CHAPTER TEN

INTERPRETATION AND THEORETICAL EXPLANATION OF DATA

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The essence of this chapter is the interpretation of the most pertinent empirical findings and then applying suitable theoretical explanations to these findings. After the empirical findings are interpreted, literature correlates are evaluated and highlighted. Because the study has illuminated two primary themes, these are perpetuated in this chapter. These are macro (the police organisation) and micro (the individual) themes. These themes are symbiotic because the individual would not exist without the organisation and the organisation would not exist without the individual. Also, an organisation that has many weaknesses will facilitate the implementation of individual weaknesses as well. This can take the form of deviance.

The most significant secondary themes are dealt with in this chapter and these include managerial factors, peripheral factors and recruitment and training (organisational) and individual factors such as intrinsic/expressive motives, opportunity and peripheral individual contributors. Additional factors mentioned which fall outside the immediate ambit of organisational and individual themes include types of crimes such as drug-related crime and substance abuse, gang-related crime, theft and assault and brutality. These crimes were identified because of their strong relevance to the Western Cape. Stress is highlighted because it is such an integral part of policing with very negative consequences if not managed effectively. These themes are appropriate to highlight as they are extensively represented in the literature and the empirical studies. On the basis of these significant themes, theories were identified to explain police criminality.

The theories used to explain themes include two strain theories: General Strain Theory and Institutional Anomie (on the Macro level) and the General Theory of Crime, a modified social control theory (on the Micro level). Motives and organisational factors are combined onto one table at the beginning of the body of this chapter and these pertinent findings are used as a point of departure for interpretation and explanation. These theories assist in achieving the objective of explaining police criminality by applying the relevant tenets of the three theories to pertinent organisational and individual findings from the empirical study.

Table 10.1   Pertinent Individual and Organisational Factors

INDIVIDUAL (MICRO)	ORGANISATIONAL (MACRO)
EXTERIOR MOTIVES	**MANAGERIAL FACTORS**
ENVIRONMENT	Protecting the image of the SAPS
Police structure	Managerial Denial
Social environment	Untrained managers
	Inexperienced managers
OPPORTUNITY	Incompetent managers
	Detached management
	Poor supervision and control
INTRINSIC/EXPRESSIVE	Political direction not operational
MOTIVES	Tolerating corrupt behaviour
	Familiarity
Power	Insubordination
Aggression	Poor mentoring
Invincibility	Poor morale/frustration
Gullibility	Lack of promotion
Greed	Affirmative Action/equity
Propensity to criminality	Lack of discipline
Post traumatic Stress Disorder	No clearly defined anti-corruption
	Policy
	No independent investigation unit
PERIPHERAL INDIVIDUAL	**PERIPHERAL ORGANISATIONAL**
FACTORS	**FACTORS**
Heavy drinking	Police culture
Financial/relationship	Blue code of silence
Lack of integrity/dishonesty	Us versus them
Problematic behaviour	Salary

Table 10.1 (continued)

RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

Focus on quantity not quality

Inadequate screening/vetting

No ethics or integrity training

Poor quality training-police do not know their powers or job

Qualifications do not count

Detectives working without relevant training

Lack of professionalism

ADDITIONAL FACTORS

Drug-related crime and substance abuse

Gang-related crime

Theft

Assault/brutality

Stress

10.2 INDIVIDUAL/MICRO MOTIVES

It is evident from the interviews with specialists and offenders that individual motivators play a pivotal role in police criminality. The **greed versus need** dichotomy is a persistent element for debate, with the greed dynamic appearing to have the upper hand. *Greed is a significant contributor to police criminality. Together with **OPPORTUNITY** and **poor calibre management**, this equates to the entrenchment and perpetuation of police deviance.* The researcher poses the question: why are only a relatively small percentage of police members "bad," particularly if all of them commence their career with the same salary? It may be argued that there is an excuse for police deviance, as one offender mentioned: "I didn't need to be corrupt because I didn't have to give my pay packet to my mother every month, my parents had money." The inference here is that a policeman who has to give his entire wage to his mother, has to survive - making a case for need. The reality is that once members have tasted the "good life," which they cannot afford on a lower-rank police wage, it is extremely

difficult to give it up. This lifestyle is perpetuated by greed.

It would be fair to say that South Africa is experiencing a morality crisis and has been for some time. This is evident in the persistently high crime rate. Police members are recruited from the wider community so it would follow that there are members who lack **morality** or who are not good **quality individuals** and they probably enter the organisation as a result of poor vetting practices. These individuals would also, amongst other negative qualities, lack **self-discipline** and **personal integrity,** which is extremely difficult to instil at the age of twenty or thirty. This, together with an innate **propensity** to be devious, makes it easier to become corrupt. Managers and supervisors need to talk about **ethics and integrity** constantly in order to effect behavioural changes in corrupt members and in those who are contemplating becoming corrupt.

Police recruits are not taught skills such as **financial management**. This lack of financial knowledge is compounded by a low entry-level wage. Members get themselves into debt, they fail to qualify for additional credit and eventually they are blacklisted. This situation makes it a lot easier for a member to succumb to temptation even if this was never his intention. Corruption often evolves into criminality and despite initial doubts and perhaps the odd bout of guilt, most corrupt members settle into a life of luxury never intending to cease their nefarious activities (especially if they remain in the lower ranks, such as the "inspector's club" – with little hope of promotion).

Relationship problems experienced by police individuals are a symptom of a greater malaise that involves some negative policing aspects such as substance abuse and stress. It is important to take cognisance of a comment made by a specialist that some member's personal lives "are a mess." This definitely affects behaviour, often turning a good policeman into a problem officer. All these issues are compounded by a lack of adequate psychological care. Managers need to take far more cognisance of their staff's **psychological needs,** identify the signs and insist they go for counselling. Because of the nature of police work, identifying symptoms of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder should be a prerequisite for all managers as the manifestations of untreated PTSD are often lethal, graphically illustrated by an offender.

A small group of police officials apparently tend to attract the most complaints in any specific police station or unit. This is usually indicative of **behavioural problems.** If the thorough monitoring of complaints were done in at least two of the offender's cases by management,

they would not have had the financially lucrative and harmful police/criminal careers that they did have for many years. One offender even had a number of criminal cases against him. Although he was acquitted on all of these charges, there is seldom "smoke without a fire." This was an extremely problematic policeman who also admitted to being a heavy drinker. The **abuse of sick leave,** which is a significant problem in the SAPS at the moment, can also be indicative of problematic behaviour.

Police members have a lot of **power** because of the nature of their job. This is significant because they can use this power to illegally curb an individual's freedom or to fail to arrest criminals. Precisely because of these powers, criminals will tempt police for their own gain. All this power goes to some member's heads and this was evident when some offenders mentioned that they were truly shocked at being arrested – they thought they were **invincible.** Their mindset was such that they were above the law and they had forgotten what the law was because they had blurred the line between right and wrong so many times. This type of behaviour feeds into aspects of male police culture such as **machismo,** which is characterised by excessive aggression (which usually manifests in gratuitous assaults and brutality), heavy drinking, womanising and other forms of hedonism.

Because the empirical research took place predominantly in the Western Cape, the significant gangster problem in this province has been constantly alluded to. Akin to this is the danger for individuals who become police officers to have friends in the community they serve who are gangsters. This aspect of the member's **social environment** makes it very difficult for him to refuse requests from these gangsters. Gangsters may "lean on" the member coercively, by threatening his family if he does not provide the information required, or the member may be beholden to a gangster because he paid for his schooling. This is an insidious situation that is extremely difficult to control. **Gullible** young police members are lured into deviance by gangsters. This deviance is often initiated by older corrupt officers who are resident in the particular police station the new recruit is assigned to (especially in gang-soaked areas).

10.2.1 LITERATURE CORRELATES

Certain aspects mentioned in the literature pertaining to individual characteristics, correlate with factors mentioned above. A pertinent correlate includes the statement that *the moral character and integrity of police officers will mirror the moral condition of the society in which they live* (The *Mollen Commission* 1994: 65 Chapter Three: section 3.2.2). There is also an

emphasis on **greed.** The literature reiterates the fact that greed is a major contributor to police corruption and criminality and alludes to it in the context of the desire by corrupt officers to have more money (Mc Lagan 2003: 250 Chapter Three: section 3.2.3). Personal problems experienced by many members (including detectives), such as **financial problems,** are usually the result of having to support a former wife and a new partner. Debt problems correspond with a specific **police lifestyle** that includes **heavy drinking,** late nights and unpredictable working hours. These factors together with substance abuse make temptations for corruption decidedly more difficult to ignore.

There is a pertinent focus in the literature on **ethics and integrity** (Chapter Five: section 5.2.3). *It is also widely held by specialists that these two essential principles must be instilled into members of the SAPS, both during their basic training and on an ongoing basis, as a matter of urgency.* The literature reiterates that integrity should be a specific component of police **training** (Chapter Five: section 5.3.1.2) and should be presented by individuals who are recognised **experts in police ethics.** Police officers should have **ethics counselling** availed to them, in order to avoid the entrenchment of negative aspects of police culture. Integrity must never be allowed to become an abstract value. Integrity can be instilled in a police organisation by establishing a positive police culture, strengthening accountability of members and engaging productively with the community in which officer's work.

10.3 ORGANISATIONAL/MACRO FACTORS

10.3.1 MANAGERIAL FACTORS

Inadequacies pertaining to police management have been substantially highlighted in the empirical findings. It has been ascertained that the South African Police Service has a significant corruption/criminality problem amongst a percentage of its members. It has also been ascertained that SAPS management has not done anything concrete about this problem. They have consistently been reactive – only acting when provided with hard evidence or when there is exposure of police wrongdoing in the media. It is evident that police management is more interested in **protecting the image of the SAPS,** (which is being eroded anyway because of the constant exposure of deviance by members in the media), than it is in investigating the extent of this phenomenon in the organisation, possibly giving rise to a massive scandal. Pro-activity is a prerequisite if any corrupt or criminal behaviour is to be nipped in the bud. What is urgently required is the adoption of a workable **anti-**

corruption policy, with clear guidelines and the ability to act as a deterrent.

The concept of **managerial denial** of the existence of corruption is verified by the fact that the SAPS do not have a dedicated **anti-corruption unit.** The predominant feeling amongst specialists was that there was clearly a need for a unit like this, functioning along the lines of the NYPD's Internal Affairs Bureau, which is not foolproof, but it is certainly a highly efficient corruption detecting and eradicating policing unit. The erstwhile SAPS anti-corruption unit had many successes before it was gradually reduced and totally removed by management. The reasons given were that corruption fighting is "everyone's problem," totally disregarding the fact that because of their work experience, police members know how to hide evidence, they talk amongst each other and will not easily report a corrupt colleague. Management needs to be pro-active by initiating covert, **independent investigations.**

As suggested by an offender, the **quality of a commander** will determine whether a shift is "clean" or not. A disconcerting factor that became evident during the interviews was the **level of tolerance** of wrongdoing and criminality of corrupt members by managers. An interesting observation pertains to the **values** in two different police stations. At one police station (in a relatively up-market area) two offender's theft was "found out" by colleagues when they started spending the cash they had stolen on new vehicles, boats and motorbikes. Their colleagues questioned how this was affordable on an inspector's wage and reported them to management. In the case of another offender working in a gang-soaked area, his colleagues and managers noticed expensive vehicles parked outside the police station belonging to lower-rank members, and other trappings of wealth, but they never questioned this. Also, corrupt behaviour is tolerated and **facilitated** if managers or supervisors are **complicit** with their corrupt staff, if they are **incompetent** or **untrained.** Commanders in certain police stations are aware of the criminality of their members but they are hesitant to act because they were also junior staff members and they were involved in corruption at this level. Perhaps these commanders think this behaviour is acceptable in the lower ranks? Perhaps they cannot take action because they will expose themselves to blackmail by corrupt colleagues that have not risen through the ranks?

Corruption and criminality is encouraged when managers have not been trained to identify signs of wrongdoing, or when they do not have the necessary **experience** to know what to look for. Individuals are promoted into management positions without attending the necessary courses. Good, qualified managers would not allow a situation to fester such as the one exposed in a recent *Special Assignment* documentary where night shift members of

a police station were supplementing their income by arresting illegal (and sometimes legal) immigrants and releasing them in exchange for hefty bribes. The question must be asked whether those in senior positions cannot intervene timeously against this behaviour? If this behaviour is allowed to perpetuate, it becomes the norm and members working at this station will accept that it is the norm. *Inadequate leadership creates plenty of* **OPPORTUNITIES** *for members to be corrupt.* As one specialist mentioned, *leadership is not a position it is an act. Employee attitude is determined by management's attitude.* Pride needs to be restored in the SAPS. Senior officers should work on night shifts to curb the advent of nocturnal police criminality, together with strict supervision of members who have been on patrol, to ascertain if they were driving around all night, doing their job or driving past crime scenes. Complaints and pocket book entries must be followed up thoroughly.

Specialists and offenders bemoaned the **lack of discipline** in the SAPS today. It has been suggested numerous times that the basic training revert to, or at least include elements of paramilitary training. The exclusion of this has contributed to the disciplinary decline. The nature of policing undeniably contains military elements. It is difficult combining these with the new focus on a human rights culture and community policing and simultaneously maintaining discipline. **Insubordination** and **familiarity** are symptoms of a lack of discipline. **Favouritism** is a manifestation of commanders who have been in their post too long. This phenomenon often results in the application of discipline unfairly and inconsistently. Station commanders should be **rotated,** especially if they are managing colleagues who are also their friends, in order to minimise familiarity and favouritism.

Managers, who do not care about their staff (**detached managers**) and an organisation that has no support culture, will not have a progressive or content workforce. The SAPS should realise that their personnel are their greatest asset and treat them accordingly. Judging by the majority of responses in the empirical study, both specialists and offenders felt that management does not care about their staff. Staff, in turn, will not care about their job or the public they are employed to serve. Others felt that the National Commissioner was trying to make a difference in this regard but this was not filtering down to middle management. Feelings of not being cared for are evident in the culture of not talking about problems and the lack of an open-door policy. Managers should be trained to react to any overwhelming concerns their staff may have. Uncontrolled psychological issues normally manifest in behavioural problems which managers should be able to identify before unnecessary harm is done to the individual, their colleagues and the organisation.

In a country like South Africa, it is extremely difficult to avoid the issues of **politics** and **race,** because of its deeply divisive and discriminatory history. These issues certainly filter through to every aspect of public life, particularly public institutions. The South African Police Service is no exception. There is widespread dissatisfaction and frustration at the implementation of **Affirmative Action** policies and the concepts of *equity and transformation.* There is also dismay at the **appointment of politicians** into senior police positions - the feeling being that the SAPS receives political direction and not operational direction. This is evident in the present recruitment policy where the focus is on quantity and not quality.

Dissatisfaction concerning Affirmative Action is evident largely amongst white and coloured police members who generally do not disagree with the intention of the policy, but who feel they are now being discriminated against because of their lack of promotion. They feel they have been "punished" for long enough and this policy should not continue indefinitely. This contributes to **low morale,** especially when relatively inexperienced members are promoted ahead of experienced, good police officers. Many members go from being exemplary police officers to doing only the very minimum required of them. This also negatively affects the **mentoring** process. The importance of ethical mentors cannot be overemphasised and it would appear that the Field Training Officer process at the moment is experiencing limitations due to the heavy workload of mentors and the recruit/mentor ratio.

10.3.1.1   Literature Correlates

Corruption and criminality escalates when this behaviour goes unchallenged. If it is **tolerated,** it becomes the **norm.** *This reiterates a specialist's comment mentioned above that staff at police stations with perennial corruption problems, accept that this behaviour is the norm.* Police officers observe how their commanders handle ethical and integrity dilemmas. If these are handled badly or not at all, some officer's behaviour will be negatively influenced by this. Police organisations that experience minimal deviance are characterised by managers who address mediocrity, unethical behaviour, corruption and criminality timeously and effectively.

A pertinent correlation refers to **managerial denial** (The *Mollen Commission* 1994: 71 Chapter Three: section 3.3.3.2) where managers are reluctant to expose corruption for fear of embarrassing the organisation, or if there is no external pressure to do so, tolerating this problem becomes more important than dealing with it. Corruption and criminality is tolerated in situations where the work is getting done and managers prefer to turn a blind eye. If

corruption is exposed, the **reputation of the organisation** is tarnished and this affects morale, therefore, there is institutional pressure not to expose it. *This correlates with an international specialist's statement that he experienced extreme pressure from colleagues when he was about to expose the pockets of serious corruption uncovered at Scotland Yard.* To have a problem is not necessarily an indication of failure, rather it shows that efforts are being made to uncover the problem before a major scandal erupts.

It is mentioned in the literature that **poor supervision** is synonymous with high levels of corruption (Chapter Three: section 3.3.3.4). *This is evident in the offender interviews where two subjects graphically illustrated the extent of their criminality while on night shift and eventually at every opportunity.* Related to this is the fact that inexperienced supervisors tend to be more loyal towards the officers they are supervising than to senior management because they find it difficult to command authority – it is difficult to control officers who are also your friends. *This relates to a comment made by a specialist that once certain members are promoted, they should be transferred from the police station where they will be commanding their friends.*

The **inconsistent application of discipline** (Griffith 2003: 72 Chapter Three: section 3.3.3.5) is highlighted in the literature and *mentioned above by some specialists.* It has been found internationally that a significant cause of resentment and frustration experienced by some officers pertaining to their specific organisations was the perception that the application of discipline was an invidious practice and that managers had **favourites.** Another correlation between the literature and the interview findings of some specialists was the fact that disciplinary systems used by various police agencies are too **formal and legalistic.** *This pertains to the disciplinary system utilised by the SAPS as well, although this will be changing during 2005.*

A letter written by a SAPS member to a local police magazine and highlighted in the literature (Chapter Three: section 3.3.3.6)   illustrates the consequences on a hard-working police officer, of **detached and uncaring management** who showed no interest in helping him sort out a problem that was essentially created by the organisation but for which the member was punished. The member also stopped caring and decided to do only what was expected of him. *Many members feel abandoned and uncared for because of their own experiences with management. They feel they have no support, both psychologically and otherwise.*

Concerning investigative units, the literature reiterates the *stance taken by many specialists that investigations into police criminality must be conducted by an* **external, specialised, professional police unit** (Chapter Five: section 5.4.3)**.** This is essential because police do protect each other and the image of the police. **Independent internal investigative structures** are also necessary for the investigation of police criminality because they are more readily exposed to developments within the policing environment. They can use trained police officers to investigate and make recommendations, which would probably be more readily accepted than those made by an outside organisation. The emphasis here must be on **proactive investigations.** These are facilitated by timely, accurate intelligence, rapid deployment of investigators and consistent follow-ups to be able to build cases and to rid police organisations of unworthy police officers.

10.3.2 PERIPHERAL ORGANISATIONAL FACTORS

The concept of **police culture** is significant in the context of this study because it is underlined by various interviewees. It is largely an entrenched, negative culture that espouses negative values and practises. Elements of this culture persist in the SAPS today as well as in most police cultures internationally. These include aspects mentioned earlier such as machismo, aggression, ego and **heavy drinking.** Add to this a relatively new phenomenon of drug abuse amongst (especially) young police officers. Alcohol abuse featured prominently in the offender interviews where it was an integral part of some of their careers as policemen, fuelling aggression in some instances, which eventually led to murder. Presently, drinking on duty, particularly during night shifts, is tolerated. This is an expensive aspect of police culture both in terms of accidents with police vehicles, reckless handling of firearms and alienation from the community.

Another aspect of police culture that drew diverse commentary from interviewees was the existence of a **code of silence.** Many interviewees, including offenders felt that the practice of members protecting each other at all costs was still strong. **Strong bonds** develop between police partners, as they are dependent on each other for survival during dangerous situations. The noble aspects of police culture, which includes camaraderie and loyalty, have been used negatively to protect corrupt colleagues. The silence of good members who are fully aware of their corrupt colleagues' behaviour, enables corruption and crime to perpetuate. An offender illustrated graphically how they would use false accusations against "clean" members to try and get them off their shift so that their corrupt activities would not be stymied. It is evident that members do turn a blind eye to the deviousness of colleagues. It is

human nature to want to be accepted and to belong, particularly to a tight-knit organisation such as policing and members are aware of the fact that they will be victimised and **ostracised** if they "rat" on corrupt colleagues.

There were opposing views to the strength of this phenomenon in the SAPS today. It would appear that when considering aspects mentioned above, such as race, politics and resentment, the code of silence is gradually being eroded. Some members would not hesitate to report corrupt colleagues to managers. As one specialist commented "how many knives can one's back take?"

The graphic illustrations of the consequences of drinking on duty, mentioned by one offender, results in the community's deep distrust and lack of confidence in the police. When a member on duty is too drunk to attend to a complaint, this will definitely affect the quality of the relationship between the police and the community. Complainants have two choices when they require the help of a drunk shift, their complaint is either completely ignored, or if it is serious, it is attended to by an inebriated policeman. Police officers are distrustful and suspicious of outsiders because they are an enclosed community. They are also a much-maligned community, which contributes to their feelings of isolation. This results in an **"us versus them"** mentality, where the public are perceived to be the enemy.

Interviewees were almost equally divided on the subject of police **salaries.** Opinions ranged from police members being grossly underpaid which resulted in "pay peanuts, get monkeys" to police actually being overpaid in terms of their daily output and general productivity. Poor wages are regularly used as a justification for corrupt behaviour. Including the argument that it is a case of need. This argument does not correlate with the fact that the majority of police members are not corrupt and they all receive the same salary. Police members should be remunerated like any other business, according to level of skills, qualifications and experience. This will also improve the quality of recruit entering the organisation. A public organisation such as a police service should not be categorised with the rest of the public service. This is a different entity with a different profile, functions and needs. They should be able to determine their own salaries according to the criteria mentioned above.

10.3.2.1   Literature Correlates

The literature reiterates that a strong sense of loyalty and trust between police members is not necessarily a bad thing **unless** this is used to protect corrupt colleagues from being

exposed, or to obfuscate investigations (The *Mollen Commission* 1994 Chapter Three: section 3.3.2). The negative aspects of police culture demand loyalty over integrity, which makes it essential to instil a firm commitment to integrity in any police organisation. The culture of **heavy drinking** by police officers, both on and off duty results in serious consequences. *As highlighted by some interviewees, judgement is negatively affected when drunk and this makes the handling of vehicles and weapons potentially lethal because the individual does not have a clear head.* The presence of significant substance abuse problems in any police agency is indicative of employee assistance programmes that are ineffectual.

The consequences of "ratting" on corrupt colleagues are **ostracism and isolation** from the larger police culture. *As mentioned, everybody wants to belong, with the result that they will often not allow themselves to be squeezed out of their careers by corrupt officers, so these good members either join them or turn a blind eye.* The **code of silence** is particularly pervasive in high-crime areas where the loyalty between members is strong because of their dependence on one another to remain safe and where fear and alienation from the community is very real. *This is illustrated above by at least two offenders serving in a high-crime, gang-soaked community where even managers turn a blind eye to deviance, compared to the example of the two offenders from a fairly affluent area, who were reported to managers by suspicious colleagues. The offenders from the police station in the high-crime area also described how they went about ridding their shift of members who were not complicit in their corruption/criminality.*

Negative aspects of police corruption such as the code of silence must be eradicated. These also include alcohol abuse and types of misconduct committed to ensure acceptance (by new recruits). Whistle blowing must be encouraged and it must be made clear to staff that this is ethical behaviour, which ultimately contributes to the professionalism of the police service. If police members wish to gain the community's respect, they should build partnerships with them. This will also assist with crime solving. Too often police members view the community as a source of irritation rather than the people they are mandated to serve.

There are arguments presented in the literature that correlate with some interviewee's opinion that in order to attract a good quality recruit, they should be adequately **remunerated** (Griffith 2003: 70 Chapter Five: section 5.5.2). *Some interviewees believed that increasing police wages would not make a difference to the incidence of corruption, as there are too many other influences at play.* International research has been unable to prove conclusively that salary levels encourage criminality (The *Royal Commission* 1997: 288 Chapter Five:

section 5.5.2). Factors that have proved to be more significant contributors include *low morale, power, frustration, lack of moral fibre, propensity and the individual's desire to prove himself.* One of the primary contributors - greed, will never be satisfied by any amount of remuneration.

10.3.3 RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING

The question must be asked, if a police organisation is experiencing unacceptably high levels of corruption and criminality, why do they not have **ethics and integrity training** as part of their basic training curriculum? Not only should these values be espoused during basic training but consistently during the course of a police officer's career. The importance of this cannot be emphasised enough because if a police organisation is focused on being ethical (together with stringent **corruption controls**), corruption and criminality will become a less attractive option. Police recruits should also be taught the pitfalls of policing, how to avoid temptations and opportunities that accompany police work. Ex-police offenders should be used in training to emphasise why it is not worth becoming a police criminal. One subject was extremely keen to assist the police with training because he felt so passionately about the futility of his actions.

Because of South Africa's high levels of unemployment, individuals are joining the police merely to be employed. The traditionally altruistic element of joining to serve the community seems to have dissipated. Many offenders did mention that they initially joined the police because they wanted to help people, or because they wanted to serve the community, but some of them conceded that at the time, they were earnestly looking for employment. This ambivalence can be interpreted either way.

The **quality of recruits** entering the SAPS at the moment appears to be problematic because of the emphasis on **quantity** rather than quality, this is as a result of a moratorium on hiring police that has been in place for a period of time and was only lifted recently. This is compounded by **inadequate vetting procedures** and the **political requirements** of the recruitment process. Adequate vetting is essential for attracting suitable individuals to serve in the police. Merely checking for a criminal record is not adequate because *there are instances where these records have been expunged, allowing a potentially problematic individual into the organisation.* Psychological testing is pivotal in identifying possible individual shortcomings, which could contribute to deviance. Equity should not be the overwhelming determinant for a career in the police as is the case when a senior manager

can override the negative result of psychological tests to fulfil an equity requirement for a position.

As mentioned before in this study, police officers are endowed with vast powers to enable them to do their job. If their **training** is inadequate, they are not familiar with these powers and this leads to abuse. *There is conscious abuse of power and there is the abuse of power through ignorance.* The latter often manifests in unacceptable practices such as wrongful arrest. If a police officer is not properly trained he/she will not have the necessary confidence with which to do their work. There was significant input by interviewees on the subject of police training, most of it negative. This was evident when referring to *some problems in the police service at present, such as the lack of discipline, lack of professionalism and the dearth of adequately trained detectives (as well as members who become detectives without being given any relevant training) and members who are promoted to commissioned officer before attending an officer's course.*

The **detective function** is vital in building cases and ensuring successful prosecutions, can these functions be achieved without the necessary training? The lack of detective training is compounded by the constant temptations experienced by detectives from criminals who want their prosecutions to be unsuccessful. Tremendous pressure is brought to bear on experienced detectives when their workloads increase exponentially. Because policing has paramilitary elements, many interviewees felt that **paramilitary training** should be reintroduced into the training curriculum. Interviewees who joined the SAPS before its transition from a force to a service, expressed satisfaction with their training (apart from the propaganda), they felt comfortable with their knowledge of policing. This would also bring **discipline, respect and pride** back to the Service as well as enhancing **professionalism –** resulting in better service at police stations and an increase in self-discipline. Professionalism will also be enhanced if qualifications become a prerequisite to becoming a commissioned officer or for further promotion. In the SAPS the rule that a police member must have a degree to become a commissioned officer has also been put on hold because of equity. It has been recommended by a specialist that a **Police Professions Council** be instituted in South Africa to oversee improvements in the police service.

10.3.3.1   Literature Correlates

Building on what was said in the earlier section of this chapter regarding ethics and integrity, police officers experience perpetual temptations during the course of their duty, as a result of

this they need effective training and the internalisation of a **code of ethics** to minimise the risk of becoming corrupt. **Ethics and integrity training** should not just be a minor addition to other police training, but an essential part of the curriculum. The literature (The *Mollen Commission* 1994: 121 Chapter Five: section 5.3.1.2) reiterates the need for the use of real scenarios during ethics and integrity training, such as integrity test videos (where the subject officer failed) and the use of convicted ex-members *as suggested by an offender who would like to avail himself to instruct recruits on the reality of involvement in criminality, highlighting the devastating consequences these actions have on the individual, his family, his colleagues and the organisation.*

Instilling integrity must be everyone's concern, including the national police commissioner. Ethics and integrity training is also essential because of the practice by older corrupt police members of "testing" new recruits when they arrive at the station, when they see that the recruit is receptive to wrongdoing, they gradually socialise them into more serious corruption and crime. *This phenomenon was highlighted by two offenders who both worked at the same "rotten" police station (not at the same time). They were both introduced into a criminal parallel career in this manner.* Because the early policing experience of a police officer is so important, suitable mentors must be selected to guide them, instilling integrity and highlighting occupational temptations continuously.

The literature also mentions the *problematic nature of **recruitment drives** (as experienced by the SAPS as well), because of the individuals who join the police merely as a source of employment as opposed to a career* (Chapter Three: section 3.3.1)*. This results in a larger percentage of problematic officers joining the organisation and it contributes to the lowering of standards.* This was succinctly referred to as a bit like **letting a worm into an apple.** The root of deviant behaviour can be found in an organisation's recruiting and hiring policies, therefore, strict recruiting and hiring policies are definitely a deterrent to corrupt behaviour. If **background checks** are inadequate, certain individuals do not become moral because they suddenly have a police badge and a gun. Inadequate screening and vetting are significant contributors to police criminality. Members should be thoroughly vetted when they join the organisation, when they join specialised units and when they are promoted.

Supervisors, officers promoted into a higher rank and those assigned to specialised units must all receive specialised training **before they commence their duties.** *This is in contrast with the situation in the SAPS at the moment where members are being made detectives without first undergoing the necessary training, and they are being promoted to the ranks of*

commissioned officers before attending officer's courses. It would be preferable if recruits had some sort of degree or qualification (relevant to police work) before they entered policing. If they did not have this and managers saw potential in the recruit, the organisation should sponsor the individual's study. **Professionalism** is also encouraged when acceptance into the police is determined by the possession of a tertiary qualification.

Officers should be allowed to grow within their ranks instead of forcing them to move up the ranks in search of higher wages and better benefits. Senior positions involve more administrative work and some members are good police officers but poor administrators. This move should not be necessary and the training and career development programme should take this into account. *A few interviewees mentioned that members should be financially promoted within their ranks both because of the lack of promotion experienced by good members and because some members are excellent street police officers, which requires a lot of skill, but they are forced to move up the ranks and become desk-bound for better remuneration.*

Concerning **professionalism,** police members should at all times, instil and maintain high standards of performance and professionalism. The latter is regarded as being pivotal to the implementation of any reform process. If an organisation is based on professionalism, it will maintain high standards and it will not tolerate behaviour unworthy of the policing profession (The *Royal Commission* 1994: 212 Chapter Five: section 5.3.1.1). *Some interviewees lamented the fact that professionalism in the SAPS was non-existent, in terms of the service the public receives at some police stations and by general behaviour which needs to change, such as wearing full uniform, not eating, smoking or drinking in front of the public and genuinely showing respect towards seniors.* Important police positions in the Service must be occupied by individuals who are good role models *(employees take from their employers).* Professionalism can be enhanced by employing only the best person for the job. Police officers who do not perform effectively in their positions should be replaced and retrained and police officers who are not completely committed to standards of professionalism and competence should leave the Service.

10.3.4 ADDITIONAL FACTORS

All the police agencies represented in this study have experienced slightly higher levels of **drug-related criminality** than other types of police crime. This is no different in South Africa. Drug-related crimes are significant particularly in relation to the **gang problem** in the Western Cape, where the two are inextricably linked to police criminality, primarily at station

level. There is a lot of illegal activity in the Western Cape and this creates many **opportunities** for corrupt members to get involved. *It is evident that corrupt police officers universally, perceive drug dealers to be their perpetual source of alternative income, rather than the target of their law enforcement obligations.* This is vividly illustrated by offenders who worked in drug and gang-infested neighbourhoods. A symbiotic relationship develops between gangsters (usually gang bosses) and certain corrupt members, who are beholden to each other – the gang for assistance and avoiding arrest, and the policeman for the financing of his expensive lifestyle. This symbiosis is aggravated by the fact that many police members grow up in the same neighbourhood as some gangsters and they may even be friends. This makes it very difficult for the member to turn down any requests from a gang. The gang structure will know "who their man is," who they can go to for assistance.

This assistance takes different forms, including corrupt members doing illegal search and seizure on rival gangs, stealing cash and selling the drugs back to the gang they are assisting. Drugs are transported in official police vehicles and drug shipments are intercepted by corrupt members and sold to a different gang from the one intended. If SAPS senior management has ever wondered why regular raids on gang hideouts are unsuccessful it is because of the entrenched practice of **"tipping off"** gangsters about an impending raid. It is extremely difficult for commanders to identify their members who are responsible for this because they use their own phones or they use a public phone. An interviewee suggested that in order to minimise this, the minimum amount of members should be informed about the operation, officers from different areas should be used for the raid and they should meet at a police station outside the area to be raided.

Police members who **abuse drugs** are **vulnerable** because of their addiction and they become targets for drug dealers and gangsters. These members have crossed the line by indulging in an illegal habit and by criminal association in the form of purchasing these narcotics from dealers. Some interviewees believe that random drug testing should be compulsory in the SAPS. Both the Metropolitan police in London and the NYPD have drug-testing regimes. The Met's policy is *"tell us you have a problem and it is treated as a medical case. We find out and it becomes misconduct."* The NYPD has **compulsory random drug testing** in all precincts, where their target is to test 20% of officers annually. All new recruits are tested, as are officers who have been promoted and those that are transferred.

Theft is another type of crime that plagues police organisations internationally. *This crime can be directly linked to the dishonesty and lack of morality inherent in some members.* One

offender stated that dishonest police members would steal anything of value. It is particularly disconcerting that some members are not averse to stealing valuables off corpses in mortuaries and from accident scenes. Another common practise involves attending the scene of a burglary or premises where an alarm has gone off and officers proceed to break in themselves. There is a very good chance of not being caught for this because when the key holder arrives the member tells him/her the burglars got away with the goods.

Specialists mentioned that outward observation (taking cognisance of expensive cars, jewellery and clothes) and **lifestyle surveillance** is done on members suspected of indulging in criminality to support a certain lifestyle. Commanders could also visit the homes of these officers to observe first hand how they live (materially). Investigators can access the individual's bank accounts as well. Managers are entitled to ask questions if their staff suddenly dress expensively or drive an expensive car on a lower rank wage. *The latter does not always happen, as illustrated by an offender who bought himself an expensive car, as did some corrupt colleagues at the same police station. Nobody asked them how they were able to afford these.*

Throughout this study, there is a significant emphasis on **integrity testing.** This type of corruption control has proved to be a highly successful deterrent in the NYPD, London's Met police and in Australia's New South Wales police. *An organisation like the SAPS, with a significant deviance problem, must implement a proven effective corruption control such as integrity tests.* **Polygraph tests** go a certain way in testing a member's integrity and honesty but in the case of the SAPS, which can utilise this option, members cannot be forced to undergo a polygraph test. Perhaps refusal can be read as guilt.

Assault and police brutality are contentious issues that plague all police organisations. *Are these a result of the nature of police work, or are they an abuse of power and the human element?* As one offender mentioned, assaults occur mostly for fun. "Beating people up becomes like a drug, because you have power." The more popular consensus amongst interviewees was that assault and brutality were more a case of "because we can." Gratuitous assaults are also blamed on frustrations as a result of work pressure (nature of the job). Assaults are the most common dockets received by police investigative bodies in South Africa. This does not mean that the police officers are always at fault, false allegations of assault are made regularly against members.

The nature of police work is conducive to high levels of **stress.** This mental affliction, if ignored, can have unwelcome consequences, not only for the individual but for his/her family and for the organisation as well. Individuals handle stress differently and unresolved stress problems can manifest in deviant behaviour, some members take it out on their family and partners and others abuse their sick leave. A lack of debriefing after trauma is also highly risky in terms of eventual negative behavioural manifestations. *This is evident in one offender's case where years of trauma resulted in Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), which remained untreated and eventually culminated in murder.*

10.3.4.1   Literature Correlates

The literature provided ample illustrations of drug-related criminality in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States of America (Chapter Two: section 2.2.2.1). The illustrations pertaining to South Africa *highlight the correlation between the illicit drug-trade and gangsters in the Western Cape, which includes the case of a policeman who was obviously on the payroll of one particular gang boss. This police officer carried the gang bosses contaminated docket in his briefcase for eight years and the case was eventually thrown out of court* (Merton in the *Mail & Guardian of 8 to 14 June 2001* Chapter Two: section 2.2.2.1).

The drug crimes committed by police officers appear to have similar characteristics in all four countries studied. There is however no mention of a strong gang link between corrupt police officers and their drug crimes in the international examples. The literature illustrations pertaining to Australia, the UK and the USA also *include police officers who steal drugs from dealers and either resell the drugs themselves, or they get an informer or another dealer to sell them and they share the proceeds. Corrupt officers in these countries also steal drugs from dealers to sell to rival dealers who have requested this. Drug shipments are intercepted so that the drugs can be appropriated by police officers for resale. Dealers are protected from arrest by certain officers. There are business partnerships between dealers and corrupt officers, which are extremely lucrative.*

The literature provides a good illustration of the **efficacy of an integrity test.** There were allegations that a police officer had sold a police radio to a drug dealer. Subsequent investigations showed that this officer was also protecting certain drug dealers and he was transporting large quantities of drugs for them. The Internal Affairs Bureau conducted a sophisticated integrity test on the officer. The officer accepted half a kilogram of cocaine and a large amount of cash from an undercover officer. The corrupt officer pleaded guilty to drug

charges and received a custodial sentence (The *NYPD Internal Affairs Bureau Annual Report 2002: 15* Chapter Two: section 2.2.2.1).

*Some police officers are not only dealers but they are **drug users** as well.* Investigations into the NYPD revealed that there was a significant problem with drug use in this department, including cocaine and steroids. Drug use was not confined to members who were involved in corruption and criminality, but to other officers as well. *As mentioned above, the NYPD can instruct any one of its members to undergo a **compulsory drug test** at any time.* This has resulted in a decrease of positive results every year.

The literature (Chapter Two: section 2.2.4.1) *reiterates the most common types of **theft** committed by members and these include theft of items from crime scenes, unlocked shops or the scene of traffic accidents. Thefts also commonly occur from police evidence stores, such as cellular phones, wallets, drugs or cash. Goods that are handed in (wallet) or seized (drugs) or recovered (theft of vehicles or vehicle parts) are also stolen.* Stolen property is often the most common offence reported to the NYPD's Internal Affairs Bureau every year. The largest subcategory of this refers to theft from a prisoner.

Another similar international illustration to the one provided by South African interviewees refers to radio runs where officers *receive calls to the scene of robberies, burglaries and other types of crime. All these crimes provide corrupt officers with criminal intent and an **opportunity** to steal by legitimately gaining entry to premises. These opportunities are plentiful in areas with high crime and drug problems because cash, drugs, jewellery and weapons tend to be stored in homes and shops. This can be backed up by the findings from at least two offender interviews.*

An example provided in the literature, illustrates the theft of approximately Dm 600 000 belonging to the wife of a German fraudster, by two police inspectors (Kemp in the *Weekend Argus of 21 October 1998* Chapter Two: section 2.2.4.1). ***These two ex-members were interviewed for the study by the researcher and contributed valuable information.***

South Africa's *Prevention and Combating of Corrupt Activities Act No12 of 2004* states that a judge may issue an investigation direction if there are reasonable grounds to believe that a particular individual enjoys a standard of living (including resources and property) that does not match any known source of income. An investigation is also permitted if it is likely to reveal information proving that the individual's standard of living, possessions and property

are a result of the proceeds of corrupt activities or unlawful activities. *As mentioned by a specialist, this Act allows investigators to access bank accounts and institute other forms of surveillance if they can prove someone is gaining material wealth from crime. This Act would have not gone amiss when commanders walked past the expensive cars of their junior staff at a particular police station in a high-crime area (offender interviews) and this Act did not need to be utilised at a police station in a more upmarket area where colleagues of two inspectors convicted of theft noticed their new cars and motorbikes and reported them to management (offender interviews).*

As mentioned above, **assault and police brutality** is a problem experienced by all police agencies. Only the causes of these phenomena may vary slightly. *By weighing up various responses and the literature input, it would appear that assaults are largely a result of the abuse of power by policemen* (Chapter Two: section 2.2.1.2). *The Australian literature revealed that **some members lack an understanding of their responsibilities as police officials and upholders of the law. Some members were aggressive and ill disciplined. Many of them tended to act defensively instead of addressing the underlying problems such as the lack of professionalism and integrity.** This experience pertains to the South African experience as well.*

In New York, investigators found a definite link between police corruption, criminality and brutality (Chapter Two: section 2.2.1.2). *Police brutality and assaults tend to happen more often in neighbourhoods with crime and drug problems. Corrupt officers are more likely to be guilty of gratuitous assault and brutality. This backs up statements made by a specialist that members would probably get away with assaulting citizens in a place like Hillbrow, but they would not be able to do this in the upmarket suburb of Sandton (Johannesburg). Also, at least three offenders mentioned how they had no problem with beating up citizens for no apparent reason, because they were frustrated or because they "felt like it." These offenders all worked in poor, high-crime and gang-soaked areas.* Other reasons given for assaults are to show power, to vent anger and frustrations, to attempt to command respect from the community and sometimes, out of hostility or fear that officers feel towards the community.

The consequences of police assaults and brutality can be very expensive. In recent incidents involving the insensitive treatment of victims, wrongful arrest and the use of jackboot tactics on a civilian, the taxpayer had to foot the bill for R2 800 000 in compensation.

The literature (Regoli & Hewitt 1996: 351 Chapter Three: section 3.3.4.4) reiterates that *no police officer is immune to stress but their tolerance levels vary.* There are anomalies in police work that enhances role conflict in officers, such as the fact that they are expected to enforce the law, but also uphold constitutional rights. *Police officers also have to work shifts and this has a negative impact on their health and social life. This fact is backed up by offenders who mentioned that aspects of their work they enjoyed the least was working shifts. Also, police work is dangerous and the awareness of this contributes to stress.*

Aspects within the police organisation that contribute to officer's stress levels include **poor supervision.** This pertains largely to the different styles of supervisors such as being pedantic, supervisors who have few or no guidelines or those who do not support their staff all contribute to stress levels. *The **lack of promotion** also contributes greatly to stress.* Many officers perceive their particular promotions systems to be unfair. Some of them begin and end their careers in the lower ranks, thereby experiencing *very few opportunities for growth and development in their careers. Lack of promotion, free car or cash bonus all pertaining to an **inadequate reward system** also results in unnecessary stress.* Excessive rules and regulations, many of which are not enforceable, add to stress. Police officers also experience stress with the **criminal justice system,** for example when an officer has worked hard to build a case and the court dismisses it on a technicality.

The public is also a source of stress for many police officers, particular when they complain about the performance of their local police. Members feel the public are against them. *This feeds into the "us versus them" mentality adopted by police members.* **Stress impacts in the following pertinent ways, it contributes towards marital problems, health problems, alcohol abuse, family problems, drug-related problems and suicide. Police officers tend to suffer more psychophysiological conditions than individuals in other professions. This has been attributed to high stress levels.** These factors are all extremely relevant to the SAPS, particularly in the light of the relatively high incidence of police suicides and family or spousal murders by police members. High stress levels are compounded by inadequate psychological care.

Controlling stress can be encouraged by improving communication between supervisors and their staff and by reducing organisational bureaucracy. Stress levels can also be controlled by improving police resources and offering decent compensation packages. Stress-awareness programmes should be introduced where officers learn coping skills and job-related skills.

10.4 THEORETICAL EXPLANATION

One of the objectives of this study is to provide a theoretical explanation for police criminality from a criminological point of view. The theories selected for application are **General Strain Theory** and **Institutional Anomie,** which will be used to explain certain *Macro (structural)* aspects of police criminality. **The General Theory of Crime** will explain certain *Micro (individual)* aspects of police criminality.

As intimated in the previous section of this chapter, the main findings of this study (particularly the empirical study) highlight two primary contributors to police criminality, these are **organisational (structural)** factors, pertaining predominantly to weaknesses within the South African Police Service and individual factors, with the emphasis on the motivations of **individual** offenders. The individual is an inextricable part of the structure. These two dominant themes are perpetuated in this section and relevant theoretical assumptions are applied to relevant findings.

10.4.1 MACRO THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS OF POLICE CRIMINALITY

10.4.1.1 Strain Theory

General Strain Theory and Institutional Anomie used below are both *strain theories.* According to White and Haines (2000: 59) the primary assumption of strain theory is that crime is the result of "social disjuncture or social processes that represent a social strain within society." Strain theory is based on a sociological understanding of individual and group behaviour where crime is seen as being influenced by broader *social processes and structures.* Strain theory also focuses on strains associated with structural opportunities and cultural processes. The authors add that the *"cause of crime is often seen to lie in inadequate or inappropriate means or **opportunities** to achieve certain goals relative to other people in society."*

Williams and McShane (1994: 96) add that strain theories are defined by their focus on **motivation.** Therefore individuals must be motivated to commit criminal acts. If there was no motivation to commit crime, people would conform to societal norms. Strain theories also focus on a particular state of mind that includes pathology, tension, frustration or mental conflict. The sociological contributions to these theories ask the question: "what is it about the way in which *society is organised and arranged that tends to produce the conditions and circumstances that give rise to deviant behaviour?" (Opportunity).* The sociological aspects of

strain theory attempt to find the origins of strain in the way society is arranged, *in the social structure.* These approaches are referred to as *structural* strain theories.

The most well known contemporary version of strain theory is one created by *Robert Agnew.* The theorist mentions that another aspect should be added to strain theories and that is the avoidance of painful or negative situations. "Just as an individual's goals can be blocked, so can the ability to avoid undesirable things or stressful life events. When both positive blockage and negative avoidance are combined, the stress levels suggest that we can expect higher rates of deviance" (Williams & McShane 1994: 98).

Curran and Renzetti (2001: 132) add that Agnew mentions earlier versions of strain theory are limited in their definition of what constitutes strain. The theorist included elements from medical sociology, studies of equity/justice and frustration-aggression in psychology and expands the definition of strain and an individual's response to it. *Agnew's theory has contributed to a revival of the use of strain theory within criminology* and it has a wide appeal because it has an interdisciplinary approach.

GENERAL STRAIN THEORY

Agnew's Assumptions of General Strain Theory

The main proponent of general strain theory is Robert Agnew. The theorist presents in Cullen and Agnew (2003: 208) a broader version of traditional strain theory including that the failure to achieve positively valued goals is only one of many variable sources of strain, frustration and anger. Agnew mentions *three primary sources of strain:* Strain as the **failure to achieve positively valued goals** (including *strain as the disjunction between expectations and actual achievement* and *strain as the disjunction between just/fair outcomes and actual outcomes*), Strain as the **removal of positively valued stimuli from the individual** and strain as the **presentation of negative stimuli.** The theorist attempts to describe different situations that anger and frustrate individuals.

Only some individuals will respond to strain by committing crime and elements that encourage this include **anger** and **predisposition.** The author adds that*: "strain theory is distinguished by its focus on negative relationships with others (relationships where an individual is not being treated as they would like to be treated) and its insistence that such relationships lead to delinquency through the negative affect – especially anger – they sometimes engender"* (Cullen & Agnew 2003: 208).

- **Strain as the failure to achieve positively valued goals**

Strain as the disjunction between aspirations, expectations and actual achievements (rewards): this aspect of strain theory argues that strain is the result of an individual's inability to achieve certain desirable goals emphasised by the person's cultural system. Therefore strain occurs when an individual aspires to achieve something but cannot do this because of certain limitations within his/her environment. The failure to achieve expectations may manifest in emotions such as *anger, resentment, aggression, dissatisfaction, disappointment and unhappiness.* Also, individuals may be motivated to narrow the gap between expectations and achievements with deviance.

Strain as the disjunction between just/fair outcomes and actual outcomes: individual goals can focus on the achievement of specific outcomes, such as acquiring a certain amount of money. A different concept of strain suggests that individuals do not always interact in ways that have specific outcomes in mind. **Outcomes** include a range of both positive and negative consequences and **inputs** include the individual's positive and negative contributions to the interaction. If the outcome/input ratios are not equal, individuals will feel that the outcomes are unfair and they will experience **distress.** This distress is highly likely to occur when individuals feel they have been **under-rewarded.** This may manifest in deviance as **inequity leads to anger and frustration.**

- **Strain as the removal of positively valued stimuli from the individual**

Agnew (in Cullen & Agnew 2003: 212) highlights the fact that **stressful life events** focus on events involving the loss of positively valued stimuli and events involving the presentation of noxious or negative stimuli. When an individual experiences actual or anticipated loss of positively valued stimuli, they may attempt to prevent the loss of the stimuli or regain the stimuli by devious means. **Aggression does occur when individuals did experience positive reinforcement and it is subsequently removed.**

- **Strain as the presentation of negative stimuli**

The presence of negative stimuli may result in **aggression** and other negative outcomes in certain conditions, such as when an individual attempts to avoid or destroy the negative stimuli, or when an individual seeks revenge against the source of the negative stimuli. Negative stimuli may include **negative relationships with peers** and **stressful life**

events.

The authors (Cullen & Agnew 2003: 215) add that the relationship between negative stimuli and deviance is a result of the *causal* effect of the negative stimuli on deviance (as opposed to the effect of deviance on the negative stimuli).

- **The links between strain and deviance**

Various types of strain increase the probability that individuals will experience a range of negative emotions. These include disappointment, depression and fear, with **anger** being the most critical emotional reaction for the purposes of strain theory. "Anger results when individual's blame their adversity on others, and anger is a key emotion because it increases the individual's level of felt injury, creates a desire for retaliation/revenge, energises the individual action, and lowers inhibitions, in part because individuals believe that others will feel their **aggression** is justified" (Cullen & Agnew 2003: 214).

The authors add that each type of strain has the possibility to create the **propensity** for deviance or it may act as a **situational event** that instigates a deviant act.

Summary of Assumptions

Agnew attempts to explain why individuals who experience **stress and strain** are likely to commit crimes. This theory suggests that criminality is the result of **negative affective states,** such as the *anger, frustration and adverse emotions* that develop because of a variety of sources of strain. The latter includes the **failure to achieve positively valued goals.** The failure to achieve these goals is the result of the disjunction between aspirations and expectations. The **disjunction of expectations and achievements** can result in strain if individuals compare themselves to peers who are doing better than them financially. Perceptions of **inequity** could also result in adverse reactions.

The actual or anticipated loss of **positively valued stimuli** may cause strain that could lead to criminality if an individual attempts to obtain substitutes. Stress and strain may also be caused by **negative or noxious stimuli,** such as *stressful life events.* The theorist maintains that all types of strain increase the likelihood of an individual experiencing negative emotions such as disappointment, depression, fear and anger. **Anger** increases the perceptions of

being wronged and **violence and aggression** are justified in this regard (Siegel 2005: 144).

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Vold, Bernard and Snipes (1998: 173) add that general strain theory focuses on **negative relationships** with others. *These negative relationships give rise to negative emotions within an individual and these can lead to crime.* The theorist also focuses on relationships where others do not treat an individual as he/she would like to be treated, resulting in negative emotions, *also referred to as strain.* Strain and stress can manifest in substance abuse, which are adopted as coping mechanisms or a way of achieving valued goals. **Negative relationships and stressful life events are associated with criminality.**

<u>Application</u>

- **Individuals who feel stress and strain are likely to commit crimes.**

The findings reveal that **multiple sources** contribute to stress and strain amongst police members. The most pertinent relating to *negative management issues, the lack of promotion, political direction such as Affirmative Action, the lack of psychological care and even salary.* These factors result in **negative affective states** that include **anger/aggression and frustration.**

Although **negative managerial issues** are not necessarily a direct cause of police criminality, they certainly *facilitate the perpetuation of police crime* and they create the **OPPORTUNITY** to commit crimes. For example, in the case of two offenders who worked at Station X, *poor or non-existent supervision and control* led to the offenders being able to maintain a parallel career as policemen and criminals, in both cases for over a decade. In this example, *managerial denial* could also be a feature together with *incompetent managers* because if the managers at this specific police station were competent and well trained they would be aware of the corruption amongst their staff and they would do something about it. This was not the case. This is still not the case. This results in strain not only for the corrupt members who cannot abandon this lifestyle and managers who fear a scandal, but for colleagues who are not corrupt and cannot say anything because of the fear of **ostracism.**

- **Failure to achieve positively valued goals**

The **lack of promotion** at present in the SAPS has resulted in high levels of **frustration** amongst members and this is a result of the disjunction between aspirations and expectations. Police officers generally want to progress through the ranks **(aspiration)** and they **expect** to be promoted based on certain criteria demanded by the organisation and which they achieve. These include additional qualifications, good performance or attendance of an officer's course. What appears to be happening at the moment in the SAPS is that **Affirmative Action/equity** is the main criteria for promotion and even for recruitment. Perceptions of inequity may lead to lowered morale and deviance. Members also become frustrated at individuals being promoted ahead of them without the necessary training or skills to command their staff. This places extra pressure on the more experienced members who have to do most of the work and take instructions from people they feel lack the knowledge and experience to do their job.

- **Peers achieving more financially**

A specialist did mention that the tremendous gap in **salary** between the higher and lower ranks where junior ranks earn in a year what senior managers earn in a month, leads to envy and resentment. Also, if there are benefits to be had, they go to the senior ranks, such as state-sponsored cars. Again, perceptions of **inequity** could result in adverse reactions, particularly if members feel they are not being taken care of.

- **Removal of positively valued stimuli**

Strain may occur if positively valued stimuli are removed. In the instance of the SAPS at present, this refers to the **lack of discipline.** There was unanimous agreement amongst interviewees that discipline in the organisation today was poor. This manifests in negativities such as insubordination, familiarity and the lack of self-discipline. The lowering of discipline standards has been ascribed to changes at the outset of a member's career where paramilitary training has been removed from the basic training curriculum. Poor organisational discipline certainly makes the commission of crime easier for corrupt members, especially those lacking self-discipline.

- **Presentation of negative stimuli**

Negative stimuli and **aggression** can be attributed to pre-1994 police training techniques. The nature of military training is to psychologically break down an individual and then build them up again according to propaganda. In apartheid South Africa, the country was involved in cross-border wars and police members also had to do tours of duty in violence-ridden townships. The training instilled aggression in the members because of the humiliation they had to endure and this followed them into their work environment. In the case of one offender who spent a lot of time policing these townships, he turned to crime while a policeman, largely because his peers were all involved in criminality in varying degrees. This subject also developed serious Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) as a result of the horrors he witnessed on a daily basis. The PTSD was left untreated **(inadequate psychological care)** and eventually it culminated in the commission of a murder.

Anger increases the perception amongst certain members that they have been wronged and in this way they justify the use of violence and aggression. This is evident in many interviews that highlight the common occurrence of gratuitous **assault and police brutality.** Another offender illustrated how he had an aggressive nature and this was exacerbated by having to assist older members with torturing suspects when he was a young policeman. This uncontrolled anger eventually culminated in a murder as well.

Stressful personal life events do contribute to strain (as illustrated above). The nature of policing is very stressful and if members do not receive support from their peers, managers and the public, they may develop an uncaring attitude themselves and turn to crime. This ties in with the notion that strain is caused by relationships in which others do not treat an individual as he/she would like to be treated. This is evident in the case of **detached management,** where managers do not have an open-door policy and their staff perceive them to be uncaring. This is also evident when members feel they are not getting any support, only criticism from the public. Members feel the public is their enemy and this contributes to the adoption of the **"us versus them"** mentality.

INSTITUTIONAL ANOMIE

Rosenfeld and Messner's Assumptions of Institutional Anomie

The main proponents of institutional anomie are Richard Rosenfeld and Steven Messner. Institutional anomie is also a *strain theory.* Rosenfeld and Messner (in Cullen & Agnew 2003: 198) base their theory on Merton's essay "Social Structure and Anomie" which includes:

- **The anomie tendencies of the American Dream**

The concept of the "American Dream" relates to a commitment to the achievement of material success, pursued by everyone in society within the context of individual competition. This type of culture accentuates ambition. There is however, a *negative side to this, which encourages an anomic imbalance where the importance of using legitimate means to acquire this wealth is surpassed by the importance of the desired cultural goal (the acquisition of wealth)*

The American Dream espouses a strong *achievement orientation* whereby an individual's worth as a human being is measured on what they have achieved (materially) rather than other aspects such as social skills. As a result of this constant quest for **success,** there is an *overwhelming pressure to achieve at all costs.* The American Dream also encourages a culture of **individualism.** In the pursuit of success, people are encouraged to "make it on their own" as well as compete against each other. *This individual pursuit of material success results in many individuals disregarding normative parameters of behaviour when these parameters interfere with the achievement of success.*

Success is identified by the accumulation of monetary rewards. Money is used to measure success. Rosenfeld and Messner (Cullen & Agnew 2003: 200) add that the pressure to accumulate more money also encourages individuals to "disregard normative restraints when these impede the pursuit of personal goals."

- **The normal functions of social institutions**

Social institutions, through norms, values, groups and organisations regulate human behaviour to meet the basic needs of society. These social needs include "the need to adapt to the environment, to mobilise and deploy resources for the achievement of collective goals and to socialise members in the society's fundamental normative patterns" (Rosenfeld &

Messner in Cullen & Agnew 2003: 200).

Elements of responsibility pertaining to the institution of the family can be adapted to an institution such as policing. *These include the physical care and nurturing of individuals, the socialisation of individuals into the values, goals and beliefs of the dominant culture of the organisation and to provide emotional support for individuals.* The effective functioning of social institutions encourages the existence of an environment with a degree of **social order.** Also, *the nature of institutions is related to the larger culture in which they exist.*

Summary of Assumptions

Siegel (2005: 141) mentions that institutional anomie is premised on the concept of both the goal and the process of the "American Dream" – the **pursuit of individual wealth and success** and the resultant anomie that arises when the desire to succeed becomes all-consuming at the expense of more noble ambitions such as earning respect. This premise cannot be used to explain police criminality in this form but the element of **greed** as a result of the pursuit of wealth is certainly applicable.

According to the theorists, the high crime rate in a country like America is the result of the **interrelationship between culture and institutions.** Concerning *culture,* many people will desire material goods that cannot be required by legitimate means. In this instance, anomie becomes the norm. Concerning *the institution,* the emphasis on accumulative interests weakens the informal *social control* of the institution. *These institutions have lost their ability to regulate behaviour and have become a conduit for material success.* **Culture determines institutions and institutional change influences culture.**

Vold et al (1998: 176) add that goals other than material success must be inculcated into society and there must be increased emphasis on mutual support and collective obligations and a decreased emphasis on individual rights, interests and privileges. *When success is measured by financial status and social controls are weakened, crime becomes prevalent* (Hunter & Dantzker 2002: 93).

- **Focus on material success and the accumulation of wealth**

The concept of the "American Dream" is relevant to this study in the sense that it focuses on material success through the accumulation of wealth. Therefore, if a police member has the propensity to be corrupt, he gets his foot in the door by joining the police and although the job does not pay well, weak structural aspects create **OPPORTUNITIES** for the corrupt member to accumulate wealth by illegal means.

- **Greed**

The desire for material goods and the accumulation of these by corrupt members, usually start small (as explained by way of the "slippery slope" theory in chapter four of this study). The escalation of criminal activity by corrupt police officers can be attributed to **greed.** This was definitely the case pertaining to at least three offenders interviewed. All three were involved in criminality from the beginning of their careers. Their salaries as junior ranked members were obviously insufficient to finance the lifestyle they were flaunting. They were all driving expensive cars and they used every opportunity to either extort money from gangsters and shebeen owners and getting involved in a range of crimes all with pecuniary benefit. One offender was fraudulently supplying gangsters with firearm licences, maintaining that he was doing this for "stuff" (such as cool drinks and eats), not for money. This apparent altruistic motive was not backed up by the fact that he was involved in numerous other criminal incidents that paid well.

Some offenders commented that: "once you have tasted this kind of life it is very difficult to walk away." Another offender admitted that what he did was a result of greed: "it's nice to have money in your pocket every day." In another example given by an offender, he illustrated the case of one of his unit members who was using drug and abalone smugglers as a lucrative source of revenue by "taxing" them in exchange for allowing them to continue their activities. This police member eventually became so brazen that he moved out of his house in a low-income area and bought a house in an expensive neighbourhood where he lived. In this case, managers did ask questions, unlike the managers of two offenders at Station X.

- **Interrelationship between culture and institution**

The **cultural** aspect relates to the illegitimate accumulation of wealth by corrupt police members as illustrated above. The **institution** in this instance refers to the police structure with weaknesses (such as poor supervision and incompetent managers), that serves as a conduit through which criminality is able to be committed. In a policing environment where there are a substantial number of corrupt members operating, all forms of control including social controls are negated, and anomie in the form of a lack of integrity and a lack of ethical standards does become the norm. *This institution does lose the ability to regulate behaviour as well as becoming a facilitator for criminality by its members.* It is clear from some offender interviews that these subjects could behave criminally with no corruption controls in place at all. These offenders used the police structure to further their own criminality. One offender doing work for a Chinese triad made use of policing tools to assist him, such as providing the rest of the gang with false police identity tags, search warrants and uniforms to be able to do illegal raids on rivals. One offender used his police powers to illegally pull a truck transporting abalone off the road, and another used his position to fraudulently supply firearm licences and public driving permits to individuals who did not qualify for them.

Concerning the statement that *culture determines the institution and institutional change influences culture,* negative elements of **police culture,** such as the code of silence can also permeate a police structure like a police station. In most police stations, good police members turn a blind eye to their corrupt colleague's behaviour for fear of victimisation. This also perpetuates the deviance. A corrupt, dishonest police culture will **determine the quality** of the policing institution. **Institutional change** in the form of integrity, good management and effective corruption controls will positively influence the culture of that institution.

- **Different goals must be given prominence**

Goals other than material success should be strongly encouraged in society. This is no different for members of a policing organisation. As mentioned by a specialist, in his early days as a young policeman (pre-1994) his commanders would constantly tell them to live within their means, acknowledging that lower rank wages were low but also reminding members that this was no excuse for deviance. Police members must also be constantly reminded that their mission is to serve the community, not themselves and that it is unacceptable to use the police organisation as a conduit for self-enrichment. It is therefore imperative to instil integrity and a code of ethics into new recruits.

10.4.2 MICRO THEORETICAL EXPLANATION OF POLICE CRIMINALITY

10.4.2.1 General Theory of Crime

Gottfredson and Hirschi's Assumptions of a General Theory of Crime

The proponents of a general theory of crime are Michael Gottfredson and Travis Hirschi.

Gottfredson and Hirschi (in Cullen & Agnew 2003: 240) refer to the general theory of crime as a *self-control theory.* Siegel (2005: 209) mentions that the GTC has modified and redefined some of the principles mentioned in Hirschi's *social control theory* by integrating the concepts of *control* with those of *biosocial, psychological, routine activities and rational choice theories.*

- **The elements of self-control**

According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (in Cullen & Agnew 2003: 242) criminal acts provide **immediate gratification** of desires. Individuals with ***low self-control*** are characterised by a tendency to respond to tangible stimuli in their immediate environment whereas individuals with adequate self-control are able to defer gratification. Individuals who lack self-control may also *lack diligence and tenacity.* Criminal acts can be exciting, risky or thrilling, involving stealth, danger, deception or **power.** Crimes require little skill or planning and individuals who lack self-control need not possess or value cognitive or academic skills.

The authors add that because crime involves the pursuit of instant gratification, *individuals who lack self-control will also indulge in pleasures that are not criminal, but constitute risky behaviour, such as smoking, drinking, using drugs, gambling and illicit sex.* Individuals with low self-control tend to experience **low frustration tolerance** and respond to conflict through physical means rather than verbal means. Individuals with low self-control tend to be **impulsive,** physical, risk-takers, short sighted and verbal and they will be more prone to committing criminal and analogous acts.

Gottfredson and Hirschi (in Cullen & Agnew 2003: 246) emphasise the importance of **opportunity** in the commission of crime. Because the commission of crime can be simple and easy, some criminals will specialise in certain types of crime for this very reason, facilitated by opportunity.

- **The causes of self-control**

*The characteristics of low self-control have usually been identified by **the lack of nurturing, supervision, discipline and training.*** The causes of low self-control are negative rather than positive. The authors add that the dimensions of self-control are "factors affecting calculation of the consequences of one's acts. The impulsive or short-sighted person fails to consider the negative or painful consequences of his acts; the insensitive person has fewer negative consequences to consider; the less intelligent person also has fewer negative consequences to consider (has less to lose)." Other traits that influence criminality appear to be the result of *ineffective or incomplete **socialisation.*** Impulsivity and insensitivity are characteristics that only tend to become evident later in childhood when it is more difficult to rectify.

Summary of Assumptions

Siegel (2005: 209) mentions the pertinent tenets of the general theory of crime. Some criminal acts, such as robbery and burglary are **criminal activities** that individuals will engage in if they perceive these activities to be **advantageous** or for **short-term gratification.** Because individuals commit crimes for reward and with the minimal amount of pain, **crime is rational and predictable.** *The threat of punishment can deter crime.*

Offenders are **predisposed** to commit crimes. Given the same set of criminal **opportunities,** crime-prone individuals are more likely to break the law than individuals who are not prone to criminality. The **propensity** to commit crime remains with an individual throughout his/her life. *Change in the occurrence of criminal activity is a result of the change in criminal opportunity. The biological and psychological factors that make individuals **impulsive** and **crime-prone** are either inherited or they may develop through incompetent or absent nurturing.* The theorists blame the propensity for an individual's criminality on their level of **self-control.** People with poor self-control tend to be **impulsive.** They are also more likely to engage in **dangerous behaviour** such as drinking, smoking and dangerous driving. These behavioural elements are all associated with criminality.

According to this theory, **males have lower levels of self-control** that is why they are more likely to commit crime than females. White-collar crimes remain low because individuals who

lack self-control seldom reach the positions necessary to commit these crimes. Research has shown that an individual's criminal activity decreases as they mature. The theorists have integrated the pertinent aetiological concepts of **criminal choice, criminal opportunity, socialisation and personality** (Siegel 2005: 213).

Brown, Esbensen and Geis (2001: 355) add that not all individuals with low self-control will necessarily become criminals. The tendency for these individuals may be to seek instant gratification and only when **opportunities for the use of self-gratifying force or fraud** arise will they resort to crime. Individual differences in self-control cause people to differ in the extent to which they are vulnerable to temptations. The authors reiterate that individuals with low self-control will engage in risky behaviour if the **OPPORTUNITY** arises. Accidents may occur as a result of this high-risk behaviour as a result of being under the influence of drugs and alcohol.

Moyer (2001: 151) reiterates that the commission of a crime is a **rational act,** it is the offender's choice to behave in this manner. Potential targets are chosen according to the ease with which they can be victimised and offenders commit a variety of crimes that do not require much skill or planning. This theory also focuses not only on crimes, but other forms of **deviant behaviour** such as alcohol and drug abuse, failed marriages, family violence and accidents.

Application

- **The crime and the criminal**

As mentioned during specialist and offender interviews, an extremely common crime committed by police offenders is **burglary.** When an alarm goes off at a business and there has been a break-in, corrupt members will enter the premises and steal what the initial burglars did not take. Also, if an alarm has gone off at a certain premises and there has not been a burglary, members break in themselves. These police thieves will head for the back of a shop first where they know the liquor is kept and steal this, then proceed to steal anything else of value. This type of crime for a police member is almost fool proof because when the key holder arrives at the business the police tell him that all the missing goods were stolen by

burglars. In this instance, police are responding to a call and **probably impulsively steal goods at the scene. This also does not require any skill or careful planning and it is instant gratification with no threat of punishment.**

Although corrupt police members may act impulsively, they know that they did have a **choice** not to commit that crime. Therefore, if they knew there was a good chance of getting caught and punished, or if they had good police members with them, these would be a deterrent. Because the commission of a crime for these individuals is a choice, it is also a **rational act.** The "slippery slope" theory used in chapter four of this study to explain police member's descent into criminality highlights the fact that many members feel guilty when they start their criminal careers, but very soon the rewards of this behaviour outweigh any guilt feelings. This illustrates the assumption that crime is a rational act and a **conscious choice.**

- **Propensity to criminality**

It was evident from some of the offender interviews that these individuals were **predisposed to criminality** from the outset. Although there is little knowledge of their earlier lives, the alacrity with which they entered into crime in the earlier part of their careers highlights their propensity for deviance, considering that they did have a choice not to get involved as there were police members at the same police station that were not involved in corruption and crime. The latter would have been presented with the same **opportunities** to be corrupt but they were not predisposed to this behaviour.

The biological and psychological factors that make an individual **impulsive** and prone to criminality may be inherited or they may be **developed** through inadequate nurturing. In the case of a few offenders, their impulsiveness and propensity to criminality (together with gullibility) was nurtured and encouraged by various negative elements within the police structure, such as *poor supervision and incompetent or detached management and the code of silence.*

- **Self-control**

An individual's propensity to commit a crime is determined by their level of **self-control.** An important aspect of this theory is that it acknowledges not only criminal acts but other analogous aspects that may encourage deviance. These include *alcohol abuse, drug abuse, smoking, failed marriages, familial violence and accidents.* All these aspects are present in

police criminality. In at least three offender interviews it emerged that the subjects had vehicle-related incidents at some stage of their careers and all these incidents involved alcohol. In one case, the offender had an accident in a police vehicle while driving drunk. In another incident an offender faced charges of drunken driving, which were eventually dropped and in a third incident, a subject's *entry into the police* was determined by the outcome of a case of reckless driving against him, for which he was later acquitted.

Drug abuse is a growing problem in many police organisations, as one international specialist mentioned, "drugs have become the new pints." This is particularly evident amongst younger members. Domestic violence and failed relationships are a common problem amongst police officials, and it is fuelled by alcohol abuse, stress and unresolved psychological issues.

Certain shortcomings in the policing environment encourage individuals to act negatively because of their lack of self-control. These shortcomings include the lack of **ethics and integrity** in a police organisation, which are fundamental deterrents. **Poor quality supervision** allows corrupt members to act out their lack of self-control because **there is no threat of detection.** *The lack of detection is compounded by the code of silence adopted by good officers.* Other shortcomings include *untrained/inexperienced managers who cannot recognise deviant behaviour when it occurs.* These elements of management together with *denial, inability and unwillingness, prevents the monitoring of a corrupt member's behaviour.* These factors were patently evident relating to the two career police members/criminals that operated with impunity for many decades at the police station where they worked.

An interesting observation related to this theory is that the *overwhelming majority of police officers arrested for wrongdoing are males.* Does this mean they have lower levels of self-control or is it a symptom of the wider male police culture, which includes machismo, ego, heavy drinking etcetera? As one interviewee mentioned, he would readily put together an all-female anti-corruption investigations unit.

- **Opportunity**

If, as the theory assumes, criminal propensity does not change, only the access to criminal opportunities change then this explains why corrupt police officers cease these activities the higher up the ranks they advance. These members are not on the streets anymore where the temptations are greater, thereby reducing opportunity. This is not to say that senior ranks do not get involved in crime, they do because of their access to resources and certain skills they

possess that are attractive to criminals.

In the case of two offenders, their crime of theft was driven primarily by opportunity. These two members had a clean policing history with no disciplinary or grievance problems. They did not even have a clear motive for stealing the cash, it was just too good an opportunity to pass up. It was an impulsive act with *no consideration for the consequences at all.*

The aspect of **socialisation** and **social influences** are pertinent contributors to police crime. New recruits are "sussed out" by corrupt older members when they enter a particular police station. The older members test the new recruit's willingness to participate in deviance and if they prove willing, they become a member of a corrupt core of police officials. Social influences that played a big part in a few offenders policing careers included working in gang-soaked communities where the gangs were used as a constant cash supply for these members, for mutual benefit.

Both macro and micro elements create a climate conducive to corruption and criminality thus creating the OPPORTUNITY to commit crime. A motive alone is insufficient without opportunity.

Table 10. 2   Main assumptions of Macro and Micro theories applied to Police Criminality

MACRO THEORIES

General Strain Theory

Assumptions	Application
Multiple sources of strain	Multiple sources of strain contribute to police criminality – poor management issues, lack of promotion, Affirmative Action, unresolved psychological issues and salary.
Negative affective states and include anger and aggression.	Occur as a result of elements mentioned above
Positive goals not achieved	Lack of promotion and the frustration that accompanies this.
Peer achievement	Huge salary gap between the lower and higher ranks that results in envy and resentment.
Positive stimuli removed	Removal of paramilitary training that has resulted in a lack of discipline
Negative stimuli	High level of aggression experienced by many members that results in assault and brutality
Stressful personal life events	Nature of policing is stressful and this is compounded by personal problems that could result in criminality.

Institutional Anomie

Accumulation of wealth

Corrupt police officers use weak organisational aspects to create opportunities to accumulate wealth illegally.

Greed

This is one of the primary contributors to police criminality

Culture and institution

Culture refers to the illegitimate accumulation of wealth by police members and *institution* is the police structure with weaknesses that enable criminality.

Quality of institution

This is determined by the level of corruption in a police organisation.

Institutional change

Must instil integrity, good management and effective corruption controls to change the quality of the institution for the better.

Encourage different goals

Goals other than material success must be instilled in the police, such as serving the community and earning respect.

MICRO THEORIES

General Theory of Crime

The crime and the criminal

Corrupt members commit acts that are not carefully planned or skilful but they are impulsive and provide instant gratification.

There is also no threat of punishment.

Rational choice	Because members *choose* to commit crime, it is a rational act.
Propensity to commit crime	Police offenders are largely predisposed to criminality and this predisposition is acted on when an opportunity arises.
Self-control	An individual's propensity to commit a crime is determined by his/her level of self-control.
Analogous contributors to police criminality	These include substance abuse, smoking, domestic violence, failed relationships and accidents.
Opportunity	Criminal propensity does not change, only access to criminal opportunities change. **Motive alone is not enough – there must be opportunity.**

10.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The focus of this chapter was on the interpretation of data in the form of empirical findings and the explanation of these findings by means of theories. Pertinent empirical findings were interpreted such as individual (micro) and organisational (macro) factors that contribute to police criminality. The significant literature correlates were evaluated and highlighted where relevant to the empirical findings, including themes where the empirical and literature findings differed. The theories used to explain aspects of police criminality include two strain theories: General Strain Theory and Institutional Anomie (Macro level – police structure) and the General Theory of Crime (Micro level – individual).

The common denominator in the existence and the perpetuation of police corruption and criminality is **management.** The pertinent contributing managerial factors include **protecting the image** of the organisation. It would appear that the situation in the South African Police Service at the moment is that management is more interested in protecting the image of this

police agency than attempting to ascertain the extent of corruption and crime within its ranks, for fear of a scandal. This feeds into a culture of denial that there is a problem. **Denial** of the existence of a corruption problem creates an enabling environment for its perpetuation. These two negative managerial aspects are highlighted in the SAPS by the fact that the organisation has no effective anti-corruption policy or dedicated, independent police corruption investigation unit.

The **quality of leadership** and commander will determine whether a shift or a police station is "clean." It is evident from this substantial study that corruption and criminality is **tolerated** due to, amongst other factors, **poor quality supervision and leadership.** If certain police stations had quality managers, the perpetuation of career criminality by some members would not be tolerated. **Incompetent managers** also fall into this category, they are clearly not management material and in their commands, corrupt members will be in control. **Inadequate leadership** creates **opportunities** for corruption and criminality to be indulged in by corrupt members.

Inexperienced and untrained managers also facilitate corruption because they are unable to identify less obvious signs of wrongdoing by their staff. This is also why adequate training in this regard is essential. Inexperienced and untrained managers are promoted into these positions without the necessary training. They are made officers before attending an officer's course and they become detectives with no detective training.

Detached managers are another cause for concern as this study highlighted the fact that police members felt that middle and senior managers in the SAPS did not have an open-door policy, members could not walk into their offices to discuss their problems. There is no support culture. This is also detrimental to a member's psychological needs. If they have a personal or job-related problem they should be able to discuss it with their commander. If they are suffering from Post Traumatic Stress Disorder and are not aware of the manifestations, their commanders should be conscious of this. An open-door policy is also essential for blowing the whistle on corrupt colleagues. This study illustrates graphically how almost impossible it is for a junior member to report corruption to a senior member of the organisation.

The **lack of discipline** being experienced in the SAPS at present has been attributed to the removal of paramilitary elements from police training. This has given rise to negative elements such as insubordination, familiarity and favouritism. The latter concepts also

encourage the unfair implementation of disciplinary procedures. The already long-standing focus in the police service on Affirmative Action has negatively affected many members of the Service, which has resulted in **low morale.** They regard this as political direction (this refers to the SAPS's recruitment policies as well). Affirmative Action and equity has resulted in the **lack of promotion** for mainly white and coloured members of the SAPS, creating a lot of unhappiness because important aspects such as merit and qualifications do not seem to guarantee promotion.

Although there were dissenting opinions, it would appear that certain elements of **police culture** are still strong in the SAPS, such as the code of silence, where members will not readily report corrupt colleagues. Colleagues would rather turn a blind eye to this behaviour fearing consequences such as **ostracism.** There were also divergent opinions on police **salaries,** with some interviewees saying that low salaries definitely contributed to police deviance and others saying that police members are actually overpaid when considering their output.

The reactions to the issues of **recruitment and training** in the SAPS were predominantly negative, with concerns ranging from the quality of vetting for new recruits and the quality of individual recruit, to the lack of ethics and integrity training, the removal of paramilitary training and the lack of professionalism.

It is also evident from this study that **individual factors** play a significant role in police criminality. These cannot be seen in isolation however. Weaknesses in the police structure encourage the individual to accentuate and act out their inherent weaknesses, such as **greed and lack of integrity.** If an individual has a **propensity for crime, poor self-control and poor self-discipline** and they experience bad management in their immediate environment, they are going to create opportunities to be corrupt because there is little chance of detection and punishment. The amount of **power** a police member possesses also contributes to it being used in negative ways.

Because of police member's involvement in a variety of crimes, and the ease with which corrupt officers align themselves with gangsters, coupled with individual weaknesses such as dishonesty, the introduction of **integrity tests** and other pertinent corruption controls is essential.

The following and final chapter evaluates the objectives of this study, provides suggestions for intervention and highlights aspects for research purposes.