by Connell)?
- What are the experiences of male officers in the SAPS in this regard?
- What are the experiences of female officers in the SAPS in this regard?
- To the extent that the SAPS can be described as a masculine institution, what, if any, positive consequences might a masculine police culture offer policing in the current South African context?

In the following discussion, section one address the first three questions, i.e. the SAPS as a masculine institution and the experiences of male and female officers in this regard. Section two explores the contribution that masculinity can make as part of the culture of policing. Section three presents my concluding comments and makes some suggestions for further research based on this study.

1. The SAPS as ‘Masculine Institution’

As was discussed in Chapter 2, the theory on organisational culture makes a clear distinction between official and unofficial culture (Hicks-Clarke and Iles, 2000; Jermier *et al.*, 1991; Faull, 2008). What is presented as the official culture of an organisation is not necessarily reflected in the behaviour or the understanding of the members of that organisation. This has also been found to be true in this study of the SAPS and its operations in The Dorp Police Station.

As was noted, the formal culture of the SAPS as presented in key policy documents and statements is one that encourages the empowerment of women, is dedicated to gender equality and aims to provide a service to the public that is respected and honourable. While it endorses gender equality as a norm, much of the language of official documents can be seen as gender-neutral. Members of the service are encouraged to “act in a manner that is impartial, courteous, honest, respectful, transparent and accountable; exercise the powers conferred upon [them] in a responsible and controlled manner” (SAPS, 2011e). Here the traits that have been identified as

generally associated with hyper-masculinity in particular, such as aggression, extreme physicality, and an unquestioned male authority and sexual dominance over women, are not apparent. There are no signs of a formal resistance towards women, no formal gendering of duties and sexual harassment policies are in place to deal with any transgressions in this arena. In this regard, the official culture remains an important reference point in the search for a more gender-sensitive organisation.

The level of institutional culture presents a more varied picture. One way in which a masculine police culture is presented at the institutional level is through the valuing of certain ideals that are associated with the masculine by the senior leadership and their translation into operational policy. In the SAPS these values have always been there but have recently been promoted in the acceptance of the so-called 'shoot-to-kill' policy in the interpretation of the amendment to Act 51 Section 49(2) in 2009 and the amendment of Regulation 8 to revert to the use of militarised ranks in the police (Department of Police, 2010). The institutional culture of the SAPS is also reflected in the statements made by the leadership of the SAPS, both on a national and a local level, which also have an influence on the informal culture found in the police. The attitudes expressed by the national leadership regarding the use of force, the regular use of the 'war metaphor', and the endorsement of a more militarised police force can all be seen as being supportive of a masculine culture in the police. There is evidence in my study that supports the notion that institutional culture often deviates from the formal culture. Although there is no overt evidence of resistance to women in the SAPS at this level, a woman in a senior position in The Dorp Police Station reported feeling marginalised. There is also some evidence of some attempts to counteract masculine currents at this level, for instance in the activities of the Women's Network and Men for Change, which receive official support. The march I attended as part of the launch of the Men for Change group in the cluster was also endorsed by the head of the police station. There are also attempts to promote the idea of the SAPS as a peace-keeping organisation and to promote service values and community policing.

However, what my study shows is that it is at the level of canteen culture that hegemonic masculinity is most visible and impacts most strongly on the experience of both male and female officers. With regard to The Dorp Police Station, the dominance of masculine norms and practices in canteen culture was found to function across a number of different spheres. Through

my observations at The Dorp Police Station as well as interviews with participants and key informants, it became evident that there are certain ways in which hegemonic masculinity is reinforced in everyday interactions. While the views officers expressed towards militarisation and shoot-to-kill were ambivalent, other ways of expressing masculinity were registered.

In terms of power relations, male dominance over women was asserted in numerous ways. Male participants expressed a certain resistance towards women. Women were excluded from certain duties and spaces and, as a social group, were labelled as weak and incompetent by their male counterparts. The experiences of officers in the SAPS are shaped by their understanding of the occupation. As the occupation is perceived to be one that is infused with danger, the need for strong, assertive and physically and emotionally tough officers was seen as self-evident. Male officers viewed themselves as being able to perform with the requisite toughness while viewing their female counterparts as frequently scared, weak or unable to function optimally in dangerous situations. My findings suggest that, despite the reality of different experiences in terms of race and history, these views were expressed by both black and white men.

Of note is that the valuing of certain masculine traits or ideals such as physical strength, assertiveness and toughness was emphasised as important by both male and female officers. While male participants regarded most female officers as lacking in these categories, there was a sense of admiration for those female officers who were able to 'stand their man'. Female officers also displayed pride in personal traits perceived to be masculine, such as their toughness, their ability to be able to train successfully with men and their disregard for those women who were not strong enough to complete the training. It is here that Butler's (1988) understanding of the performance of gender can be utilised to understand informal police culture. Societal expectations of gender performance are part of the way in which gender identity is shaped and reinforced in society. Within the context of the SAPS, these gendered expectations are skewed towards masculinity. Police officers are thus expected to conform to masculine norms and their performance of their roles as police officers reflects this. As was noted, intersectionality was taken into account. However, during the interviews it became apparent that masculine ideals were supported across the borders of race and history.

There is, however, not a monolithic construct of masculinity and there were contrasting views from female participants. The contrasting views reflect the complex understandings around

femininity and there is some ambivalence around its place in police work. From the findings, it became evident that policing often entails 'peace work', social work and the need for officers to take on the role of social workers. Policing goes beyond combat situations and it is within this understanding that police culture could be understood to entail more feminine aspects.

Although female officers generally valued the ability to perform masculinity on a par with men, and to survive in a 'man's world', most rejected the stereotype of the 'butch' female police officer. They challenged the image hyper-masculine officer and emphasised the importance of femininity. The complexity of the manner in which they negotiated their gendered identity is evident when speaking to these women. There was an acceptance of and pride in masculine traits as well as a rejection of hyper-masculinity. Additionally, most women also emphasised the importance of 'staying in touch' with their femininity. The further implications of the need to be feminine are that these female police officers also reinforce the conventional views of women; that a true woman is not butch. Female officers are thus exposed to both pressures from conventional gender roles and gender roles within the police.

The functioning of the police as a masculine institution was also evident in terms of the division of labour between male and female officers. Female officers were less likely than men to be assigned to the operational aspects of policing and regarded as more suitable for handling administrative duties such as taking minutes or answering phones. There was a 'taken for grantedness' about these assumptions on the part of male police officers who assumed that female officers were unable and even unwilling to partake in the more physical aspects of policing. Because of these views, women perceived themselves as being constantly undermined, underestimated or undervalued. However, women were likely to be assigned to deal with cases of rape and domestic violence, and here their perceived ability to attend to these incidents because they are women were viewed as strengths by both male and female officers. The valuing of the ability to tend to duties that are deemed 'softer' or more feminine could be instrumental in the redefining of police culture.

A third domain where masculinity was found to be dominant concerned the management of sexuality or what Connell has termed cathexis within the SAPS. Although the experiences of police officers with regard to their sexuality were not a central focus of the study, the unresolved experience of sexual harassment recounted by Captain Edwina Loots points to the relevance of

the issue. This way in which the incident was handled or perceived to be handled demonstrates that although the SAPS as an organisation has progressive policies in place, their implementation on the ground does not necessarily correspond to the policy. The issue at The Dorp Police Station has not been addressed and Captain Edwina Loots is still working with her harasser.

This study also found that both male and female police officers distinguished between the police as an organisation, around which they had many complaints, and police work as an occupation, which was generally valued despite the difficulties. Members of the police are thus able to distinguish between the work that they do and the institution that they work for. While officers described their occupation as a calling, with duties and social responsibilities that go beyond their specific job description, many feel alienated within the actual organisation. The feelings of estrangement between members of the SAPS and the organisation create need for the redefining of police culture where officers would be able to not only identify with their occupation, but also with the organisation. At the same time, my study confirms what has been found in other studies concerning high stress levels in the SAPS, which also points to the importance of reviewing the role of institutional and informal police culture in shaping or exacerbating in this regard.

In summary, my study confirms that the masculine culture of police agencies described in the literature review is prevalent in the SAPS. The non-sexist values proposed on a formal level do not filter down readily to the institutional or canteen level and to this extent the SAPS can be considered a masculine institution. However, while the police culture at The Dorp Police Station is marked by masculine ideals, this does not extend to the hyper-masculinity associated with policing in some studies. Both male and female officers adhere to the masculine ideals associated with policing, but not unconditionally. Hegemonic masculinity is also challenged by female officers who appreciate their own qualities as women and the contribution these 'feminine' traits make to the occupation of policing. Male officers also challenge the hegemonic norms from time to time, for instance in questioning the need to be strong and emotionless in an occupation as strenuous as policing. Thus although the SAPS can be considered a masculine institution, the experiences of male and female officers in this regard demonstrate the complexities and nuances of the experience of gender. Through these experiences it is evident that masculinity (and gender) does not go uncontested in the SAPS. The contradicting experiences, views and opinions of the participants demonstrate that masculinity is simultaneously valued and accepted and

rejected and questioned. While there is no single masculine police culture, the general police culture endorses masculine ideals and values. It is with these complexities in mind that the following section explores the potential positive purpose of a masculine police culture.

2. The potentially positive aspects of masculine values in police culture

Finally, this section turns to the question whether, despite the many problems associated with it, the values and practices associated with masculinity have anything positive to offer the police force in South Africa.

As already noted on several occasions, the literature on masculine police culture has tended to focus on the extent to which a strongly masculinist culture has negative consequences for the force and the larger society. The current working definition of police culture as one that is hyper-masculine, sexist and overly aggressive (as per Waddington, 1999, 2008, 2009; Rabe-Hemp, 2008, and Westmarland, 2001) does not allow for any positive functions of masculine police culture. Police culture is portrayed as abusive, violent and sexist. However, several points are worth noting here that could be seen to mitigate against this assessment. Firstly, policing is rated as one of the most dangerous occupations in the labour market (Mostert and Rothmann, 2006). South Africa is notorious for having a particularly high crime rate and its particular history has left a legacy of public hostility or mistrust towards the police, ensuring that policing in South Africa is by no means an easy occupation. It is clear that officers experience exceptional levels of occupational stress while ready access to weapons exacerbates the dangers associated with the occupation. In this context of danger and threat, a culture that values not only physical strength but also bravery and camaraderie may have a positive role to play.

In their study, Kingshot and Prinsloo (2003: 6) noted that canteen culture offers officers moral support and facilitates team building. The responses of participants in my study provide some evidence to support this claim. The support of colleagues was identified as an important element in officers' ability to function in the organisation and deal with severe levels of stress and strain. The importance of camaraderie and solidarity with one's peers associated with police culture was summed up by Constable Jacobs who noted the following: "If, for instance, we had to attend to a nasty accident or we saw a shooting or something, we will sort it out at work with each other."

Other attributes traditionally associated with masculinity in the occupation of policing, such as physical fitness and strength, assertiveness, leadership and bravery, have also been identified by authors such as Fielding (1994) and Kingshot and Prinsloo (2004) as being valuable for the profession. Both my male and female informants at The Dorp Police Station emphasised the importance of these traits, especially in the field. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that, although certain hyper-masculine attributes may create serious problems, not all masculine traits should be vilified. There is space for the appreciation and even valuing of certain masculine traits in both male and female officers.

This leads to my final point, which entails the possibility of the redefining of police culture in the SAPS in a more androgynous direction. It is apparent that there is a need to redefine what police culture entails in the South African context and that such changes need to go beyond the domain of official culture. Both the institutional and the unofficial culture must be addressed and the practical aspects of how police officers perceive themselves, their occupation and their positions within society must be redefined.

As was noted in Chapter 2, police culture is shaped through training, peers or societal expectations (Kingshot and Prinsloo, 2004). Police training camps have been under the spotlight on more than one occasion this year. As was noted in Chapter 4, in February a trainer was suspended at Ulundi Police College after forcing a female recruit to shave her head (SAPS, 2011) and in June, the *Mail & Guardian* (Gumede-Jonson, 2011) reported how trainees at the Pretoria training college were subjected to extended physical training sessions and physical abuse. It seems that an important arena for shaping police culture is being used as a way of reinforcing hyper-masculine norms and expectations. To transform police culture, the training process needs to be addressed. Given the heavily masculinist content of police culture, Meyer and Steyn (2009) also suggest that the current police culture of the SAPS could potentially be changed through the intake of more female members. Miller (1999, cited in Meyer and Steyn 2009: 109) noted that the “employment of females may undermine some of the more masculine qualities of police culture and instead, engender a softer, kinder form of policing”. However, it seems that an intervention stronger than mere numbers is needed. During my interviews it became apparent that, although the number of female employees at The Dorp Police Station is higher than the national profile of the SAPS (29% compared to 24%), some of the female

employees also endorsed the valorisation of masculine ideals. As was noted by Westmarland (2001), masculinity is not confined to the male body.

What my findings suggest is that certain values perceived to be masculine can play an important part in police culture but these values need to be augmented with more recognition for values traditionally associated with the feminine. This points to the need for balance within SAPS. While policing does require certain masculine traits to deal with crime situations, many of the overlooked tasks of policing are more akin to those of social work, which requires other attributes and values (Fielding, 1994). Dealing with domestic abuse and assisting victims of rape necessitate a softer approach than that commonly associated with hegemonic masculinity. So too does peace-keeping. These tasks require skills that are associated with the feminine. The contribution that female officers can make here is often overlooked, both in the police and in the military (Heinecken and van der Waag-Cowling, 2009: 534). As with studies in the military, a number of participants in the study expressed an appreciation of the value of certain feminine characteristics, including the ability to work with victims of rape, being patient, being able to listen to colleagues and members of the public and defusing hostile situations.

A more holistic approach to police culture would thus promote a culture that recognised more fluidity in gendered roles and identities and rejected the ideals associated with the hyper-masculine. In accepting selected masculine values a new working definition of police culture can be shaped. An androgynous police culture is dependent on the understanding that gender and the performing of masculine and feminine traits are not tied to male or female bodies. An androgynous police culture accepts this premise and allows for movement between these spheres.

3. Final comments and recommendations for further research

My research has found that masculinity is indeed a core feature of the culture of policing in the South African context. This serves to perpetuate gender stereotypes and marginalise women within the police force, and to underpin an aggressive style of policing that can impact harshly on the public. It could also be seen as a contributory factor in the stress that officers experience in their working environment. However, my thesis also suggests that there is space for the

appreciation of certain masculine ideals within police work, without submitting to the hyper-masculine stereotypes so often associated with the occupation. But while there is space for an appreciation of certain masculine ideals or traits, such as leadership and decisiveness a further conclusion from my research is that there should also be space for the acceptance and valuing of certain ideals associated with the feminine and thus a shift to a more androgynous culture within the police service.

Here Kingshot and Prinsloo's key observation that on the one hand "police are criticised for being aggressive, insensitive, and brutal and often corrupt" but on the other "the media criticises the police for being weak and failing in the public's expectations of them" (2004: 3) is worth remembering. It is clear that police officers are expected to negotiate their own understanding and performance of gender within what is, in effect, a paradoxical space. The presence of a more androgynous police service, free of the limitations of hegemonic masculinity, could provide officers with a more favourable environment in which to do what the official culture of policing expects of them: to serve and protect the public honourably and without discrimination.

In conclusion, and with the above in mind, the following recommendations are made concerning further avenues for research. Firstly as my study is focused on a single research site, the account of masculinity within the SAPS could be deepened if the study were to be repeated at different, additional research sites. These research sites could extend to other stations in the Western Cape with similar profiles as well as police stations across the rest of the country. The addition of these studies will provide a deeper understanding of the complexities of gender, masculinity and policing within the South African context. These additional studies could also shed light on the development of an androgynous culture of policing in the context of contemporary South Africa.

Secondly, although I have touched on issues of sexuality and the body in the SAPS, there is a definite need for further studies in this regard. Sexuality in the SAPS has not been explored to the full extent and there is space for the development of theory and literature. The expansion of studies on the theme of sexuality will also enable a better understanding of cathexis, as used by Connell (1995: 73).

Thirdly, there is a need to further develop and understand the consequences of the formal and institutional militarisation of the SAPS. The consequences of the militarising of the SAPS need to be tracked over an extended period of time to see how it might impact on the culture of policing.

Fourthly, as was noted in the previous chapter, several officers described policing as a ‘family business’. There is a need to explore the extent to which policing is an occupation that is family bound. There is also a need to explore the impact of family members in the police and how police culture is potentially influenced by these family members.

Lastly, although I have found that masculinity in the context of this study extends beyond the borders of race, culture and history, an in-depth exploration of intersectionality and the SAPS is needed. A deeper understanding of the influence of intersectionality in policing will provide a more specialised knowledge of the culture present in the SAPS.

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Appendix 1: Official Police Uniforms



Figure 1: Office Wear and Ceremonial wear (SAPS, 2011g).



Figure 2: Field Dress (SAPS, 2011g).

Appendix 2: Ranks in the South African Police Service



NEW RANK STRUCTURE

South African Police Service



Senior Management - Commissioned Officers

CURRENT RANK	NEW RANK	FORM OF ADDRESS
National Commissioner	General <i>(Gen)</i>	General
Deputy National Commissioner	Lieutenant General <i>(Lt Gen)</i>	General
Divisional/Provincial Commissioner	Lieutenant General <i>(Lt Gen)</i>	General
Assistant Commissioner	Major General <i>(Maj Gen)</i>	General
Director	Brigadier <i>(Brig)</i>	Brigadier

Commissioned Officers

Senior Superintendent	Colonel <i>(Col)</i>	Colonel
Superintendent	Lieutenant Colonel <i>(Lt Col)</i>	Colonel
	Major <i>(Maj)</i>	Major
Captain	Captain <i>(Capt)</i>	Captain
	Lieutenant <i>(Lt)</i>	Lieutenant

Non - Commissioned Officers

<u>CURRENT RANK</u>	Inspector	Sergeant	Constable
<u>NEW RANK</u>	Warrant Officer <i>(WO)</i>	Sergeant <i>(Sgt)</i>	Constable <i>(Const)</i>
<u>FORM OF ADDRESS</u>	Warrant	Sergeant	Constable

Appendix 3: Interview Schedule



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A case study of how masculinity is experienced and represented In the South African Police Service.

Interview Schedule to act as guide for semi-structured Interviews.

Note: A Semi-structured interview is means of collecting data that is not structured as a questionnaire, but acts as guide to assist the interviewer to direct the interviewee towards the theme of the study. Babbie and Mouton (2001: 289) describe this interview as “an interaction between an interviewer and respondent in which the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry but not a specific set of questions that must be asked in particular words and in a particular order”.

There are nine modules, each covering a specific focus for the interview:

1. *General and Background*
2. *Work Related*
3. *Police Culture*
4. *Gender*
5. *Questions for Female Officers*
6. *Questions for Male Officers*
7. *Training*
8. *The Public*
9. *Personal*

Module 1: General and Background Information

I'd like to start by asking you to tell me about yourself and your background, for instance where you were born and grew up, where you went to school, your family, how you came to be a police officer and why you decided to become a police officer.

The purpose of the opening module is to obtain background information on the interviewee's personal history and current status, but also to establish rapport and to put the interviewee at ease.

Important to Explore:

- General Information
- How the interviewee came to be a police officer
- Family setting

Prompt Questions Include:

How long have you been a police officer?

Why did you become a police officer?

Where did you train?

In which department are you working and why did you choose this department?

Are you married?

Do you have any children?

Module 2: Work related

I am interested in knowing what your work entails. Could you tell me more about your duties, how you feel about your work, what you enjoy and the dangers you encounter.

The purpose of this module is to obtain information on the interviewee's work circumstances, duties, attitude toward certain duties and to gain a general overview of what policing entails for the interviewee.

Important to explore:

- How duties are described
- Which aspects of policing are perceived as being important
- Describing of some work experiences

Prompt Questions Include:

In which area do you work?

What do you do when you are on duty?

Which shifts do you work/prefer?

Which types of crimes do you think is the biggest problem in this area and how do you deal with it?

How dangerous do you think policing is as an occupation?

Module 3: Police Culture

I am interested in understanding how and if you socialize at and after work. Please tell me more about your social interactions at work such as coffee breaks with fellow police officers? What do you talk about? How do you relax after work?

The purpose of this module is to establish how socialization is conducted at the police station and at the interviewee's home. A picture of how socialization between fellow police officers in the more informal police "canteen culture" setting should emerge. This is also the module where socialization outside the police station is explored. If and whether police officers socialize with officers outside the station is also important for this module.

Important to explore:

- Where and with whom socialisation occurs.
- What the main topics of discussion are
- What police officers do to relax, activities, hobbies etc.

Prompt questions include:

What do you usually do on your coffee breaks?

What do you do in your free time?

Do you have any hobbies?

Do you have friends that are police officers?

Module 4: Gender

I'd like to know more about your views on gender. Do you think there are significant differences between men and women? If yes, what? Do you think these differences are important in the police? Is there a difference between male and female police officers? What do you think makes a good police officer?

This module explores issues regarding gender and gender perception as well as experiences in the police service. This module will shed some light on how police officers perceive male and female police officers and their general attitudes regarding issues of gender.

Need to explore:

- Perceptions of men and women in general
- Perceptions of male and female police officers
- Experiences with police officers of same/opposite sex

Also to explore:

- Attitudes towards senior officers of same/different sex
- Strengths of male/female police officers in certain departments?
- Thoughts on discrimination in terms of promotion

Prompt questions include:

What makes a good police officer?

(Are these mostly masculine qualities? If so, do you think women have to exhibit these qualities to be good police officers?)

Do you think male police officers prefer to work with other men?

How do women and men get along at this police station?

Do you think there are certain tasks in the police that women perform better and vice versa?

Module 5: Female Police Officers

I am interested in learning more of your experiences as a female police officer. Could you describe your views of women in the police and how and if this differs from men in the service. Do you think it is more difficult to be a woman?

This module explores the experiences of female police officers. Their perceptions of difficulties encountered as women in a male dominated organization are central to understanding masculinity in the service. For this module, women will be asked to speak freely about their views, perceptions and experiences as women and how male police officers as well as the public respond to them.

Need to explore:

- Difficulties as a police women
- Expected behaviour?

Prompt questions include:

What do you think are some of the issues that policing presents to women in specific?

Do you feel that women are treated as equals at the police station?

Do you feel as if you have to behave different because you are a woman?

Module 6: Male Police Officers

I am interested in learning more of your experiences as a male police officer. What is being expected of male police officers? Do you think this is different from female police officers? How do you think men in general should behave? Do you think there is a lot of pressure on police men?

In this module, the importance of and meaning of masculinity is explored. Interviewees are encouraged to speak about the expectations of men in general and of police men specific.

Need to explore:

- views on being a man
- views on being a male police officer
- pressures experienced

Also to explore:

- views on female police officer's experiences in the police
- views on the public responds to male and female police officers

Prompt questions Include:

How would you describe being a man?

Do you think these qualities are important for a police officer?

Do you think the public responds differently to male and female police officers?

Do you think this a good thing or a bad thing?

Module 7: Training

I would now like to know more about your training experiences with the SAPS. Where and when did you receive your training and have you done any follow-up training? Did you train with any (other) women? Is there any focus on gender awareness?

This module provides the researcher with an understanding of how and if gender awareness is dealt with in training at the SAPS. Views on the importance of gender awareness are also explored in this module.

Need to explore:

- training experience
- training with women
- focus on gender awareness

Prompt questions include:

Where did you train?

Where there any women training with you?

Do you think women and men should have a different focus at training?

Do you think gender awareness courses are useful? (why or why not?)

Module 8: The Public

I know a big part of your work entails working with the public. Please tell me more about the relationship between the police and the public. Do you think people respond differently to male and female police officers? What do you think is the reason for this?

This module explores how the interviewees experience the response of the public to the police in general and to male and female police officers specific. This module also explores how officers respond to cases of domestic violence.

Need to explore:

- Perceived responses of the public
- Perceived differences in responses from the public
- Views on domestic violence cases

Prompt questions include:

Do you think women and men respond differently to male and female police officers?

Do you have to deal with cases of domestic violence?

How do you respond to these cases?

Do male and female officers respond differently to these cases?

Module 9: Personal

I know you have told me a little about your family, but please tell me more about your household. What do you do as a family? Do you feel that your work affects your home life or personal relationships in any way? How do you feel about your work in general?

This final module is at a more personal level and gives the interviewee opportunity to reflect on his family life and the possible affects that policing might have on his/her personal relationships.

Need to explore:

- *Family life*
- *Affects of policing on personal relationships*
- *Reflection on police work*

Prompt questions include:

Who do you live with?

Are any of your family members involved with the police?

Do the SAPS ever have family-focused events?

Have you ever considered changing your job?

Appendix 4: Access Documentation



UNDERTAKING

DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION

**RESEARCH PROPOSAL: A CASE STUDY OF HOW MASCULINITY IS PRESENTED AND EXPERIENCED BY POLICE OFFICERS IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE
MASTERS DEGREE STUDY : UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH
RESEARCHER: MS. LARIO POTGIETER**

I, LARIO POTGIETER, MAGISTER DEGREE IN SOCIOLOGY STUDY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH, HEREBY CONFIRM THAT

I AM FULLY AWARE OF THE CONTENTS OF SECTION 70 OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE ACT, ACT 68 OF 1995.

THE INFORMATION TO BE OBTAINED WILL ONLY USED FOR THE PURPOSES IDENTIFIED IN MY RESEARCH PROPOSAL RESEARCH.

SIGNED ON AT (PLACE) CAPE TOWN

DATE 23/05/2011

Lario Potgieter Potgieter

**RESEARCHER: MS. LARIO POTGIETER
MASTERS DEGREE IN SOCIOLOGY STUDY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF STELLENBOSCH**

Witness (Supervisor/Promoter)

Name C. Walker
Cheryl Walker (Prof)

Appendix 5: Consent Forms



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Stellenbosch University

Consent to Participate in Research

A case study of how masculinity is experienced and represented In the South African Police Service.
Consent form for participating police officers.

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Lario Potgieter, from the department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Stellenbosch University. You have been selected as a possible participant because you meet the criteria for the purpose of the study.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study will focus on issues of gender and masculinity within the South African Police Service. The purpose of the study is to determine how masculinity is experienced by both male and female respondents in a profession that is traditionally considered masculine.

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following:

- Participate in an individual interview lasting about sixty minutes. The interviews will be conducted at a time most suitable to you and will include questions relating to your experience as a police officer as well as your personal observations.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There will be no foreseeable risks for anyone participating in the interviews.

4. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of coding. No participant will be named in the research report and pseudonyms will be used. The data resulting from the interviews will be kept in locked folders with passwords only known to the researcher.

With your permission, the interviews will be audio-taped. Only the researcher and those involved with the research project will have access to the tapes. The transcriptions will be password protected on the personal computer of the researcher.

The information gathered through these interviews will be published as part of a Masters programme in Sociology. However, confidentiality will be maintained through the use of pseudonyms for participants and the research site.

5. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you wish not to answer and still remain in the study.

6. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact myself (Principal Investigator) at [REDACTED], or Prof. C.J. Walker (Supervisor) at the Sociology Department of Stellenbosch at 021 808 2420.

7. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development, University of Stellenbosch.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

The information above was described to me by Lario Potgieter in Afrikaans/English and I am in command of this language or it was satisfactorily translated to me. I was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to my satisfaction.

I hereby consent to voluntarily participate in this study. I have been given a copy of this form.

Name of Subject/Participant

Signature of Subject/Participant

Date

SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in these documents to _____ [name of participant] _____ and/or his representative. He/She was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in Afrikaans/English and no translator was used.

Signature of Investigator

Date