'Darker shades of blue'

A ten year gender comparison of police culture attitudes in the South African Police Service

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ABSTRACT

Numerous police establishments around the globe, including the South African Police Service (SAPS), have augmented the quantity of female police officials in their staffing complement with the resolution of counteracting various of traits of the police culture that accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public. The current study asks whether the introduction of more women police officials in the SAPS [by the organisation] assisted in counteracting the police culture traits mentioned *supra****. More specifically the study asked, "Are there signs demonstrating attitudes of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst a random and representative sample of specifically categorised SAPS police officials?" If so, "Are these markers gender neutral as well as change in relation to Van Maanen's (1975) and Manning's (1989) stages of police culture socialisation: [1]*** **choice-** ***at the start of basic police training (January 2005); [2]*** **admittance-** ***at the end of 'college' training (June 2005); [3]*** **encounter-** ***at the end of 'field' training (December 2005), and [4]*** **metamorphosis-** ***nine years after concluding basic police training" "(June 2014). The study established that South African Police Service (SAPS) cadets that commenced their basic training at the six basic training institutes in South Africa (Pretoria, Chatsworth, Oudtshoorn, Graaff-Reinett, Phillippi and Bisho) in January 2005, entered the organisation with predispositions in furtherance of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. The period of 'college/ academy training' (January 2005 – June 2006) did not significantly counteract these tendencies, neither the subsequent 'field training' (July 2005 – December 2005). Nine years on, and these attitudes intensified to an overall average of 69.85%. The study further found that for the duration of the project (10 years), female trainees, and their ensuing conversion to fully-fledged police officials, had mostly stronger values exhibiting police culture solidarity, police culture isolation and police culture cynicism, compared to their male counterparts. These findings provide some credence for a 'nurtured nature' understanding to the acquirement, preservation***

and firming of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism postures of police officials. The study furthermore, contradicts contemporary ethnographers (Cockcroft 2013; O'Neill, Marks & Singh 2007; Sklansky 2005) who fashionably argue that conventional characterisations of police culture are antiquated, illogical and useless due to new developments in policing.

INTRODUCTION

This article accounts on an exploration of the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst a sample of SAPS officials in relation to Van Maanen's (1975) and Manning's (1989) stages of police culture socialisation: [1] *choice*- at the start of basic police training (January 2005); [2] *admittance*- at the end of 'college' training (June 2005); [3] *encounter*- at the end of 'field' training (December 2005), and [4] *metamorphosis*- nine years after concluding basic police training (June 2014). Specifically, the study reflects on possible differences in the presence of, and/or changes in, these attitudes between male and female police officials. The article investigates whether the introduction of more women police officials in the SAPS [by the organisation] assisted in counteracting the police culture traits. More specifically the study asked, "Are there signs demonstrating attitudes of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst a random and representative sample of specifically categorised SAPS police officials?" If so, "Are these markers gender neutral as well as change in relation to Van Maanen's (1975) and Manning's (1989) stages of police culture socialisation as noted above.

BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

The motivation of public police agencies worldwide (Australia, Canada, Great Britain, Japan, New Zealand, South Africa, Nigeria, Botswana, Uganda, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and the United States) to change coincides with disillusionment with the military and paramilitary model of traditional policing (O'Neil, Marks & Singh 2007; Chan 1997; Manning 1997; Bayley & Shearing 1994). Where traditional policing emphasises arrests, speedy vehicles and haphazard perambulation, the new vision of policing is one of being accountable to the community and establishing a nexus of partnerships with the community in policing (Cockcroft 2013; O'Neil, Marks & Singh 2007). It recognises the ineffectiveness of traditional policing methods as well as the resourcefulness of the community in matters of crime deterrence and social control (Chan 1997:49). The 'blueprint for the future' of policing is not one of piecemeal tinkering with police practices or the police image, but a dramatic departure from traditional policing: "*Police, in order to be competitive and to attract the resources necessary to fulfil their role of the future, must become outward-looking, increasingly sensitive to developments and trends in their environment, responsive and resilient to change, innovative and creative in their approach to problem solving and idea generation, and more open and accountable to the community and Government"* (Bayley & Shearing 1994:143).

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

For such change to be actual and durable the creed of democratic policing must essentially be espoused by the stance of the police organisational culture, to comprise altering the rudimentary suppositions of each police official pertaining to the establishment and its setting. In advancing this makeover, the South African Police Service (SAPS) applied a national policy of guaranteeing gender parity in the composition of the Service to the conclusion of befitting representation of the greater population. Alpert, Dunham and Stroshine (2006) contend that an upsurge in variety in police establishments, to include women, might succeed to splinter, and even perhaps extinguish, the notion of a homogeneous police culture. Particularly, service of women in the police could weaken certain of the hyper masculine makings of police culture and as an alternative, spawn an empathetic and gentler manner of policing (Miller 2003). Aforesaid inclusion may well additionally counteract several of the traits of the police culture that accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public (Paoline, Myers & Worden 2000). Associatively, The National Center for Women and Policing in the United States of America (USA) and The Police Chief Magazine (2009) posit that women police officials often possess better communication skills than their male counterparts and are better able to facilitate the cooperation and trust required to implement community policing.

In juxtapose, Brogdan and Shearing (1993) submit that the policing approach is improbable to transform as a consequence of vicissitudes in staffing policy. Westmarland (2012), Sutton (1992), Heidensohn (1992), and Young (1991) have similarly contended that women recruited into male-subjugated police establishments familiarise either by welcoming the masculine police culture, and hence becoming 'defeminised' into police-women; or by bearing a more customary, service-led position, and therefore moulding 'de-professionalised' into police-women.

POLICE CULTURE

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

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

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

In general, operational police manage circumstances that comprise all three roles, yet only criminal law execution is underpinned and endorsed. For police officials the vagueness derives from overseers who require juniors to perform all operational tasks the same. The

hazards and forcible licence in police officials' occupational setting, as well as overseer critical observations and role vagueness from the organisational setting, frequently generate pressure and angst amongst police officials (Paoline III 2003). The manner in which police officials deal with such tensions maintain police culture.

The values of police culture are derived from the inherent dangers of the police vocation, and police officials often attempt to reduce these dangers to shield themselves in the process (Paoline III 2003). Adaptive strategies particularised by the police culture attempt to curtail the pressure and nervousness produced by the settings and direct opinions and actions. Thus, adaptive strategies assist police officials by providing a mechanism of 'order and control' to their vocational realm. Two extensively cited adaptive strategies arise from police officials' occupational setting: Distrustfulness and sustaining superiority (Paoline III 2003); and the parallel, self-preservation and firm devotion to the anti-crime warrior semblance that results from police officials' organisational setting (Paoline III 2003).

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

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

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

Sustaining superiority relates broadly to individuals and circumstances. Interpreting individuals and circumstances also refer to the ability to 'categorise' clientele (such as *"… dubious individuals, assholes and know-nothings…"*), on the possible risk that they could offer (Paoline III 2003). Adding to the adaptive strategies imposed by the police culture as a product of population dealings in the occupational setting, the organisational setting in which officials are employed often creates pressure and angst that are thought to be dispelled by police culture. As Manning (1994:5) points out, *"As an adaptive modality, the occupational culture mediates external pressures and demands internal expectations for performance and production"*. A particular after effect of police overseers with the emphasis on regulatory infringements is the self-preservation mind-set. This adaptive strategy dissuades police officials from initiating behaviours that could possibly attract criticism. Herbert (1997:805) explains how the self-preservation mentality can have debilitating consequences on the application of policing: *"The* [self-preservation mentality] *afflicts* [police officials] *who live primarily in fear of administrative censure and thus avoid all situations that involve risk that might later be second guessed"*.

Another adaptive strategy is a firm devotion to the anti-crime warrior semblance or criminal law execution proclivity. Some police officials address 'task vagueness' by associating with the task superiors have valued traditionally (Paoline III 2003). Police culture is understood to accentuate law enforcement or genuine police graft above preservation of

the peace and the provision of public assistance. *"As such, the inner-directed aggressive street cop is somewhat of the cultural ideal that officers are expected to follow"* (Paoline III 2003).

True adherence to the law enforcement proclivity could clash with self-preservation dexterity, which may result in police officials utilising discriminatory tactics in relation to law enforcement, thus, concentrate on priority criminal offences.

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

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

POLICE CULTURE THEMES OF SOLIDARITY, ISOLATION AND CYNICISM

Police culture can be considered as a confluence of themes of occupational activity. The word 'confluence' is a metaphor suggesting the pouring of streams and rivers into a conjoint body of water. At a confluence, the unique contributions of individual streams and rivers are no longer distinguishable; the flow is a blend of them all. Police culture can be expressed in the same way. Varied aspects of organisational activity unite into a collective united by commonly held values and shared ways of thinking. The term 'theme' can be defined as recurring tessellations of behaviour and values (Crank 2004). The concept of culture-theme embodies the fusion of cultural elements in methods that, as Manning (1989) discerns are locales of shared occupational activity. According to Crank (2004), themes have a propensity to blend together many cultural elements. First, they are behavioural – they transpire on the ordinary undertaking of police drudgery and derive their meaning from routine, ordinary police activity. Second, themes are a way of ruminating apropos that activity, the sentiments that are associated with the activity. Kappeler, Sluder, and Alpert (1994) use the term 'dynamic affirmation' to illustrate the linkage of behaviour and sentiment. Put another way, police do not approach each aspect of their work as if they have never done it before – there are traditions and ways of thinking that are associated with their many activities. Nor are the themes rule-bound. They are predisposive, applying appropriate customs and taken-for-granted assumptions to provide, in Shearing and Ericson's (1991) colourful phrasing, the sensibility for thinking about particular routine activities. Third, themes imply social and organisational structure.

Solidarity

One of the most powerful aesthetics (aesthetics resemble typifications of how meaning and common sense arise from everyday experience) of police culture is the sense of solidarity shared by its members (Willis 1990). According to (Crank 2004; Chan 2003; Skolnick & Fyfe 1993; Christopher 1991; Manning 1977), solidarity is the powerful bond between police officials that can be described as the glue that holds police culture together. Solidarity serves

to sustain police group identity, mark group boundaries and protect police officials from external oversight (Crank 2004; Chan 2003). Crank (2004) and Coser (1956) further state that police solidarity is a product of conflicts and antagonisms with diverse out-groups that perceivably challenge police authority on how they do their day-to-day work such as the public, courts, the media, politicians and top ranking police officials. Moreover, the sheer danger of police work (real or perceived), encourages strong loyalties in an 'all for one and one for all' sense of camaraderie, and a military sense of combat-readiness and general spiritedness. Powerful loyalties emerge in the commonly shared and perilous effort to control dangerous crimes.

Isolation

A considerable aggregate of police research throughout the preceding 45 years has chronicled the affinity of police to befall isolation. Isolated from prior pals, public, legal system, and even isolated from their spouses and families (Drummond 1976; Skolnick 1966). Police impose social isolation upon themselves as a means of protection against real and perceived dangers, loss of personal and professional autonomy, and social rejection (Skolnick 1966:18). Skolnick found: *"In an attempt to be attentive to any possible violence, the officer becomes generally suspicious of everyone. Likewise, many officers begin to distance themselves from previous friends as they do not seem to understand and appreciate the rigors of being a cop".*

Likewise, administrative factors such as shift work, days-off during the week and court time tend to isolate the police official from persons other than police. Police also become isolated due to their authority. They are obliged to enforce numerous laws epitomising puritanical morality, such as proscribing drunkenness. Some police officials have been inebriated and become susceptible to the imputation of hypocrisy. Consequently police officials aptly socialise with other police or pass time alone, yet again fronting social isolation (Kingshott & Prinsloo 2004).

Cynicism

In 1967, Arthur Niederhoffer wrote about a pervasive cynicism he had observed during his career in the New York City Police Department. Niederhoffer defines police cynicism as wordly feelings of abhorrence, envy, impotent hostility and bitterness, which are displayed as a state of mind within the individual police official. Police cynicism is levelled at life, the world, people in general, and the police system itself. Cynicism is the derivation of various tribulations concomitant with the police (Niederhoffer 1967). Left unimpeded, an ominous cynicism and its accompanying loss of faith in police work contribute to alienation, job dissatisfaction and corruption. According to Crank (2004:324), cynicism arises promptly in a police official's calling, and attains maximum potency in the fourth and fifth year, at which instant an official is most impervious to corruptive sways. Wilt and Bannon (1976) contend that gauges of police cynicism tap the argot of police culture, a language nuanced with vexation towards overseers, police toil and the establishment. Cynicism appears early on from language and attitude sculpting in college training, partly because of a desire among newcomers to emulate experienced officials in an effort to shed their status as novices (Wilt & Bannon 1976:40).

STUDY OBJECTIVES

Numerous police establishments around the globe, including the SAPS, have augmented the quantity of female police officials in their staffing complement with the resolution of counteracting various of the traits of the police culture that accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public. The current study is an attempt to establish progress in this regard by establishing whether there are signs demonstrating attitudes of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst a sample of SAPS officials; whether these markers are gender neutral as well as change in relation to Van Maanen's (1975) and Manning's (1989) stages of police culture socialisation: [1] *choice*- at the start of basic police training (January 2005); [2] *admittance*- at the end of 'college' training (June 2005); [3] *encounter*- at the end of 'field' training (December 2005), and [4] *metamorphosis*- nine years after concluding basic police training (June 2014).

OPERATIONALISATION OF RELEVANT CONCEPTS

Culture, organisational culture, and police culture, are tricky concepts to define due to their scientifically abstract, intangible and non-essential nature. According to Hall and Neitz (1993), the study of culture emerged in ethnographies of primitive civilisations. In its origins, culture was conceived broadly, in that there are bounded, isolated and stable social entities called cultures, and these cultures provide the measure of a whole way of life of a people (Redfield 1939). At its heart, the study of culture is the study of what it means to be quintessentially human. More specifically, Schein (2004) defines *culture* as a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems. Schraeder, Tears and Jordan (2005) bridge culture and *organisational culture* by noting that the latter tends to be unique to a particular organisation, composed of an objective and subjective dimension, and concerned with tradition and the nature of shared beliefs and expectations about organisational life. Crank (2004) provides a meaning of culture that furnishes a conduit to works on culture in the main, and from which depictions of police culture appear cogent. Crank (2004) terms culture as shared sense making. Sense-making with ideational, behavioural, material, social structural and emergent elements, such as (1) ideas, knowledge (correct, wrong, or unverifiable belief) and recipes for doing things, (2) behaviours, signs and rituals, (3) humanly fabricated tools including media, (4) social and organisational structures, and (5) the products of social action, including conflicts, that may emerge in concrete interpersonal and inter-social encounters and that may be drawn upon in the further construction of the first four elements of collective sense-making.

Roberg, Crank and Kuykendall (2000) conceptualise *police occupational* and *organisational culture* as the work-related principles and moral standards that are shared by most police officials within a particular sovereignty (Roberg, Crank, & Kuykendall 2000). *Police subculture*, represent the values introduced by the wider civility in which police officials exist (Roberg, Crank, & Kuykendall 2000).

That the police are inclined to function in analogous institutional environments and encounter consonant conundrums, that is, contend with the courts, law, suspects and the civic ubiquitously, could strengthen the argument for worldwide thematic compatibility. However, it could also be contended that such a deduction of equivalence is too facile and omits nuanced but significant variations in the way individual police officials and/or groups cogitate about their work. Depending on which components one considers, ideational elements (values, beliefs and ethics) can be akin and distinct simultaneously. Police cultural aspects are also complicated by the predilections of the observer. When researchers write about police culture, their values and predispositions are completely intertwined with the standpoints of the membership of whatever police group they are studying. In writing about police culture, academics authenticate it. The values of the observer are not separable from the object of the research, and are fully in place from the moment the researcher uses the word culture to describe a group of police officials. In a real sense, the researcher is always investigating his or her interaction with the people being studied. Hence, it is the view of the current authors that there is no such thing as a 'universal-homogeneous objective police culture' but rather cultures that evolve over time and are contingent on complex personal and situational factors that interrelate on numerous levels and dimensions.

The *South African Police Service* (SAPS) was instituted on 27 January 1995 in terms of section 214 of the Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993. The SAPS is the sovereign lone national police service and is tasked, under section 205 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (1996), to thwart, resist and reconnoitre crime, conserve public harmony, safeguard the population of the Republic and their property; and uphold and implement the law.

For the purposes of the current study a *SAPS police official* is a personage that was conscripted by the officialdom, efficaciously realised basic training (college training [six months] and field training [6 months]) (January 2005 until December 2005), and subsequently appointed as such in terms of the South African Police Service Act (1995), and at the time of effecting the study (September 2013 – June 2014), posted within one of the nine provinces of the Republic of South Africa.

Male and *female* are operationalised as the gender choice signified by the participant on the 30-item self-report questionnaire measuring police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism.

Chapter 6 of the *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa* (1996) recognised nine *provinces* of South Africa *viz.* Eastern Cape, Free State, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, North West, Northern Cape and Western Cape.

Attitudes represent perceptive evaluations (favourable or unfavourable) of statements made on a 30-item questionnaire that measures police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism.

Stages of police culture socialisation – according to Van Maanen (1975) new police recruits go through various stages of socialisation before fully integrating the culture's beliefs, attitudes and values beginning with a phase of anticipatory socialisation, *choice*, during which recruits prepare themselves for entering the organisation by adopting their interpretation of its values, attitudes, skills, and knowledge. Choice is followed by a period that Manning (1989) defines as *admittance* into the organisation, predominantly during

the early training phase (police academy/college). This is often a difficult phase if new recruits' expectations of their job and the organisation are unrealistic. The newcomer's experience during admittance is mediated by environmental, organisational, relevant-group, task, and individual factors. Admittance is then followed by a period of *encounter*, often a 'field training' experience, where the newcomer is introduced to the complexities of the 'street'. It is during the field-training phase that the recruit is most susceptible to attitude change (Manning 1989). Finally, continued membership in the organisation results in a *metamorphosis* on the part of the newcomer.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The researcher employed a longitudinal-study within a quasi-experimental pre-test/post-test repeated measures research design:

- Time 1 – Pre-test *(choice stage)*: at the beginning of SAPS recruit's basic training (January 2005)
- Time 2 – First post-test *(introduction stage)*: at the end of the SAPS recruit's basic training (June 2005)
- Time 3 – Second post-test *(encounter stage)*: at the end of field training at stations (December 2005)
- Time 4 – Third post-test *(metamorphosis stage)*: 10 years after entering SAPS employment (June 2014).

Survey

A 30-item questionnaire suggested by a review of the literature (Crank 2004; Chan 2001; McNulty 1994; Skolnick 1994; Manning 1989; Reuss-Ianni & Ianni 1983; Shearing & Ericson 1991; Bayley & Bittner 1989; Van Maanen 1976; Niederhoffer 1967) and the engagement of a focus group comprised of senior SAPS managers and police science academics in South Africa was developed by the researchers, to measure attitudes evincing police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst a sample of SAPS police officials:

Solidarity theme items

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

Isolation theme items

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

Cynicism theme items

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

Response choices on the individual items were structured and close-ended with a five-point Likert-type option, ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. The level of measurement on scales of the 30-item self-report questionnaire was of an ordinal nature, meaning that the scales were mutually exclusive, mutually exhaustive and rank-ordered. Each scale was assigned a numerical value to identify differences in participants' responses. Only items 22, 25, and 28 were assigned differently due to the direction of the statements. Although the item scales were of an ordinal nature the numerical data was analysed on an interval scale for the purpose of determining the category order of participants' responses and to establish the exact quantities and distances between participants' responses at and between Times 1, 2, 3 and 4.

A pilot study was also conducted (December 2004 among 100 SAPS functional police officials stationed within the city of Durban, Republic of South Africa) and the factor analysis (VARIMAX technique) identified nine factors of which four met the latent root criterion (also

known as the *eighenvalue-one* criterion or the Kaiser criterion) of *eighenvalue* greater than 1.0 (as indicated in Table 1). The rationale being that each observed variable contributes one unit of variance in the data set. Any factor that displays an eigenvalue greater than 1.0 accounts for a greater amount of variance than was contributed by one variable. Williams, Hollan, and Stevens (1983) noted that the latent root criterion has been shown to produce the correct number of factors when the number of variables included in the analysis is small (10 to 15) or moderate (20 to 30). The reliability coefficient *(Cronbach alpha)* of 0.77 for the 30-item police culture questionnaire is also within the 0.7 acceptable indicator level.

Table 1 Study measuring instrument Factor Loadings

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

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

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

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

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

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

Table 2: Study sample

Assessment	P	X	*n*	♂	♀	% of X	Attrition rate	Reason/s for not partaking
Time 1 (January 2005) Start of 'college' training Stage: *Choice*	N/A	4,350	1,453	955	498	33.40%	66.60% (chose not to participate)	N/A
				65.72%	34.27%			
Time 2 (June 2005) End of 'college' training Stage: *Introduction*			1,168	742	426	26.85%	19.62% (from Time 1)	
				63.52%	36.47%			
Time 3 (December 2005) End of 'field' training Stage: *Encounter*			0,870	582	288	20.00%	25.52% (from Time 2)	
				66.89%	33.10%			
Time 4 (September 2013 – June 2014) 10 years' experience Stage: *Metamorphosis*	N/A		0,535	445	130	12.29%	38.51% (from Time 3)	Could not be reached or decided not to participate (230) Deceased (40) Discharged [either voluntary or dishonourably] (65)
				83.17%	24.29%			
	Eastern Cape	0,076	050	026				
			65.79%	34.21%				
	Free State	0,033	027	006				
			81.82%	18.18%				
	Gauteng	0,065	062	003				
			95.38%	04.62%				
	KwaZulu-Natal	0,104	062	041				
			60.19%	39.81%				
	Mpumalanga	0,043	036	007				
			83.72%	16.28%				
	Northern	0,040	036	004				
			90.00%	10.00%				
	Northern Cape	0,068	056	012				
			82.35%	17.65%				
	North West	0,030	026	004				
			86.67%	13.33%				
	Western Cape	0,077	054	023				
			70.13%	29.87%				

Note: 'P' signifies – Province; 'X' denotes – population parameters; '*n*' signifies – actual participants; '♂' designates – male participants; '♀' signposts – female participants; 'N/A' indicates – not applicable.

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

The study contributors (Time 4, September 2013 – June 2014), as reflected in Table 2 constitute a representative (above 10%) sample of all novice SAPS cadets that commenced their basic police training in January 2005. The sizeable attrition rate amid Times 3 and 4 could perhaps be explicated by the certainty that at Time 4 the partakers were no longer student constables. One more consideration that might have swayed participation is the actuality that only 19 of the Time 3 participants were promoted (15 promoted from Constable to Sergeant and four from Sergeant to Warrant Officer), on performing the third post-test measurement. The sample closely resembles the national population estimates (Statistics South Africa, 2013) in terms of Black ethnicity (national population, 79.8% whilst study sample, 79.63%); as well as the SAPS gender demographic (according to the SAPS 2013/2014 Annual Report the organisation's staffing consists of 34.48% women, which is still well below the national population percentage of 51%] (Statistics South Africa 2013).

Administration of the survey

As the general project engaged a recurrent measures design in two considerably dissimilar surroundings the administration of the survey alternated between the different gauges. The pre-test and first post-test were administered at the six (6) SAPS basic training institutes (hereon referred to as PBTI) (police college/academy) across the country, at the time. Each commanding officer was contacted and assistance requested and attained (all-encompassing, consent was achieved from the SAPS Head Office Strategic Research Component). Throughout these junctures the following procedures ensued:

- All trainees were amassed in a gallery and furnished with a desk, chair and a black ballpoint pen.
- Plebes were then enlightened vis-à-vis the survey and the voluntary nature of their involvement as well as the confidentiality of their ripostes and that the data would be used for research intentions only.
- Recruits who authorised the consent document were then supplied with and completed the questionnaire with no time limit (although participation was voluntary from the researchers' perspective and that of college managers, the substantial participation rate at the pre-test stage does insinuate that the student constables might not have perceived it as such. It would be meaningful to consider that the pre-test survey was dispensed soon after arrival at the PBTI and the recruits were in a very early stage of adjustment to the paramilitary environment of the college).

- Upon completion of the survey the questionnaires were collected by the PBTI and preparations were made for courier services to dispense the finished questionnaires to the research project leader.

With regard to the second post-test another method was necessitated due to the dispersal of student constables to different police stations/units in numerous police areas located among the nine provinces of South Africa. During this phase the support of the various SAPS Area Field Training supervisors were required and thankfully acquired. The matching process that was respected at the basic training institutes relative to informed consent was applied in the police areas. Once a student constable volunteered to continue in the project he/she completed the questionnaire and returned it along with the signed informed consent form to his/her station. From the station level the completed surveys were disseminated to the Area offices and then dispatched to the principal researcher or retrieved at the Area office by him.

An altered approach was likewise followed for the third post-test (September 2013 – June 2014). The second post-test contributors were contacted by telephone and invited to voluntarily complete the study survey over the telephone.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

As discussed earlier, a decision needs to be made whether to analyse the data at the micro-level or to create composite measures of more generalised multi-dimensional constructs. The analysis begins with the macro-level questions: are there any indicators evincing the presence, gender neutrality, and change; in relation to traditional police culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism; amongst a representative sample of SAPS police officials that commenced their basic police training at the various SAPS BTI's in January 2005? To be able to answer these questions one must ask oneself, how isolated or cynical, as a general proposition, must the police be; in order to assess whether one is willing to conclude that the police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism are sufficiently present? The decision is somewhat capricious but the traits must be present to an ample extent to substantiate a compelling assertion. During the first three assessments (that is, January 2005, June 2005 and December 2005) an inclusive mean score of less than 23 (54%) per individual participant on a particular police culture theme (for example, theme 1: Solidarity [items 1–10]), on a scale of 10 to a possible 50, was selected as criteria, with the lower score demonstrating the greater presence of a particular police culture theme (Meyer & Steyn 2009). At the last measurement (Time 4, June 2014), the scoring on the survey scales was changed:

Times 1 – 3 scale scoring									
Strongly disagree	4	Disagree	3	I do not have an opinion	5	Agree	2	Strongly agree	1
Time 4 scale scoring									
Strongly disagree	1	Disagree	2	I do not have an opinion	0	Agree	3	Strongly agree	4

Thus, a cut-off mean score of no less than 22 (55%), on a scale of zero to a possible 40, with the higher score demonstrating the greater presence.

Table 3 reflects the mean scores as well as mean score percentages of participants' responses per theme per measurement time.

Table 3: Mean score and mean score percentage comparison of SAPS police official responses to the 30-item questionnaire measuring police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism – over a 10 year period

Time		Solidarity mean score	Solidarity mean score %	Isolation mean score	Isolation mean score %	Cynicism mean score	Cynicism mean score %
Time 1 (January 2005) Start of 'college' training Stage: *Choice*	♂	15.45	69.1%	20.71	58.5%	23.14	53.7%
	♀	15.22	69.5%	20.67	58.6%	22.06	55.8%
Time 2 (June 2005) End of 'college' training Stage: *Introduction*	♂	15.06	69.8%	20.39	59.2%	22.39	55.2%
	♀	15.25	69.5%	19.75	60.5%	21.72	56.5%
Time 3 (December 2005) End of 'field' training Stage: *Encounter*	♂	14.90	70.2%	20.35	59.3%	22.12	55.7%
	♀	15.38	69.2%	20.24	59.5%	21.59	56.8%
Time 4 (September 2013 – June 2014) 10 years' experience Stage: *Metamorphosis*	♂	30.14	75.3%	27.62	69.0%	25.06	62.6%
	♀	32.43	81.0%	26.50	66.2%	26.03	65.0%

Note: '♂' designates – male participants; '♀' signposts – female participants.

Overall, one can surmise from Tables 3 and 4 that the cohort of SAPS cadets that commenced their basic training at the six basic training institutes (Pretoria, Chatsworth, Oudtshoorn, Graaff-Reinet, Phillippi and Bhisho) in January 2005, entered the organisation with predispositions in furtherance of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism (Steyn 2006). These attitudes were then either maintained or strengthened during the period of 'college/academy training' (January 2005 – June 2006) as well as subsequent 'field training' (July 2005 – December 2005). Nine years on, these attitudes have intensified to an overall average of 69.85%. More explicitly, an upsurge of eight 8.45% on the solidarity items (1–10); 8.2% on the isolation statements, and 7.5% on the cynicism scales. Table 3 moreover reveals that for the duration of the project, female trainees and their ensuing conversion to fully-fledged police officials had stronger values exhibiting police culture solidarity, police culture isolation and police culture cynicism, compared to their male counterparts; with the

exception of Times 2 and 3 on the solidarity gauge as well as isolation at Time 4, by just more than 1.15%.

Table 4: 'Darker shades of blue': indicators evincing police occupational and organisational culture themes of solidarity, isolation, and cynicism within the South African Police Service over a 10-year period

Police establishments recruit individuals from society with attitudes in support of the organisations' culture	Time 1 (January 2005) Start of 'college' training Stage: *Choice*	Time 2 (June 2005) End of 'college' training Stage: *Introduction*	Time 3 (December 2005) End of 'field' training Stage: *Encounter*	Time 4 (September 2013 – June 2014) 10 years' experience Stage: *Metamorphosis*	Future research 11+ years' experience
					?

Note: 'Time' denotes a specific period of measurement. 'Stage' signifies a particular phase of police culture socialisation as ethnographically depicted by the seminal work of Van Maanen (1975) and Manning (1989). Individual applicants from South African society with their respective characteristics are represented by ● ✸ + ▲ ● ▲. Control of South African Police Service recruit admission is represented by ---. The broader South African Police Service culture is symbolised by means of ▭. Strength and direction of indicators evincing the presence of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism are signified through ▭.

Table 5 provides the mean score and mean score percentage comparisons between male and female participants on each of the thirty items of the self-report questionnaire measuring police culture solidarity, isolation and cynicism, at Time 4 (September 2013 – June 2014).

The substance of Table 5 shows that the study participants' retorts on the survey realised the predetermined cut-off mean score of 22 (55%), for both males and females on all the items, bar item (15), and here the mean is notwithstanding above the midpoint. However, there are differences of degree (4% > variance) and kind. In terms of the latter, male contributors bore moderate positions in validation of isolation item 15, whilst female police officials did not. Variances of degree can be noted on items 4, 10, 20 and 27. On most of these items male police partakers had stouter attitudes in support, except for item 4, where female police officials trumped their male colleagues.

On the micro-level, Table 6 indicates that men and women police officials in the SAPS, with 10 years experience, believe that their vocation, enacted in a dangerous and uncertain environment, is highly skilled and moral purposed, and can only be performed by unique individuals (appropriate for police work with characteristics such as toughness and suspiciousness, etc.) from broader society. Groups outside of the police (public, media and politicians) have very little regard and understanding of 'coalface' police work as reflected in

Table 5: Summary of mean score and mean score percentage differences between male and female participants' responses on each of the 30-items of the self-report questionnaire measuring police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism, at Time 4 (September 2013 – June 2014)

Item	Mean score		Mean score percentage	
	Male (445)	Female (130)	Male (445)	Female (130)
Measuring instrument subscale: Police culture theme of solidarity				
Item 1	3.07 (1369)	3.24 (422)	84.29%	83.73%
Item 2	3.16 (1410)	3.36 (438)	86.82%	89.75%
Item 3	2.76 (1230)	2.97 (387)	75.37%	77.40%
Item 4	3.12 (1389)	3.46 (451)	85.32%	89.48%
Item 5	3.20 (1424)	3.40 (442)	87.25%	89.84%
Item 6	3.02 (1346)	3.29 (428)	82.48%	85.60%
Item 7	2.77 (1237)	3.02 (393)	75.80%	77.98%
Item 8	2.93 (1306)	3.22 (419)	80.02%	83.80%
Item 9	2.64 (1175)	2.80 (364)	72.00%	72.80%
Item 10	3.43 (1529)	3.63 (472)	93.69%	75.16%
Theme total score	30.14 (13415)	32.43 (4216)	75.30%	81.00%
Measuring instrument subscale: Police culture theme of isolation				
Item 11	2.60 (1160)	2.60 (338)	70.05%	69.83%
Item 12	2.57 (1147)	3.23 (328)	69.10%	68.91%
Item 13	3.32 (1478)	3.23 (420)	89.47%	92.11%
Item 14	2.66 (1186)	2.39 (311)	71.10%	65.34%
Item 15	2.25 (1002)	1.85 (241)	59.79%	50.63%
Item 16	2.52 (1123)	2.47 (322)	67.65%	68.22%
Item 17	2.66 (1185)	2.57 (335)	71.21%	70.97%
Item 18	3.04 (1357)	3.14 (409)	81.55%	86.65%
Item 19	2.85 (1269)	2.84 (370)	76.45%	78.39%
Item 20	3.11 (1385)	2.86 (372)	83.03%	78.81%
Theme total score	27.62 (12292)	26.50 (3446)	69.00%	66.20%
Measuring instrument subscale: Police culture theme of cynicism				
Item 21	2.70 (1204)	2.92 (380)	73.41%	76.61%
Item 22	2.72 (1211)	2.91 (379)	74.02%	74.60%
Item 23	2.64 (1176)	2.68 (349)	72.06%	69.25%
Item 24	3.03 (1351)	3.13 (408)	82.58%	80.31%
Item 25	2.29 (1020)	2.55 (332)	62.35%	65.35%
Item 26	2.56 (1143)	2.63 (343)	69.87%	67.52%
Item 27	2.26 (1008)	2.23 (291)	61.61%	57.28%
Item 28	2.47 (1100)	2.67 (348)	67.24%	69.60%
Item 29	2.15 (958)	2.11 (275)	58.56%	55.00%
Item 30	2.20 (981)	2.14 (279)	60.26%	55.80%
Theme total score	25.06 (11152)	26.03 (3384)	62.60%	65.00%
Survey total score	27.60 (36859)	28.32 (11046)	68.96%	70.73%

Note: '(445)' denotes the number of male contributors; '(130)' indicates the number of female participants.

Table 6: Frequency summary comparison of male and female participants' responses at Time 4 (June 2014)

	Item	Strongly Agree		Agree		No Opinion		Disagree		Strongly Disagree		Did Not Complete	
		Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Police culture theme of solidarity													
1	I think that a police official should be one of the highest paid vocations	55%	57%	29%	26%	01%	13%	14%	13%	01%	00%	01%	00%
2	I feel it is my duty to rid the country of its bad elements	49%	65%	50%	33%	00%	02%	01%	01%	00%	00%	01%	01%
3	Police officials are careful of how they behave in public	23%	32%	62%	52%	02%	01%	10%	10%	03%	05%	00%	02%
4	You don't understand what it is to be a police official until you are a police official	51%	61%	40%	36%	00%	00%	09%	03%	00%	00%	00%	01%
5	Police officials have to look out for each other	50%	61%	49%	37%	00%	00%	01%	02%	00%	00%	01%	02%
6	Members of the public, media and politicians are quick to criticise the police but seldom recognise the good that SAPS members do	32%	45%	66%	54%	00%	01%	02%	00%	00%	00%	00%	02%
7	What does not kill a police official makes him or her stronger	32%	39%	51%	50%	06%	08%	11%	03%	01%	00%	00%	01%
8	Most members of the public don't really know what is going on 'out there'	37%	43%	48%	49%	00%	00%	15%	08%	01%	00%	01%	02%
9	A good police official takes nothing at face value	36%	40%	48%	43%	16%	16%	01%	01%	00%	00%	00%	01%
10	To be a police official is not just another job it is a 'higher calling'	77%	59%	21%	22%	00%	00%	02%	01%	00%	00%	00%	00%
Police culture theme of isolation													
11	I tend to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I have become a police official	09%	09%	63%	65%	00%	01%	27%	24%	01%	02%	00%	00%
12	I prefer socialising with my colleagues to socialising with non-members	13%	11%	53%	60%	00%	03%	33%	26%	01%	01%	00%	00%
13	I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the SAPS about my work	60%	68%	38%	32%	00%	00%	02%	00%	00%	00%	01%	04%
14	Being a police official made me realise how uncooperative and non-supportive the courts are	33%	34%	39%	36%	10%	21%	18%	09%	00%	00%	00%	01%
15	My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what being a police official is all about	16%	10%	32%	24%	08%	11%	35%	34%	10%	20%	00%	00%
16	Shift work and special duties influence my socialising with friends outside the SAPS	12%	11%	48%	53%	01%	00%	39%	33%	01%	03%	01%	01%
17	I feel like I belong with my work colleagues more every day, and less with people that I have to police	09%	09%	70%	67%	01%	00%	19%	22%	01%	02%	01%	01%
18	As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the community, even in my social life	31%	47%	65%	52%	00%	00%	04%	01%	00%	00%	01%	01%
19	I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public	20%	29%	69%	61%	02%	03%	09%	08%	00%	00%	01%	01%
20	Generals do not really know what is happening at grass roots level	58%	59%	22%	18%	03%	10%	16%	12%	01%	01%	00%	00%
Police culture theme of cynicism													
21	Most people lie when answering questions posed by police officials	16%	22%	62%	63%	00%	00%	21%	15%	01%	00%	00%	00%
22	Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble	02%	00%	38%	12%	00%	00%	89%	80%	02%	05%	00%	01%
23	Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest	10%	02%	78%	59%	02%	00%	11%	39%	00%	00%	00%	01%
24	Most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught	44%	40%	44%	45%	01%	02%	12%	13%	00%	01%	00%	00%
25	Most people respect the authority of police officials	14%	07%	26%	28%	00%	00%	56%	62%	04%	03%	00%	00%
26	Most people lack the proper level of respect for police officials	12%	07%	56%	53%	00%	00%	30%	41%	01%	02%	00%	00%
27	Police officials will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively	08%	02%	40%	35%	00%	01%	44%	56%	09%	07%	00%	00%
28	Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officials	05%	03%	25%	20%	00%	00%	66%	72%	04%	05%	00%	02%
29	Members of the community will not trust police officials enough to work together effectively	07%	03%	32%	26%	00%	00%	49%	59%	11%	12%	01%	01%
30	The community does not support the police and the police do not trust the public	09%	05%	37%	32%	01%	00%	40%	45%	13%	18%	01%	02%

unsatisfactory monetary compensation, cockeyed criticism and ill-considered prescriptions. These police officials isolate themselves from outsiders (erstwhile friends, family members/ important others, community, courts, and top ranking officials), and favour mingling with their fellows. They deem that most folks lie when replying to questions tendered by police officials, would thieve if they knew they would not get netted, are untrustworthy and dishonest, not perturbed by the help cries of others, dearth the decorous quantity of veneration for police officials, and are obtruded to the sentiments and promptings of police officials. Female trainees and their ensuing conversion to fully-fledged police officials had mostly stronger values exhibiting police culture solidarity, police culture isolation and police culture cynicism, compared to their male counterparts.

Non-probability qualitative studies (Prokos & Padavic, 2002) seem to suggest that in some instances women are treated as outsiders in the police organisation due to pervasive hegemonic masculine values (amongst others gendered language in both the internal and external operational environments, exaggeration of gender differences and exclusion from male bonding activities, together with resisting the authority of powerful women in the service). In comparison to their male counterparts, this gendered isolation may therefore present with a double-burden of isolation namely, isolation from broader society but also isolation in the internal organisational environment.

CONCLUSION

The article began with a number of aspects derived from the literature on police culture. Distinctly the research asked, "Has the introduction of more women police officials in the SAPS [by the organisation] assisted in counteracting police culture traits that traditionally accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public?" More specifically the study asked, "Are there signs demonstrating attitudes of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism amongst a sample of SAPS police officials?" If so, "Are these markers gender neutral as well as change in relation to Van Maanen's (1975) and Manning's (1989) stages of police culture socialisation: [1] *choice*- at the start of basic police training (January 2005); [2] *admittance*- at the end of 'college' training (June 2005); [3] *encounter*- at the end of 'field' training (December 2005), and [4] *metamorphosis*- nine (9) years after concluding basic police training?" (June 2014).

The study acknowledges that there are a myriad of other items that could have been employed to measure police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism but this should not be taken, in and of itself, as a limitation. All choices of measures are ultimately approximations of the true construct. The study does not assume a direct correlation between attitude and overt behaviour nor draw conclusions about the SAPS as a whole.

Based on the data analyses and results this report concludes that the representative sample of all SAPS police officials that commenced their basic training in January 2005 (Van Maanen's [1975] and Manning's [1989] *choice*-stage of police culture socialisation), irrespective of gender, arrived for basic training with predispositions in support of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. These sentiments were either maintained or strengthened during academy training (Van Maanen's [1975] and Manning's [1989] *admittance*-stage of police culture socialisation) as well as field training (Van Maanen's [1975] and Manning's

[1989] *encounter*-stage of police culture socialisation). A further nine years of operational police experience (Van Maanen's [1975] and Manning's [1989] *metamorphosis*-stage of police culture socialisation), moreover did not accomplish much to dissuade these viewpoints but rather fortified and reinforced. Thus the study argues that the introduction of more women police officials in the SAPS has not assisted much in counteracting police culture traits that traditionally accentuate the cynicism of and isolation from the public. On the contrary, as was indicated by Westmarland (2012), Brogdan and Shearing (1993), Heidensohn (1992), Sutton (1992), and Young (1991); women recruited into the police organisation (SAPS) become 'defeminised' into police-women. What is startling though is the stouter police culture solidarity, isolation and cynicism attitudes of female police officials from the outset as well as profounder amplification thereof, equated to their male colleagues. These findings provide some credence for a 'nurtured nature' understanding of the acquirement, preservation and firming of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism postures of police officials. The premise being police establishments recruit individuals (regardless of gender) with personality traits, values, and attitudes in support of the organisation's culture and that these predispositions are cyclically fortified and reinforced by policing culture. The study contradicts contemporary ethnographers (Cockcroft 2013; O'Neill, Marks & Singh 2007; Sklansky 2005) who fashionably argue that conventional characterisations of police culture are antiquated, illogical and useless due to new developments in policing.

The study findings could appear reformist and condemnatory by virtue of envisioned contradiction, however the intention is explanatory. Police culture solidarity, isolation and cynicism are viewed as conscious/normal coping strategies (or coping police culture themes) utilised by police officials (male or female) to minimise physical and psychological harm. These coping police culture themes should be embraced rather than defied.

NOTES

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