

A CRIMINOLOGICAL STUDY OF WOMEN IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN
POLICE SERVICE

by

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IN LOVING MEMORY

TO

ANNIE-LAURIE

THE GREATEST MOTHER

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SUMMARY

In order to gain a better understanding of the position of women in the field of policing, it was necessary to study the attitudes of the policewomen, which presently exist with regard to the role of the woman in the South African Police Service. Although some studies have been done on policewomen world-wide, none have been done in the rural areas of the Vaalrand and this is where the research took place. Only women formed part of this survey. Detailed questions were asked concerning their role in policing.

This was an empirical qualitative study. The research procedures as stipulated for a descriptive study were followed, as the main objective of the research was to describe the circumstances of women in the predominantly male environment of policing. A survey interview was drawn up, containing semi-structured in-depth questions regarding their recruitment, motivation for joining and job-related satisfaction and other issues including discrimination and domination by men. Qualitative methods were applied not only for data collection but also for data analysis. The coding consisted of conceptualising the raw data. Open coding was used in this qualitative research. The

researcher read through all the collected data and then assigned initial codes to condense the mass of data collected.

The following main issues were found: that discrimination still exists in the SAPS, as well as resentment, a lack of recognition, misunderstanding and unfulfilled challenges which relate to conflict being experienced. These respondents have aspirations in their work and aspire to better positions in the SAPS, as there have been major contributions by women in the police. They have also had an impact on policing, as they have become major role players in the field where victims are concerned.

The presence of policewomen in the SAPS is an important asset to modern law enforcement and their present day role in policing should be explored and expanded. Qualified women could also be utilised in important staff service units such as planning and research, training, intelligence, inspection, public information, community relations, and as legal advisors instead of being utilised only in administrative work.

Recommendations are made for further research on aspects highlighted by the findings.

Key terms: Feminism; gender; sexual harassment; gender discrimination; affirmative action; paternalism; Resolution 7.

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'I AM OF THE OPINION THAT AN ORGANISATION USING THE BRAIN
AND LABOUR FORCE OF WOMEN HAS THE BEST CHANCE OF
SURVIVAL IN TIMES OF CRISES AND POSSIBLE INTERNATIONAL
CONFLICT'

GENERAL KOBUS VISSER

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGICAL FOUNDATION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994 resulted in a change of government that brought many dramatic changes and reforms. This culminated in and started a long process of socio-economic development. The new Government introduced the Bill of Rights in 1996, which states the freedom and the rights of the individual in society. It also acknowledged gender discrimination as against human rights and therefore a crime. In a special way, this stipulation opened the door for women to become (more) involved as professionals in South African policing.

Women have been and, to a certain extent, are a minority group in the South African Police Service. However, the past decade has seen a steady infusion of females into this once male-dominated occupation, where they were excluded from exercising any form of meaningful authority. Women are entering policing occupations traditionally held by men and taking their place in law enforcement, in spite of the continuous objections of some of their male colleagues.

This chapter focuses on the rationale for the study, the research objectives, the research design, the interview process and the field journal. The underlying guiding principles, key concepts, the respondents' biographical data and problems encountered during the study are also highlighted.

1.2 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

1.2.1 Inequality

Before 1994, very few women were given top positions at management level in the South African Police. At national and provincial level, for example, there is only one woman National Commissioner and three women Divisional Commissioners, comprising one Indian, two Black and one White. This represents four out of twenty-nine posts (13,79%) at national level.

Malan (2004: 2) states that according to a report which was handed in to the Department of Labour, which refers to the Equal Employment Opportunities Act, there are more than 21 000 White, Coloured and Indian police officers too many in the SAPS. This report states that 77 percent of all police personnel should be Black and the remaining 23 percent should be from the minority groups. This implies that there are 11 537 White policemen, 2 390 Coloured policemen and 1 111 Indian policemen too many in the SAPS. Furthermore, it also implies that there are 6 838 too many White policewomen and 2 319 too many Black policemen in the SAPS and states that 23 000 more Black women should be appointed to ensure that the ratios are representative of the population of South Africa.

Therefore, there still seems to be an under-representation of women in the SAPS with very few females in top management positions. Based on the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act, 108 of 1996, according to the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2), which is included in the Constitution, could point to discrimination against women. Under 'Equality', section 2 the following:

'Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons, or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken'.

This warranted research, especially as the SAPS are now a service and women are known the world over for their contribution to service vocations.

1.2.2 Male resistance

Weisheit (1987:139) states that a good deal of resistance to the appointment of female officers is not based on their abilities or performance levels, but on the reluctance of male officers to accept them as equals. Older males appear to be more resistant to the hiring of female officers because when they became policemen, policing was an all-male occupation (Weisheit 1987:143). Throughout the ages, paternal dominance has existed not only in South Africa, but all over the world. It would seem that women pose a threat to the solidarity of the male cop culture, which causes resistance to women's entry into the police.

According to Prenzler (1995: 271), women have been subject to discriminating practices since joining the police services. These practices include gender harassment, not being promoted to better positions, and being excluded from the benefits that the men receive, such as competitive salaries. There is a strong possibility that women face informal obstacles to career advancement that go beyond recruitment. These could either be from within the service or as a result of traditional female obligations imposed from outside the workplace. It seems that as long as women remained in their prescribed, traditional roles in the police, they were accepted, but as soon as they tried to break out of these confines, there were obstacles. This warranted criminological research.

1.2.3 Discrimination

The rationale for this study is linked to the fact that the Constitution ensures the equality of all South African citizens. To discriminate against women in society is a crime (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996). According to the Bill of Rights of the Constitution, Chapter 2, Section 9:

“The state may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.”

With regard to human dignity, Section 10 stipulates: “Everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected”

Although equality is entrenched in the Constitution, there is little evidence that the style of policing has changed much with regard to the role of women. According to Court (1997:18), women's work has been judged within the Western masculine culture as inferior to most of that done by men. If this is true, then it may serve as an obstruction to the administration of justice. This seemingly discriminatory practice against women in policing also motivated the researcher to undertake the study.

1.2.4 Lack of research

Few studies have been conducted which concentrate solely on women in policing. According to Martin (1996: 510) and Sinclair (2000: 1), research on women's issues continues to have a low priority in most university environments and management education. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to conduct a criminological study, specifically regarding incorporating women in policing in South Africa. Coffey and Brown (1992:13) state that very little research has been devoted to how women view their roles within the police service or examine their career aspirations on their own terms, in comparison to the studies on their alleged physical (in)competency to cope with the police world.

The question remains whether women in the police service have made a significant contribution and what the extent of this contribution is. Therefore special attention needs to be given to the impact of women on policing and the quality of service that they bring to the community. Also of relevance, is

whether the integration of women has the potential to improve and/or change the police service being rendered.

The presence of policewomen in the SAPS could be an important asset to modern law enforcement and their present role in policing should be explored and expanded. Qualified women should also be used in important staff service units, such as planning and research, training, intelligence, inspection, public information and community relations, and as legal advisors instead of only in administration (Milton 1972: 6).

According to Martin and Jurik (1996:21), in order to gain a better understanding of the position of women in the field of policing, it is necessary to study the attitudes that exist with regard to women's role in the South African Police Service (SAPS).

The lack of research, particularly in South Africa, also prompted this study.

1.2.5 Relevance of the topic to society and Criminology

The relevance of this study to the field of Criminology was to establish women's role in a career in the SAPS, their role in the prevention of crime and their impact (if any) on policing, as such.

Therefore this research wanted to determine whether policemen and policewomen work together in unity in the community. If so, benefits such as more and better crime control, reduction in opportunities for crime and an improved quality of life would be the most likely result. In the Government Gazette, 4 October 1995, Act 86, 1995 stipulates that the Police Service shall liaise with the community. The SAPS shall establish and maintain a partnership with the community, promote communication between the SAPS and the community, as well as promote co-operation between the SAPS and the community and fulfil the needs of the community regarding policing.

The relevance of this research to society is to create awareness of the importance of women in the police service, especially in cases where the aged, children or women are involved and the benefits to the community when both sexes work together in harmony in the fight against crime. It is therefore relevant and essential that co-operation is established between male and female officers in the field of policing.

The researcher was of the opinion that research was needed regarding the role of women in the police, especially in South Africa. This study sought to recognise women as a major contributor to policing and was an attempt to examine their integration into the SAPS based on their experiences to date, in entering an employment field that has generally been recognised as a male-dominated field.

A major advantage of qualitative research is that it opens new opportunities for further research. The interviews were conducted in a time of transition and transformation in the SAPS and restructuring was taking place according to Resolution 7. These issues were judged to be highly relevant to the SAPS, society and Criminology.

1.2.6 Personal interest

The researcher developed a personal interest in policewomen specifically during research for her Master's degree in community policing. The dearth of research on the role of women in policing, particularly in South Africa, stimulated her desire to investigate this subject in the field of Criminology.

1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND GOALS

According to Mouton and Marais (1990:14) and Champion (1993:57), the objectives of crime research are to describe, explain, prevent and control crime-related phenomena. Sharp and Howard (1996:12) state further that the purpose of a research project is to review existing knowledge, describe a

situation or problem, construct something novel and explain the researched phenomenon.

The researcher sought to achieve all these objectives in this study. The researcher wanted to describe to what extent women had been incorporated into the SAPS and how their male counterparts reacted towards them. This study aimed to document policewomen's various beliefs, attitudes and perceptions that emphasise the way in which the policewoman's role is shaped within the organisation. The researcher also wanted to illuminate and describe how women perceived the complexities and contradictions which women experience in the SAPS. The aim was also to uncover what opportunities, if any, existed for women in the police before 1994 and the opportunities and restrictions that still exist after the Bill of Rights (1996) was promulgated. In addition, the researcher wished to establish whether the presence of policewomen in the field of policing has brought about any change in the policing sub-culture, or whether they are engulfed in this male-dominated work situation.

The purpose of this study was therefore to describe and explain the presence of women as a human resource component in the SAPS, including possibilities to prevent and control discriminatory practices against women in the SAPS.

1.4 RESEARCH DESIGN

The researcher adopted a qualitative approach and developed a survey schedule (questionnaire) with probing, semi-structured questions.

1.4.1 Motivation

Beck (1999:94) states that a qualitative approach may yield richer data and is more suited to research aimed at developing new perspectives from a group of people not customarily consulted. Whitt (1991:409) maintains that

qualitative methods are superior to other research methods to acquire a deeper understanding.

The nature of the research problem determined the choice of the qualitative approach. It was the only reasonable way to gather the required data and the research group was so small that quantification did not make sense (Heyink & Tymstra 1993: 301). In a qualitative approach the perceptions, beliefs and attitudes of the individual are more easily accessed and assessed as well as how the respondents interpret certain situations. Therefore, in order to understand meanings, or describe and understand experiences, attitudes and values, qualitative research is carried out (Wisker 2001: 138). According to Creswell (1998:255), qualitative research is a process of inquiry of understanding, based on an unmistakable methodological tradition of enquiry, which explores social or human problems. In a qualitative study, the emphasis is on the respondents' feelings, beliefs and attitudes, which results in their giving their own interpretations to a certain set of circumstances. Therefore the qualitative method was used, because the aspect of this specific research area lent itself to in-depth semi-structured questions.

After the literature review, the researcher prepared an interview schedule (questionnaire) to focus the discussion on the relevant research issues during the interviews. The aim in qualitative interviewing is to provide a framework for the interviewee to speak freely about a set of concerns that the researcher wants to evaluate. The subjective perception, with which people are familiar about their immediate precincts, is what the qualitative researcher is interested in. Because the data to be gathered had to be limited in this study, and because of the time and expense, the researcher chose only those topics that were assumed to have a connection with the theme being studied. Several common themes emerged from the individual interviews.

The empirical part of this study comprises personal encounters of policewomen in the workplace. The value of the qualitative methodology is illustrated by the verbatim quotes from the interviews.

1.4.2 Sampling and delimitation of the empirical research

According to Wisker (2001: 139), a sample is used when a chosen group of people is selected on which the research is conducted. They are chosen as a sample to represent the larger whole of which they are a small part. Sampling is an important research step. Once the sample is selected, researchers gather data from them using one or more methodologies.

The first part of the research sample was selected in the Vaal Triangle, a part of the province of Gauteng, South Africa. Twenty-six individual one-on-one interviews were conducted. The twenty-six respondents were chosen because they were inspectors, captains and superintendents and have been in the SAPS for at least ten years. This time frame was chosen to ensure that the respondents had experienced the democratisation of the police in South Africa. There were two exceptions to this ten-year rule. One Superintendent had been in the police service for only nine years and one of the Coloured Inspectors had also been in the police service for only nine years. The second part was conducted in Pretoria, also in Gauteng. The latter was done specifically to assess the history of women in policing and only three interviews were conducted with policewomen. Two were among the first women entering the police service in 1972 and the other one had entered in 1975. These three were the only ones available to approach regarding the historical background.

This was a convenient sample. It consisted of policewomen who were easily assessable (that is, close to the researcher's residence). It was also limited to voluntary participation.

The Vaalrand consists of thirteen Police Units, some in rural areas and some in urban areas. The thirteen areas are De Deur (rural); Barrage (rural); Ennerdale (urban); Evaton (urban); Meyerton (urban); Klipriver (rural); Lenasia South (urban); Sebokeng (urban); Sharpeville (urban); Orange Farm (urban); Vanderbijlpark (urban); Vereeniging (urban) and Boibotong (urban). There are also two satellite police units, Residentia (rural) and Poortjie (rural).

1.4.3 Access

Permission to interview the relevant policewomen during office hours was granted by Deputy Commissioner Mpembe from the Provincial Office of the SAPS in Johannesburg.

1.4.4 Interviews

Interviews enable face-to-face discussion with respondents. According to Berg (1995: 35), the interview is a very effective method for collecting information for certain types of research questions and dealing with certain types of assumptions. It is essential to develop rapport between the interviewer and the interviewee, therefore the interview started off with non-threatening questions about the respondents' biographical details. The interview was done orally as oral history can provide researchers with new dimensions and fill in important gaps in existing knowledge or help researchers to discover entirely new knowledge (Cockcroft (Brookman, Noaks & Wincup) 1999:136).

In developing the questionnaire, the researcher followed Mariampolski's (2001: 192) guidelines:

- ❖ Focus the interviewing, therefore ask fairly general questions in order to stimulate further probing.
- ❖ Ask open-ended questions in order to help the interviewee to outline the answer as much as possible.
- ❖ Ask contextual questions, for example "what, which, how and when" in order to encourage exploratory answers.
- ❖ Use active verbs, for example, describe or explain.

Babbie (1992: 272) emphasises that it is very important for the interviewer to record the answers exactly and no attempt should be made to summarise, paraphrase or correct bad grammar. In interviewing, researchers have to decide whether to take notes, which could be distracting, or tape the interview,

which is accurate, but time-consuming (Wisker 2001: 140). In this study, the researcher decided to do both, in order not to lose any valuable information. A semi-structured open-ended interview schedule was used, in which each respondent was asked the same questions, which allowed the researcher to make comparisons. This also allowed for a conversation to take place between the researcher and the respondent, which could also be beneficial to the research. This allows for divergence (Wisker 2001: 168). Such divergence can also generate information not expected. But the interviewer can then return to the structured interview questions. The questions were carefully formulated (worded) to lessen the respondent's own unreliability (Babbie 1992: 279).

The interview schedule (questionnaire) was divided into four sections. The first section covered the respondents' biographical details. The second section was about the respondents' job performance and included questions on their initial job decision, their training, and relationships with colleagues, job satisfaction and promotion. The third and fourth sections covered the respondents' views of women's contribution, if any, to policing. These included questions about transformation and change, the impact that they thought had been brought about by including women in policing and their long-term goals. Gender issues were discussed throughout the interview. The last question was about the respondents' thoughts about their future prospects.

Different types of questions were asked during the interview. For example, essential questions, linked to the central focus of the study, and probing questions, that provided complete stories from the respondents, such as "Tell me more about ...". A few unimportant questions were also asked to establish rapport between the interviewer and interviewee, for example, "If you have children, what are their ages?" During the interviews, the researcher often found that the respondents confided far more intimate details than were needed. The researcher also felt that she was sometimes entrusted with information not documented before. It was sometimes necessary to bring an interviewee back to the relevant question asked, because of a time limit. Berg

(1995: 59) states that qualitative research cannot be undertaken quickly, neatly or lightly, but this should never be viewed as a liability or limitation. This was the researcher's experience during the study.

Finally the research findings were categorised into four sections, namely entry and motivation, career structure and training, transformation and change, and future prospects.

1.5 THE INTERVIEW PROCESS

The researcher made appointments to meet with the respondents during office hours, from December 2002 to April 2003. Even though Deputy Commissioner Mpebe had granted permission, some of the respondents of lower rank than Superintendent still felt that the researcher had to ask permission from their immediate Superintendent in order to do the interview.

At the start of the interview, the researcher explained the nature and purpose of the study and the duration of the interview to the respondents as well as what the researcher would do with the material. The researcher emphasised the importance of each individual's contribution to the study, why they were chosen and that they were free to ask questions at any time during or after the interview. They were assured that the study was anonymous and all the information would be treated as confidential.

The researcher assured the respondents that she was not from the press, as a few concerns were voiced about the press initially, nor from any police department, but a postgraduate student at the University of South Africa in her personal capacity. Whitt (1991: 414) states that the researcher must be open and honest about the purpose of the research and should strive to maintain high levels of competence throughout the research. The researcher explained that she would make field notes in case information on the tape-recorder was lost. A tape-recorder was used during interviewing.

Most of the interviews were conducted in a relaxed mode in the respondents' offices. The fact that the interviewer was also a woman may have helped to

create a feeling of trust and put the respondents at ease. The interview started with the biographical details of the interviewee and then proceeded to more personal questions about their position in the SAPS. After the initial questions about their backgrounds, the respondents were outspoken about the problems they experienced in the police department.

After the interview was completed, some of the respondents gave the researcher grievance procedure forms that they had received from their superiors over the years. This was noted but not used in case they got into trouble. Overall, the respondents appeared to be honest in their answers. The researcher was impressed by their sincere responses and sometimes by their forthrightness. Most of the respondents were very co-operative and eager to impart their knowledge. It should be stated that the interviewer's confidence increased after the first few interviews, as did her ability to draw the desired information from the interviewee. Consequently the researcher was able to gather more information in later interviews as she was more informed at that stage. This element of qualitative research is explained well by Cockcroft (1999:136).

1.6 FIELD JOURNAL

A field journal is an important vehicle for the researcher, as some of the information relayed on the tape might be lost. For example, during an interview the telephone rang and people came to make inquiries, and the researcher had to turn the tape recorder off. The researcher took notes during all the interviews in case data got lost. This procedure was explained to the respondents and they had no objections. In this way the researcher could make sure that the verbatim data accumulated could be verified. The respondents were given the option of stopping the tape recorder at any time. Furthermore, they were assured that as soon as the interview had been transcribed, the data would be eradicated for voice identification purposes.

The researcher made two lists of the respondents targeted for interviewing. The A list was of respondents already interviewed, with their contact

particulars, and the B list was respondents still to be interviewed, with their contact details and dates for interviews.

1.7 PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

It was not easy to gain access to certain areas where the respondents worked. There are thirteen policing areas in the Vaalrand. Some of these areas are inaccessible and dangerous and the researcher could not go there unattended. Therefore, when the researcher had to interview a respondent in one of these (predominantly black) dangerous areas, she had to be escorted by a police vehicle to and from the interview. The areas in question were Sharpeville and Sebokeng. A problem was that vehicles or the female personnel were not always available. In addition, it was sometimes difficult to reach respondents because they had their own work schedules and some were on sick leave.

Initially, a few of the respondents were afraid to be too open about the problems they experienced in the workplace and some actually stated that they had no problem to be identified. The researcher assured the respondents of the anonymity and confidentiality of the study. Nevertheless, some respondents felt that they could be identified by the special problems that they were experiencing. According to Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 50), officials have good reason to feel jeopardised when they are included in studies, particularly ones with gender as basis.

A negative aspect of this area of research was the problem of the unavailability of the respondents. It was very difficult to make an appointment with some of the respondents, which may have been due to initial suspicion of the research project. The researcher made appointments with some respondents only to find when she arrived there that they were out in the field or on sick leave. For example, an appointment was made with one of the respondents three times and each time she was not there when the researcher arrived. However, some of the superintendents were extremely helpful in locating the respondents.

Another problem was the time schedule. The researcher could see the respondents mainly in the afternoons, after 14:00. As the Area Office closes at 16:00, the interview could not last longer than two hours, because we had to leave the building.

The noise at some of the stations and the Area Offices was a disturbance. There were constant interruptions from other police officials, even though the door leading to the office would be closed. The telephones would sometimes ring incessantly.

It was difficult to obtain statistics on policewomen and policemen in the Vaalrand. Several police officers promised the researcher information, but this did not materialise. This happened in the Vaal area as well as at provincial level. This meant that the researcher could not make any comparisons with previous years.

A major problem, however, was that top-ranking women in the SAPS who were contacted, did not have the time or the inclination to be interviewed and/or did not wish to participate in the study.

1.8 BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

This study included respondents from all the officers' ranks, including captains, superintendents, brigadiers, inspectors and one Assistant Commissioner. The researcher interviewed Coloured, White, Black and Indian respondents in Gauteng. They were all well educated with matriculation and a minimum qualification of a Diploma in Policing, except for one Inspector, who was studying for a Diploma in Policing.

Tables 1 to 11 below depict the biographical data derived from the interviews.

Table 1 Respondents' ages

Age group	Frequency	Percentage
30-39 years	21	80,76
40-49 years	2	7,69
50-59 years	2	7,69
78 years	1	3,84
Total	26	99,98

The respondents' ages ranged from 30 to 78 years. Table 1 indicates that most of the respondents were aged between 30 and 39 years, which means that they were not part of the first training groups for recruits in the 1970's. The 78 year-old respondent was the first woman to receive a commissioned rank in the SAPS.

Table 2 Respondents' home language

Language	Frequency	Percentage
Afrikaans	16	61,53
English	3	11,53
Sotho	5	19,23
Xhosa	1	3,84
Zulu	1	3,84
Total	26	99,97

Of the six Inspectors, five spoke Afrikaans and one spoke Zulu as their home language. Two of the Inspectors were Coloured women. Three of the Captains' home language was Sotho, one spoke Xhosa and the other two spoke Afrikaans. The home language of six of the Superintendents was Afrikaans, two spoke Sotho and one spoke English. The Senior Superintendent was an Indian woman, who spoke English. The three Brigadiers spoke Afrikaans. The Deputy Commissioner was English-speaking. The majority of the respondents were Afrikaans-speaking. Most of the recruits chosen in the 1970s were also Afrikaans speaking.

Table 3 Respondents' marital status

Marital status	Frequency	Percentage
Married	16	61,53
Divorced	6	23,07
Never married	4	15,38
Total	26	99,98

Table 3 indicates that of the respondents, 16 (61,53%) were married (indicating a dual role to play at work and at home); 6 (23,07) were divorcees (indicating possible single motherhood with its added stressors) and 4 (15,38%) were never married.

Table 4 Respondents' children

Children	Frequency	Percentage
One child	5	19,23
Two children	10	38,46
Three children	3	11,53
No children	8	30,76
TOTAL	26	99.98

Most of the respondents had children, although it seemed as if they did not have big families. This question was asked in order to link it with a question on whether the work situation created any stress in the respondents' families (see chapter 6, section 6.7.2).

Table 5 Respondents' ranks

Rank	Frequency	Percentage
Inspectors	6	23,07
Captains	6	23,07
Superintendents	9	34,61
Senior Superintendent	1	3,84

Brigadiers	3	11,53
Deputy Commissioner	1	3,84
Total	26	99,96

From table 5 it is evident that an equal number of Inspectors and Captains were included in the study, namely 6 (23,07%). Except for two female Superintendents currently working in the Vaalrand, who were unavailable at the time of the study, the other 9 (34,61%) female Superintendents were all included in the survey. There are only two Senior female Superintendents, and one was unavailable during the study.

Table 6 Period of employment

Years employed by SAPS	Frequency	Percentage
9	2	7,69
11	1	3,84
12	5	19,23
13	3	11,5
14	4	15,38
15	1	3,84
16	2	7,69
17	1	3,84
18	2	7,69
19	2	7,69
21	1	3,84
23	2	7,69
Total	26	99,92

Most of the respondents had been working for the SAPS for more than eleven years, with only two working for nine years.

Table 7 Respondents' educational qualifications when they joined

Educational qualifications	Frequency	Percentage
Grade 12	23	88,46
BA (HED)	2	7,69
BA (Industrial Psychology)	1	3,84
Total	26	99,99

Since 1972, the minimum qualification for recruitment to the police in South Africa has been Grade 12 - and possession of a driver's licence. All the respondents therefore had Grade 12 at the time of recruitment; two had a degree and a diploma in education; and one had a degree.

Table 8 Respondents' educational qualifications at time of interview

Educational qualifications	Frequency	Percentage
Degree in Cost Management	1	3,84
Bachelor's degree in Law	1	3,84
Diploma in General Nursing, Obstetrics and Psychiatry	1	3,84
BA (HED)	1	3,84
BA (HED) + Diploma in Policing	1	3,84
National Diploma in Policing	10	38,46
BA Police (Unisa)	1	3,84
Diploma in Police Administration	2	7,69
B Tech Policing	3	11,53
Diploma in Cost and Management	1	3,84
BA (Industrial Psychology)	1	3,84
B Tech and B Admin	1	3,84
Diploma in Police Administration; SA Managerial Development Institute Diploma; Presidential	1	3,84

Strategic Development Programme		
Matriculation (studying for Diploma in Policing)	1	3,84
Total	26	99,98

Table 8 indicates that since joining the SAP, most of the respondents had improved their educational qualifications. The respondents were all well educated. Their educational qualifications varied with over 50% of the respondents possessing a qualification in policing. One respondent had a degree in Cost Management, and another had a diploma in General Nursing, Obstetrics as well as Psychology. Only one respondent had a Grade 12 certificate only, but she was studying for the Diploma in Policing. Some of the respondents were also working on other postgraduate studies.

Table 9 Intention when joining the police

Intention	Frequency	Percentage
Long-term career	19	73,07
An interesting job	5	19,23
None of these	2	7,69
Total	26	99,99

Of the respondents, 19 (73,07%) wanted a long-term career when they joined the police; 5 (19,23%) thought that it was an interesting job to pursue at the time and 2 (7,69%) had reasons they did not disclose. However, all were still employed by SAPS after nine to eleven years.

Table 10 Respondents' occupation before joining the police

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
None (after school)	17	65,38
Nurse	1	3,84
Personnel Officer	1	3,84
Nursing Sister	1	3,84

Occupation	Frequency	Percentage
Bank for six months	1	3,84
Assistant in Hospital Pharmacy	1	3,84
Bank clerk	1	3,84
Deputy Principal in Girl's High School	1	3,84
Teacher	1	3,84
Data Capturer for Transnet	1	3,84
Total	26	99,94

Table 10 indicates that of the respondents, 17 (65,38%) joined the SAPS directly after school and 9 had various occupations.

Table 11 Brief summary of respondents' biographical details

Respondent	Years' service	Marital status	Age	Culture/ Language	Rank
1	11	Divorced	26	White Afrikaans	Inspector
2	12	Married	30	White Afrikaans	Inspector
3	12	Divorced	31	White Afrikaans	Inspector
4	12	Married	30	White English	Superintendent
5	13	Married	37	Xhosa	Captain
6	18	Married	39	Southern Sotho	Superintendent
7	19	Married	37	White Afrikaans	Superintendent
8	15	Divorced	33	White Afrikaans	Captain

Respondent	Years' service	Marital status	Age	Culture/ Language	Rank
9	13	Married	30	White Afrikaans	Captain
10	16	Never married	41	Sotho	Captain
11	14	Married	33	White Afrikaans	Superintendent
12	14	Divorced	32	Afrikaans	Superintendent
13	21	Divorced	31	White Afrikaans	Superintendent
14	12	Married	32	White Afrikaans	Superintendent
15	14	Never married	78	White Afrikaans	Brigadier
16	18	Married	57	White Afrikaans	Brigadier
17	16	Married	34	Sotho	Superintendent
18	14	Married	33	Indian English	Senior Superintendent
19	23	Married	46	White English	Assistant Commissioner
20	23	Married	57	White Afrikaans	Brigadier
21	9	Married	34	White Afrikaans	Superintendent
22	9	Married	31	White Afrikaans	Inspector
23	13	Never married	33	White Afrikaans	Inspector
24	19	Divorced	38	South Sotho	Captain

Respondent	Years' service	Marital status	Age	Culture/ Language	Rank
25	17	Married	39	Zulu	Inspector
26	12	Never married	32	South Sotho	Captain

No generalisations regarding women in police could be made as the sample size was only 26, and this was an in-depth study.

1.9 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

It is necessary to validate the responses of the respondents. This is done by examining responses for completeness and honesty and probing to see whether this attitude represents a consensus or a minority point of view. Rephrasing and summarizing responses are useful techniques for validation purposes (Mariampolski 2001: 195). According to Creswell (1998: 217), there is no standard protocol for qualitative validity and Heyink and Tymstra (1993: 297-300) state that it is difficult to separate reliability and validity in qualitative research.

In order to establish reliability, multiple use of the same instrument is required whereas using a different instrument checks the validity of statements. Validity and reliability of data refer to accuracy of the scientific findings. Making use of literature establishes the validity of qualitative research by validating the correctness of the findings. Literature is also used to point out the differences between research findings and the reasons for these differences (Heyink and Tymstra 1993: 297-299).

According to Whitt (1991: 413), the criteria for validity include

- ❖ credibility, (the researcher's interpretations are credible to the respondents)
- ❖ transferability (the study may be useful in another context)

- ❖ dependability (changes over time are taken into account)
- ❖ conformability (the data can be confirmed by someone other than the researcher).

To ensure the reliability of the study, the respondents' answers were used verbatim and each respondent was asked the same questions, using an interview schedule (questionnaire). When the respondent answered in Afrikaans and the answers had to be translated, interpretation was consistent throughout, as the researcher is bilingual. The researcher's aim was to translate the respondent's response as accurately as possible. The researcher also double-checked the transcriptions and the coding of the data, to make sure that they were accurate.

1.10 DATA ANALYSIS

Qualitative methods are applied not only for data collection but also for data analysis (Mariampolski 2001: 7). In this case, data refers to any remark or statement by the respondents, as well as the responses to the interview schedule (questionnaire). Alasuutari (1995:7) emphasises that qualitative analysis means reasoning and argumentation, which is not simply based on statistical relations between "variables" by which certain observation units are described. Whitt (1991: 412) states that qualitative data analysis is a process used to bring order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. At the start, qualitative data appears unordered, but a good analyst will make sense of all the information. It is also time-consuming, but can be a very creative process.

When analysing qualitative data, the data should be used to build understanding inductively rather than deductively, from a previous hypothesis, as in quantitative data analysis. Qualitative social research relies largely on the interpretive and critical approaches (Neuman 1997: 329). Transcribing and analysing tape-recorded interviews is a major task. Transcriptions should be double checked in order to make sure of the accuracy. In this study, the transcriptions were written down verbatim. The researcher used audiotapes

and notes taken during the interview. This is the inductive method and means that theory is built from the data or grounded in the data (Neuman 1997: 3334). The grounded theory approach is widely used in qualitative research. This is a detailed and systematic recording of themes and issues dealt with during the interviews.

No one method of analysis can be used for all types of interview data. The following method may only be used if semi-structured, open-ended interviews had been carried out during the interviews and if those interviews were recorded in full. The aim of this analysis is to produce a detailed and systematic recording of the themes and issues, which had been addressed during the interviews and to link themes and interviews together under a category system. The researcher must always be aware of the jeopardy of comparing utterances of one person to another (Burnard 1992: 461-462).

The analysis consisted of the following steps, as suggested by Burnard (1992: 462-464):

- ❖ Step 1: The researcher made notes after each interview about the topics covered.
- ❖ Step 2: Transcripts were read through and notes made on general themes in the transcripts in order to become immersed in the data.
- ❖ Step 3: Transcripts were read through again and as many headings as necessary written down.
- ❖ Step 4: The researcher surveyed and grouped the categories together under higher-order headings in order to reduce the number of categories by into broader categories.
- ❖ Step 5: The researcher worked through the new list of categories and sub-headings and removed similar headings so as to produce a final list.

- ❖ Step 6: Two colleagues were invited to generate category systems independently and without seeing the researcher's list. The aim was to enhance the validity of the categorising method and to guard against researcher bias.
- ❖ Step 7: The researcher read the transcripts alongside the finally agreed list of categories and sub-headings in order to establish whether the categories covered all aspects of the interviews.
- ❖ Step 8: The researcher read through the transcripts with the list of categories and sub-headings and 'coded' according to the list of category headings. These categories can also be identified on a computer, using a coding scheme.
- ❖ Steps 9-12: The researcher did not adhere to these steps as she used a computer to analyse the data and did not "cut out and paste together".
- ❖ Step 13: Once all the sections are together, the writing process starts. The researcher starts with the first section, selects the various examples of data filed together under this section, makes comments, and then moves on to the next section. Refer to the original transcripts frequently, in order not to lose any of the information.
- ❖ Step 14: The researcher must decide whether or not to link the data examples and the comments to the literature reviewed. The researcher may here decide to write the findings alongside references to the literature or not, or to write a separate section linking the findings to the literature on the topic.

Analysing qualitative data is difficult. To ensure the best possible result, a combination of the above-mentioned steps was used.

1.11 CODING

Coding consists of conceptualising the raw data. In coding, the researcher organises the raw data into conceptual categories and thereby creates themes or ideas, which are then used to represent the data. Qualitative coding is a vital part of data analysis as it is guided by the research question, which leads to new questions. This frees the researcher from being entangled in the minutiae of the raw data and may encourage higher levels of thinking. It also moves the researcher towards theory and generalisations. By coding the researcher imposes order on the data. Coding has two simultaneous functions: the reduction of mechanical data as well as analytical categorisation of the data (Neuman 1997: 441-442). The raw data are put into controllable piles by coding the data. There are three stages of coding: open, axial and selective coding.

1.11.1 Open coding

When open coding is used in qualitative research, the researcher reads through all the collected data and assigns initial codes to condense the mass of data collected. Through open coding, themes are brought to the surface from deep inside the data (Neuman 1997: 422).

After such coding, the researcher makes a list of themes. According to Neuman (1997: 423), this list serves three purposes:

- ❖ By skimming, it helps the researcher to see the emerging themes.
- ❖ It encourages the researcher to find themes in future open coding.
- ❖ The researcher uses the list to build a universe of all the themes used, which is reorganised, grouped, combined or discarded and may even lead to further analysis.

1.11.2 Axial coding

This is when the researcher goes through the data a second time. During open coding, the researcher focuses on the data, and allocates code labels for the different themes. There is no concern about making connections among the themes. In this second passing through of the research data, the researcher focuses on the initial coded themes more than on the data (Neuman 1997: 423).

1.11.3 Selective coding

When the researcher is ready to go through the data for the last time, he or she has identified the major themes of the research project already. Selective coding includes scanning the data as well as the previous codes. The researcher looks for themes, as well as contrasts and comparisons that can be made when using the data. The researcher is guided by the most important themes in the data and elaborates on more than one major theme.

In this study, the researcher applied open, axial and selective coding.

1.12 GUIDING ASSUMPTIONS

In this study, the researcher made certain assumptions after the literature review to focus or guide the empirical research process. Assumptions are similar to empirical generalisations or observable regularities in human behaviour. Assumptions are statements that have a high degree of certainty. These statements require very little, confirmation in the real world. 'Propositions are also statements about the real world, but they lack the high degree of certainty associated with assumptions' (Champion 2000: 37).

In qualitative research, what are called hypotheses in quantitative research may be termed suppositions, expectations or statements concerning anticipated results (Mouton & Marais 1990: 157). According to Champion

(1993:325), hypotheses or suppositions are tentative statements about something, the validity of which is generally unknown. In both quantitative and qualitative research as well as descriptive and exploratory research, a clear statement of the problem and a set of hypotheses or guiding principles are the point of departure. Mouton & Marais (1990:57) state that this would also apply in the case of theoretical research, where conceptual analysis and theory building are involved as well as empirical research which includes the collection of new empirical data.

The assumptions of this study were that women have not yet been fully integrated into policing in the SAPS and there were still discriminatory practices against women in the job structure. It was assumed that, because of the lack of integration and discrimination, women police officials also lack the fulfilment of their needs as human beings according to Maslow's hierarchy of needs.

1.13 LITERATURE REVIEW

According to Lin (1976:135), a literature study consists of locating relevant literature, reading through and then abstracting and summarising the information. The researcher conducted a comprehensive literature review on women in police services internationally. Relevant literature available on aspects of male opposition to females, sex discrimination in employment, women's emancipation internationally as well as nationally was consulted. Brown (1996), Heidensohn (1998), Herrington (1993), Martin (1993) and Miller (1999) describe the history of women in policing, their career successes, public attitudes to women in policing as well as the problem of equality and equal opportunities. The researcher based this study and the interview schedule (questionnaire) on the literature review.

Milton (1972: 9-10, 95), Miller (1999: 5, 6, 152, 165), Brown (1996:5) and Heidensohn (1989:11) all highlight the types of duties that women in policing do, and their involvement in the various police units. Articles from various scientific journals were also consulted in which corresponding issues of women in policing were discussed (Alleman 1993; Balkin 1988; Brown 1996; Felkenes 1991 and Grennan 1993). Bezuidenhout and Theron (2000: 19-31) focused on

the South African situation and found that although there is an awareness of the plight of women who are working as police officers, comparatively little attention has been given to this problem. Mouton and Marais (1990), Heyink and Tymstra (1993), Champion (1993) and Fink (1995) were consulted on research and methodology. The literature review highlighted the need for a study revolving around women in policing. To enhance the literature review, the researcher conducted an empirical study.

1.14 DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms are used in this study as defined below:

Feminism

According to Forcey (1999:13), feminism is an acknowledgment 'of women's oppression and exploitation and of the need to do something about it'. Woehrle (1999: 41) views feminism as 'theories and practices that challenge male dominance and privilege.

'Feminism posits that women perceive themselves not only as a biological sex but (perhaps even more importantly) as a social grouping'. 'Feminism asks for sexual equality that includes sexual difference. It aims for individual freedoms by mobilizing sex solidarity. It posts that women recognize their unity while it stands for diversity among women. It requires gender consciousness for its basis, yet it calls for the elimination of prescribed gender roles' (Cott 1987: 5).

Masculinism

Masculinism 'either explicitly or implicitly aims for the good of men and treats women as part of the means of achieving this good' (Green 1995: 2).

Gender

Woehrle (1999: 41) describes gender as one's socially constructed identity as being a male or a female. However, this may or may not be the same as one's biological sex characteristics.

Sex

Historically, the term sex referred to biological categories of individuals, men and women, determined by hormones, anatomy and physiology. However, since 1960, the term *gender* is used to refer to masculinity or femininity (Martin & Jurik (1996: 19). “Sexist ideology binds women to the home and legitimates their exclusion from higher-paying men's jobs” (Martin & Jurik 1996: 26).

Sexual harassment

According to Hale and Menniti (1993:178), sexual harassment is “unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature”

The term “sexual harassment” was used for the first time in 1976, and was accepted as a form of sexual discrimination, prohibited under the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The courts dealt with two types of sexual harassment, namely *quid pro quo* and the hostile work environment. In the case of *quid pro quo*, it is understood as sexual propositioning, where a woman can lose her job if she does not comply. The hostile work environment includes overtly sexual behaviour, such as touching, teasing or making remarks about a woman's appearance (Martin & Jurik 1996: 9).

Sex discrimination

Hale and Menniti ((Muraskin & Alleman) 1993:177) define sex discrimination as 'the unequal and harmful treatment of individuals or groups because of their gender'.

Affirmative action

Steel (1987: 54) describes affirmative action as 'the rightful correction of the past and existing inequities'. Sinclair (2000: 1) states that affirmative action 'is understood to imply quotas and a violation of principles of merit ...'

Paternalism

'Paternalism refers to situations in which men extract submission and even gratitude from women in exchange for excusing them from difficult jobs. In occupations such as policing and corrections, paternalism is an effective interactional mechanism for doing masculinity and dominance' (Martin & Jurik 41).

Resolution 7

Resolution 7 was an agreement reached between the Government and the trade unions, whereby top management could transfer people into a job that suited their qualifications best. It could also be done within the police department. Members of the police were very wary of this, because some of them had worked in the police for many years without getting any sort of qualification. This posed a serious problem to some of the respondents, because they could be replaced by people who had qualified themselves and they would have to be relocated to another post. At the time of the interviews, the respondents did not know what the future held for them. Resolution 7 was terminated on 31 December 2003.

1.15 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

This chapter introduced the study and discussed the problem, the rationale for the study and the research design and methodology.

Chapter 2 discusses the history of women in policing, in America, Britain and South Africa.

Chapter 3 deals with the respondents' reasons for joining the SAPS, their training and job satisfaction.

Chapter 4 highlights the effects of society on gender discrimination, the barriers that female police officers face in their work environment, the changing environment, the struggle for equal opportunities, how circumstances have changed and how the barriers have been broken down.

Chapter 5 describes the findings on transformation and changes that have occurred as well as women's contribution to policing in South Africa.

Chapter 6 discusses Maslow's hierarchy of needs with reference to the respondents' needs.

Chapter 7 concludes the study and makes recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF WOMEN IN POLICING

2.1 INTRODUCTION

A study of the history of women in policing is important, because it discloses the underlying background. It also reveals a long chain of events, which bind generation after generation of women to the control of men. Women have historically been discriminated against but in 1848, at a convention held in New York, the beginning of the feminist movement of the nineteenth century was established, which was a collective effort to achieve equal rights for women (Muraskin (Muraskin & Alleman) 1993: 43-46).

In the context of this thesis, it seemed relevant to study the history of policewomen in order to establish if, when and how changes had taken place throughout the decades with reference to the number of women who joined the police as well as their roles in policing. The following is a discussion on these changes that have taken place for women in policing in different countries in order to be recognised and to become an integral part of the world of policing.

In this chapter, relevant historical data will be recorded to set the scene for the rest of the research findings. The role of policewomen in developing countries will be highlighted as well as how they became involved in policing in countries like the USA and the United Kingdom. Their training will be attended to. Finally, attention will also be focussed on the history of women in policing in South Africa.

2.2 SETTING THE SCENE

It was rather due to external circumstances, for example World War I, with the shift in labour markets, which caused the role of women in policing to change

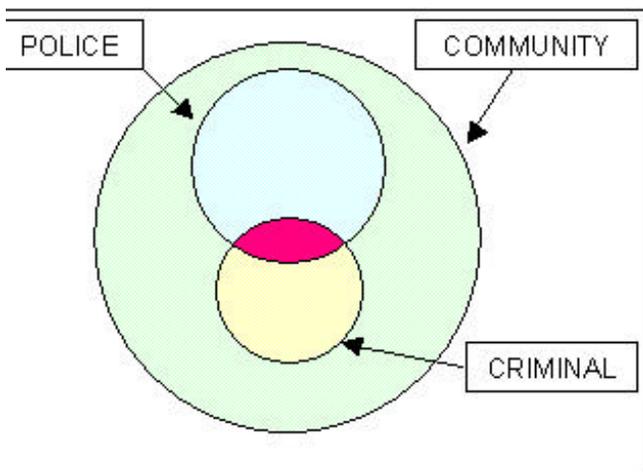
(Heidensohn 1998: 219). At the same time there were also the campaigners of the feminist movement to help locate jobs in this traditional male environment. Due to these pressures from moral reform movements, the first female police officers were recruited into law enforcement in the early 20th century in countries such as USA and Britain. There is a variation in the dates of admittance of women into the police service by the different countries, which will be discussed, but opposition to their admission was almost universal in this male dominated occupation, as it was deemed an inappropriate job for women. Until the 1970's women had only been represented in small numbers at police stations the world over or not at all. Women were incorporated into police services based on the traditional model of policing, comprising three elements.

THREE ELEMENTS

The traditional model of policing consists essentially of three interactive elements:

- The community
- The criminal; and
- The police service.

Figure 1 Interaction between elements of policing



The community encompasses both the police force or service and the criminals with which the police and the community interact, as both the police and criminals are members of the community. The black intersection represents the interaction between the police, criminals and the community.

This model can be further explained as follows: Criminals represent a small minority that break the laws of the community of which they are a part. The police force or service, which is also drawn from the community, has the task of reducing these criminal activities, alleviating suffering of victims of crime and apprehending those responsible.

Until fairly recently, based on this model, policing revolved around using a militaristic organisation, which placed an emphasis on physical strength and training and was essentially male orientated. Consequently when women joined the SAPS, although initially they were treated differently and had different promotion structures, they had to start fitting in to the existing organisational requirements and as a result they felt they had to compete with men to be recognised for their contributions. This will be shown in the remainder of the research.

This is not necessarily wrong, but should be a matter of choice – there are women who are comfortable to compete directly with men without challenging their femininity, but many women do not wish to compete directly with men. However, both these types of females would want to be involved in work situations that encourage job satisfaction with promotion opportunities. Therefore fitting in to the current policing environment is certain to cause continued dissatisfaction as men struggle to maintain control, resist the assistance of policewomen and generally make it difficult for women to work with the additional stress of trying to be accepted.

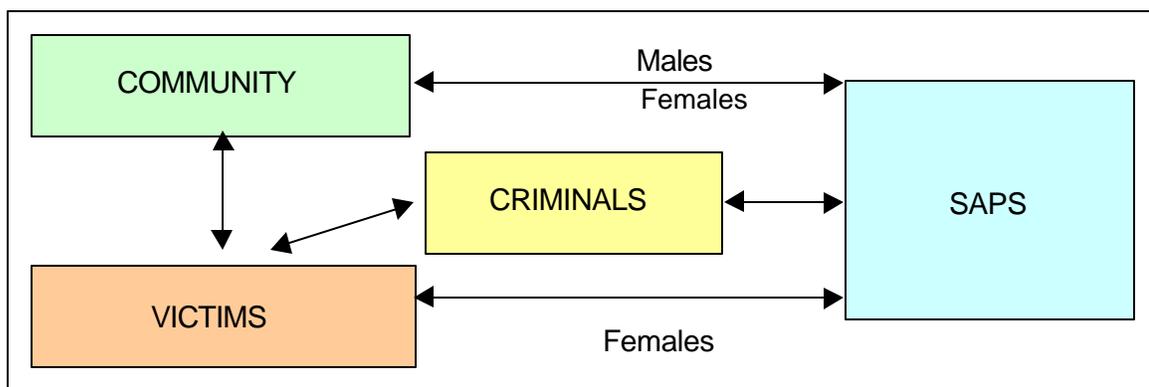
Essentially this model of policing makes very little allowance for the differences between men and women. The model is further skewed by the legal requirements of transformation in South Africa, because women must, according to the Bill of Rights, be accepted in policing. It is inevitable that if this model of policing does not change that management will be under continual pressure, which is caused by dissatisfaction of both men and women in the SAPS. Therefore, to accommodate women in policing in a responsible way, this more traditional model of policing needed expansion.

FIVE ELEMENTS

The three elements are amorphous in the sense that no element recognises the fact that the community, criminals and the SAPS consist of males and females. For the purposes of this discussion about women in policing we accept that the community includes males and females and criminals can be of either sex, but we shall differentiate between males and females in policing, thus introducing a fourth element into the dynamics of policing.

Figure 2 below illustrates the second model and shows that there is a fifth element, the victim. The specific recognition of victims in this discussion is not meant to imply that the traditional model of policing does not take cognisance of this element of policing, but the difference is that by doing so and making

Figure 2 Interaction of the five elements



specific provision for their care, handling and treatment by both the SAPS and the community, it creates a new perspective of policing in that policewomen relate better to victims of crime than do their male counterparts as this research will show.

Community policing has been introduced in recent years as a method of reducing criminal activity by improving relationships between the community and the SAPS. Also Trauma Centres now exist for the benefit of victims of crime. Therefore Model 2 as a representation of policing in South Africa today seems valid.

2.3 POLICEWOMEN IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

2.3.1 The first appointees

During the nineteenth century, women's organisations became interested to appoint women in police departments specifically for supervision of women and children who were in custody in prisons or detention houses. The first six police matrons who were appointed in New York City, America, were in 1845 to supervise women and children in two prisons. Between 1880 and 1886, more women were appointed as matrons in thirteen other large cities in America. In 1910, Alice Wells, a social worker from Los Angeles petitioned to the mayor to be appointed as a police officer and was appointed the first policewoman in America (Taylor 1996: 43). By 1916, thirty American cities had appointed women to their police departments (Balkin 1988: 29).

The Metropolitan Police of Britain employed their first women in 1883 (Martin 1996:525). They were employed as matrons in prisons to supervise female prisoners. The first women appointed to the Metropolitan Police Service as a policewomen was in 1915 (Milton 1972: 8) as there was a shortage of manpower in England during the First World War wore on. They had no legal power of arrest though they were sworn in as constables and were only 'armed' with a police whistle and therefore their effectiveness was limited (Watson 1999: 2).

In other parts of the world, women were also slowly entering the police environment. The first appointment of a woman as a regular police officer in Germany was in 1904 in Stuttgart, and in Australia during 1915, due to the influence of the feminist movement (Milton 1972: 8). In China, the Nanking police department trained forty women in 1923 to join the force (Fooner 1976:13). In 1929 the first policewomen were also appointed in Canada. In India, where gender strongly influences the social roles, twelve women were appointed as constables in 1939. Although the numbers of policewomen have increased in India since independence in 1947, it has not exceeded twenty percent of the total officers in the police units (Natarajan 1996: 65). In Israel, however, the first women entering policing were only in 1960 (Milton 1972:10).

2.3.2 Roles

In Australia the roles of policewomen were predominantly in welfare positions, typing or switchboard duties, as in many European countries, where policewomen were used for administrative jobs, such as personnel, research and training (Milton 1972: 15). In Israel, women were assigned patrol duties in hospitals, at the airports, markets and schools. Ninety percent of the traffic police in Israel are women (Milton 1972: 10). In India, policewomen deal mainly with family-related disputes and cases where women and children are involved. It was found that female victims generally preferred to confide in women officers and therefore preferred going to police stations staffed by women. These policewomen also serve the full range of general police functions, even controlling crowds during processions (Natarajan 1996: 63). Women in for example, India, Israel, Brazil and Italy are given special duties, such as crowd control, enforcement of laws concerning slavery or checking baggage of passengers at airports (Fooner 1976: 8). In Singapore, India, and Mexico, the women keep the traffic going (Fooner (1976: 35).

A discussion on the developing roles, statistics and information on policewomen in USA, Britain and South Africa will follow. It was decided to focus on America and Britain, because there is a general lack of literature

available on women in policing in most other countries. The focus will be on the similarities and differences in roles of policewomen in these three countries. The discussion on South African policewomen will be more extensive.

2.4 WOMEN IN POLICING IN AMERICA AND BRITAIN

2.4.1 Starting the process

The biggest impact on the administrative role of police agencies in America concerning women, include the: Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1974. This law prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, creed, colour, sex, and national origin with regard to compensation, terms and conditions or privileges of employment (Steel 1987: 56). It was aimed at eliminating gender discrimination with this Act. According to Schultz (1989: 115), the title 'policewoman' has been replaced by the unisex title, 'police officer' for both men and women. American society puts great stress on equality of opportunity as well as the rights of the individual. The law enacted the starting of the process of entrenching women in police duties.

Before 1970, most of the police officers in the USA were white men. Women accounted for less than two percent of sworn personnel and policewomen served in specialised positions only (Martin & Jurik 1996: 48). In 1972, according to Milton (1972: 73), the number of policewomen in New York was about 350, which is less than one percent. Anti-discrimination laws, however, contributed to the influx of women into policing. There was a dramatic rise in employment of women in policing during the 1970's, although beliefs still persisted that women were physically and emotionally not strong enough for some of the patrol functions. According to Fooner (1976: 26) and Heidensohn (1998: 219), in the early seventies 15 out of 26 cities were using women on patrol in the USA. Bezuidenhout and Theron (2000: 20) state, that although the number of policewomen in the USA had tripled between 1980 and 1990, the increase was still small compared to the number of policemen

working in the USA. The Police Foundation (1990: xiv) also established this. They stated that in 1990, women were still a minority as mid-level police supervisors and virtually excluded from command level positions.

With the support of the Home Secretary, policewomen were firmly entrenched in the police services in Britain in 1923 and their numbers began to increase (Watson 1999: 3). However, the negativity experienced by women in the police force only started to subside after the Sex Discrimination Act was passed in Britain in 1975, which stated equal opportunities for both sexes (Heidensohn 1998: 220; Bezuidenhout & Theron 2000: 21). This compelled the British Police Force to do away with separate departments for men and women. According to Dunhill (1989: 108), male officers protested that this Act could not apply to the police force. Parliament gave the police no exemption and they had to apply the new Act.

However, in 1981, policewomen only accounted for 8.6 percent of the total force establishment in England and Wales and by 1993, this had risen to 13,2 percent, according to Walklate (1996: 193). Since 1992, many of the discriminatory practices, which had restricted the employment of women in policing jobs in the USA have been eliminated and the number of women in policing has grown, albeit slowly (Martin (Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 327). The national recruiting levels for female officers are about 25 percent and if women stay for longer periods within the service, the increasing numbers of senior policewomen will strengthen the cultural changes taking place (Martin 1996: 523). The equal opportunities policies played an important role in setting the framework for women to succeed in a career in the police.

2.4.2. Police training

Training should be a key factor in the career development of police officials. In the USA, prior to 1900, however, the police received little or no training, but at the beginning of the 20th century, during the first years of police reform, officers started to get some instruction according to Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 74). After World War II there was little change in the training of police,

which could be due to the belief amongst officers that experience was the best teacher. This situation had not changed much by the mid-1960's, as some departments still provided no training for their recruits. However due to rising crime rates during 1960, focus were placed on the police and an in-depth study was made on training of police (Parsons & Jesilow 2001: 76-77). Increased training and integration of the police force was seen to bridge the gap between officers and the communities, which they policed.

In Britain it was found that the reason for the unequal employment of women was that they did not have access to the training, which would allow them to enter a specific profession or gain promotion. Employers often justified discrimination in training in terms of men and women's different aspirations, as well as the long term needs of employers, according to Anderson, Brown and Campbell (1993: 19). Employers preferred to train males rather than females, because they expected the males to pursue uninterrupted careers and females were considered less of an investment.

In the course of training, the emphasis may be on physical strength and women's capabilities could be challenged in this context (Brown b 1996: 3). Training in itself should not reinforce gender-based inequalities, so it may be essential to evaluate the training and retrain the trainers (Anderson, Brown & Campbell 1993: 20). The training should be devised to encompass equal opportunities. This could take the form of top-down training, where the senior officials are trained first in order to provide commitment and to reinforce the training given to middle and junior management. According to the Police Foundation (1990: 74), self-defence skills are be used by all the officers and includes far more than upper body strength.

According to Milton (1972: 40) the training that the policing department provides should enable all its officers to protect themselves and to carry out all the duties expected of them. The more meticulously a woman is trained, the more valuable she will be to the department, women should be given the same training as men. Without adequate training therefore, women are

automatically limited in the roles that they can engage in. In countries such as the United States and Europe, the trend is towards giving women and men the same training, from police law enforcement to the training in the use of firearms (Fooner 1976; 14). One of the reasons which policemen state why they don't want women in police departments are because of women's lack of physical strength. However, research has shown that women can double their strength in ten weeks by training with weights (Balkin 1988: 34).

Training should also be utilised to develop the interpersonal skills, which are necessary to do a job well. These skills are usually more highly developed in women than in men (Martin (Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 335). Self-confidence will also develop if policing skills are mastered. Even though many policewomen are not assigned to duties, which allow them to use their policing skills, they should be given the same basic training, including physical training, as their male colleagues.

Taking the above-mentioned into account, female officers who are outstanding, particularly those with skills in self-defence, should be assigned to the training academy to serve as instructors as well as role models for female recruits. This would be an indication for the male recruits that women are effective officers (Police Foundation 1990: xvii). Changes in cultural values may occur, as the new generation of policemen enter the police departments without any form of psychological handicap against women.

2.4.3 Roles

Protection

In the USA, after entering the police, policewomen were mainly utilised to protect young girls, return runaway girls to their homes, deal with juveniles, and prevent petty gambling and the sale of liquor to minors (Milton 1972: 8; Martin & Levine 1991: 29). Slowly, however, they moved into other positions in the police department, for example administrative work and going out on patrols.

The police department in Washington DC have a high proportion of female officers, mostly in senior positions. The majority of these are also black, which reflects the racial composition of the population (Heidensohn 1989: 9). Studies in Washington and New York, found that most police work is essentially non-violent in nature and human service-orientated and that women may be more effective in defusing potentially violent situations than men (Sherman 1975: 437).

In Britain, initially the role of the women was to supervise female prisoners. However, they slowly moved into other roles and by the 1950's, the head of Scotland Yard praised women highly for their skill as detectives (Fooner, 1976: 23). The beat constable team program was introduced in 1966 and since then women have been an integral part of this program. In Liverpool, they began a specialised patrol incorporating women and found that women adapted extremely well, neither asking for or being granted any special consideration (Milton 1972: 9). Today, policewomen are used regularly on patrol, both in plain clothes and in uniform. As a result of a European court judgment women officers have now also been armed in the Royal Ulster constabulary (Heidensohn 1998: 220).

According to Charles (1982: 196) women can perform most of the policing tasks that are required of police personnel with little difficulty. In a study conducted by Martin (1996: 518-520) on female police officers, the two major difficulties found, were that of sexism in the police and having a family. It seemed that combining a career and having children raised enormous difficulties. The policewomen however felt that they had particular skills to offer in dealing with potential violent situations and were more likely to defuse a situation. According to Martin (1996: 526-527), the Metropolitan Police in Britain are still the pioneers where employment of women is concerned, because they are now experimenting with extended leave schemes. Promotion and career opportunities are equally accessible to both male and female officers. Although all of this seems to favour women in policing, all is not (yet) well in this regard. Weisheit (1987: 142) states, that if it weren't for

the pressure that the government put on police departments, few would hire female officers.

The policing style of women seems to differ from that of men. Data indicate that policewomen make fewer arrests, but they issue more traffic fines than their male colleagues (Sherman 1975: 435). It remains an open question whether this non-aggressive policing style should serve as a model for both policemen and policewomen. Because men traditionally dominated the area of policing, the central elements of policing had been power, authority and force and men experienced this exclusively as their terrain. This could account for the reason why women initially did not go on patrols but were more involved in clerical or administrative work. A female member of the Los Angeles Police Department, admitted that it was still tough for a woman in the police, because she has to work that much harder to do things better in order to be treated as an equal. She has to remain feminine as well as capable in her job (Martin & Levine 1991: 52). Male community officers are more easily viewed as 'the law', and they do not have to 'earn' the respect as female officers have to (Miller 1999: 153). Divisions within the Police departments are gendered, which signifies that women have less decision-making power in jobs than those occupied by men (Martin & Jurik 1996: 30).

Clerical

Milton (1972: 8) states that it is not unusual for trained policewomen to be permanently consigned to typewriters, doing clerical work or administration work only. In New York City, more than seventy of the 350 women in the Police Department perform office duties, such as secretarial work, switchboard operators and clerks and in Indianapolis, more than half the policewomen, most of them sergeants, are used as secretaries. It was found that where policewomen replaced men in clerical positions, they usually performed with a greater degree of efficiency (Milton 1972: 95). Many women like doing police work, because they enjoy serving the public. Administrative jobs, with fixed daytime hours are often attractive to women with young

children, easing the burden of finding childcare for their children (Police Foundation 1990: 99).

In a study done by the Police Foundation (1990: 84), it was found that women were mostly involved in administration duties as well as other support assignments, while the men were predominantly found in the patrol and specialised uniform units. This could deprive women of the opportunity to become effective patrol members. Some women feel discouraged in their job environment, because more women are assigned to non-patrol assignments than men and more men get special assignments than women (Martin (Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 340).

Patrolling

The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice (1967) recommended that policewomen's tasks be extended to patrol duties, as well as administrative work and the investigation of crimes (Bezuidenhout & Theron 2000: 20). During the early 1970's several USA cities decided to utilise women on street patrols (Heidensohn 1998: 219). Although there is increased apprehension among police agencies, concerning the impact and the performance which females have on the traditionally male-dominated police roles, such as patrol, studies have shown that women perform duties of one person patrol equally as well as men (Balkin 1988: 31).

Patrol duty is considered one of the basic aspects of the police service even though women have had to fight to get into it (Fooner 1976: 11). The first study of policewomen on patrol was done in Washington DC in 1973 in order to evaluate their effectiveness. It was found that policemen as well as policewomen performed their duties in generally the same way and that they performed equally well (Balkin 1988: 29). The style of the women proved to be less aggressive and the citizens felt that the women were more sensitive and responsive to their calls (Balkin 1988: 30; Milton 1972: 37; Martin (Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 331). The non-confrontational manner of

policewomen is a far more effective way of handling difficult situations according to Dunhill (1989: 104).

Facing and dealing with violence is only a tiny part of the work of the police. However this seems to be an aspect which most policemen seem to perceive as crucial and which seems to lead to confrontational attitudes between the different sexes (Dunhill 1989: 103). A female on patrol has a problem that if she is a strong partner, she may be a threat to the male ego, but if she were weak, she could be a threat to his safety and security (Grennan (Muraskin & Alleman) 1993: 173; Balkin 1988: 35). Martin (1993: 334), states that the mere fact of women doing patrol duties, implies that the unique asset of the male, his physical superiority is irrelevant and therefore very few men favour integration of women into patrol. However, if policemen favour a female colleague, they do so at the risk of being ostracised according to Martin and Jurik (1996: 68). Women in policing display physical courage; they also use physical force in threatening situations and do patrol duties, the same as men do (Martin & Jurik 1996:98-99). Maybe in doing this, the policemen are more ready to accept them as equals in their ranks.

It is the policy of the police department in Miami to place all recruits, both male and female, into field operations once they have completed their training (Milton 1972: 67). Women patrol the streets of several cities. Women don't mind doing foot patrols, because they were not raised in an environment where competitiveness and physical strength are used as ways to accomplish things according to Miller (1999: 73).

Milton (1972: 9) states that, policewomen are regularly used to patrol in England, either in uniform or in plain clothes. Women like doing patrol, because then they don't take any work home and don't have any on-going cases needing their attention after hours (Miller 1999: 151). As the role of women in policing expands, a patrolwoman is sometimes called upon to use force with suspects and at other times to demonstrate compassion (Milton 1972: 87). Regarding employing women in dangerous areas, there appears to be a general consensus that women should not be used in dangerous

areas, but should be accompanied by a male, when on patrol (Cilliers 1997: 8). However, most of police work is not dangerous as most calls are service calls and when there is danger, policewomen have been trained to deal with such situations and they always have the back-up of fellow male officers. According to Heidensohn (1989: 11), two women patrols is the norm in Dallas, Texas. The job requires hard work and long hours, but according to Msmomi (1999: 92), women in South Africa have proven that they can be as tough as their male counterparts.

In the USA the Police Foundation (1990: 50) has found that women in police departments have increased steadily since 1975 and that women are now assigned to patrol as well as other line units approximately in proportion to their representation in policing. According to Cox and Fitzgerald (1992: 146), there is little doubt that women can perform police patrol work as well as their male counterparts.

2.4.4 Feminine touch

Women can be found everywhere in the force in America, from being on patrol, to detectives, riding motorcycles and even flying helicopters according to Martin and Levine (1991: 29). This is an indication of acceptance as women being part of the police world. Amongst the everyday tasks of a police officer on patrol, are for example, helping citizens, getting to know the neighbourhood as well as handing out summons for people who violate the law. Women are interested in enduring problems, like domestic violence, teenage motherhood and children who drop out of school (Miller 1999: 152).

On the whole, women are less aggressive, manage violent confrontations better than men, are more pleasant and communicate better than their male counterparts (Brown b 1996: 3). As the role for women expands in policing, a policewoman is sometimes called upon to use force with suspects and at other times, compassion. Holdaway and Parker (1998: 45) found that some women are less interested in doing foot patrols, motoring offences and vehicle accidents. They were more interested in intervening in domestic disputes and

working with juveniles, but their frustration was that they did not operate within a wider range of crime work. The data also shows that supervisors, who are predominantly male, did not treat men and women officers similarly and underrated women's performance (Holdaway & Parker 1998: 46-47). There is a possibility that women may underestimate their level of skills and lack the confidence to put them forward for promotion. Women sometimes felt that they had to act more aggressively than they wanted to and that they had to play down their gender in the work situation. Policewomen also had to work twice as hard as the men in order to prove themselves (Holdaway & Parker: 1998: 53).

Men and women perceive things differently and that is why there are certain jobs that women would rather do than men and on the other hand and men do certain jobs better than women. According to Martin (1996: 520), the female officers, interviewed in a study on women in policing, felt that they had particular skills to offer in potentially violent situations and were more inclined to defuse a situation than to use physical force. Studies in the USA also indicate that most policewomen still thought that men were unwilling to share power unless they are threatened by legislation (Prenzler 1995: 270). In Great Britain, studies indicated that women were debarred from a number of specialised duties, such as dog handling, diplomatic protection, and the mounted branch as well as firearms duties. Women, however, would like to have a fully integrated role within the police service instead of being more involved in community work only (Coffey & Brown 1992: 15).

The following arguments for increasing the number of policewomen as perceived by Prenzler (1995: 264-265) is indicative of the changes that could be expected in policing:

- ❖ upper body strength - less important for effective policing than general fitness
- ❖ women have a calming effect in violent encounters
- ❖ women are as capable as men

- ❖ women are better at handling a man with a gun
- ❖ women are better at handling family disturbances
- ❖ battered women prefer to speak to women
- ❖ women are more practical about providing practical information about legal rights or shelters.

A discussion on the history of women in policing in South Africa will follow. This is a more extensive discussion, as the policewoman in the South African policing department was the focus of this research.

2.5 WOMEN IN POLICING IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.5.1 Background

The initiation of women police and women patrols in South Africa is owed to the initiatives taken in England by women during the course of the First World War. This was due to the fact that the Commissioner of Police in Cape Town, Colonel Gray, supported the idea of policewomen to do patrol work, according to Watson (1999: 6). The first woman to be appointed in the position of 'Special Patrol' was in 1916. The Cape Town Council agreed to subsidise women, but, as a result of criticism and objections about white women patrolling Black and Coloured areas, the subsidy was revoked which resulted in the departure of women from the police. In Port Elizabeth, the Women's Christian Temperance Union also tried to persuade the City Council in 1916 to employ women police in the city (Watson 1999: 10). They were however unsuccessful. Arguments against women doing police work were that they were unfit for this kind of work because of their gender and physique (Bezuidenhout & Theron 2000: 22).

Attempts were made in 1919 to re-introduce women to the police department to perform detective work in Johannesburg in the field of immorality and child prostitution. Colonel Gray, of the Cape Town police, who held enlightened views on utilising women in the police, promised to put the matter before the

SAP Commissioner in Pretoria (Watson 1999: 8). In July 1929, however, the Justice Department stated that it did not consider that conditions in South Africa were suitable for the employment of women in the police (Watson 1999: 11). Even though White women won the right to vote in 1931, their right to serve in the SAPS took much longer.

According to Watson (1999: 1) the attempt to organise a permanent female presence in the South African Police (SAP) force, was a long drawn-out process, which was often beset by opposition as well as criticism from many quarters, which included the government's law and order fraternity. Because of a manpower shortage in the South African Police, as well as the increase in crime and the fact that several institutions, for example the National Women's Council of South Africa and the National Council for Child Welfare, had made representations urging that women be appointed as members of the SAP. Investigations started at the end of the 1960's in order to assess the pros and cons of initiating women into policing. All relevant departments of the SAP were asked for their inputs.

Early in 1971, Minister Lourens Muller stated during the Police Budget Debate in Parliament that women joining the SAP were being considered and was nearly a forgone conclusion (De Witt Dippenaar 1988: 428). They would be given specific tasks where females were the accused or where they are involved as witnesses and specifically in cases where women are the complainants. They would also be involved with the youth (De Witt Dippenaar 1988: 428-429).

In January 1972 the SAP appointed the first two women. Duveen Botha was appointed as commanding officer of the Division for Women Police with the rank of lieutenant colonel and Anna Nel as her adjutant with the rank of Major. They were accountable to the Commissioner of the South African Police. Duveen Botha fulfilled this role until her retirement in 1985 with the rank of Brigadier. The ladies had to execute their duties as described in the Police Act. In 1972, there were one hundred policewomen and more than fifty thousand policemen in South Africa.

There is limited literature and information on the recruitment, training and promotion of the first intake of policewomen in 1972 into the police department and therefore information from interviews with three retired Brigadiers, are included in the following discussion.

2.5.2 Recruiting women

In 1972, each division of the South African Police in the country had a male recruiting officer. The recruiting officer had to recruit suitable applicants for the SAP and this was done from the main recruiting office at police headquarters in Pretoria through the Chief Recruiting Officer under General Fourie. The Chief recruiting officer facilitated the applications through the various recruiting officers in each division around the country. General Fourie initially accompanied the two ladies, Brigadier Botha and Major Nel to the various divisions to interview each applicant as stipulated by Head Office. Later the recruiting officer took General Fourie's place and accompanied the ladies until eventually Lieutenant-Colonel Homan and Major Nel took over complete control from them. In 1981, Brigadier Visser also joined the selection panel. White South African females were chosen from all over the country, including both rural and urban areas.

Initially only White recruits were chosen, because it was a Government for the White people at that time and the White people had the franchise. The Cabinet was also White. The SAP was mainly White and the Pretoria Training College was the only College in 1972 which could accommodate the female recruits.

To be a worthy member of the SAP each member was required to:

- ❖ Show undivided loyalty to the Force, her country and her people
- ❖ Act calmly in difficult circumstances

- ❖ Work over weekdays, on public holidays and during inclement weather on morning, afternoon and night duty
- ❖ Maintain perfect decorum in any circumstance or in whatever situation she may find herself.

According to the Recruiting Brochure (1972), the prerequisites were:

- ❖ A South African citizen between the age of 18 and 35 years (Non-South African citizens were recruited on a contract basis and as soon as they became South African citizens they became permanent members without loss of service)
- ❖ At least 1,62m in height and weight proportionate to height
- ❖ Physically and mentally suitable
- ❖ Of irreproachable character
- ❖ Bilingual (English and Afrikaans)
- ❖ A Standard Ten Certificate
- ❖ If a minor she must have the consent of the parent or guardian
- ❖ Prepared to serve in any branch of the Force in any part of the RSA
- ❖ Prepared to appear before a selection committee for final approval.

For the first 102 vacancies advertised, there were 758 applications from urban as well as rural areas. After the initial selection process, the recruit was invited for an interview and came before a panel of selectors. The panel adhered to strict standards to ensure that the recruit conformed to a high standard. Due to restricted availability of accommodation at the Police College in Pretoria, the first intake was limited to 102 White recruits, which represented three platoons of 34 members each. The first recruits started their training in March 1972 at the Police College in Pretoria. There were eleven recruits with university degrees or tertiary diplomas (e.g. teachers) in the first group. After recruitment, the recruit would be placed either at Head office or other police station until she could join the police College at Pretoria. Recruitment was done twice a year in February and in July.

It was never the idea to recruit White ladies only, and when Head Office realised that the concept of policewomen was not only viable but also a resounding success, thought was given to the recruiting and training of all ethnic groups.

On 20 July 1981 the first nineteen Coloured women were enrolled and they started their training at Bishops Lavis, Cape Town. This College was in the Coloured neighbourhood in Cape Town and as the majority of recruits came from the Western Cape, it was easy for them to go home on their weekends off. They had to adhere to the same requirements as their white female counterparts. In 1982 the first group of Asian ladies started their training at the Training College, which was in Chatsworth, Durban. Only 30 recruits could be accommodated in an existing building previously used for courses given to dog handlers. The recruits each had a single room and there was an existing lecture hall and mess. Two female chefs were employed to conform to the menu of the different religious groups in training. In 1983, the first group of Black ladies started their training at Hammanskraal Training College, north of Pretoria. These ladies were accommodated in one communal hall, but curtains were put up, so that each one had their own private space, to sleep and get dressed in.

2.5.3 Training

The training of the different cultures took place at various training colleges in South Africa. Policemen as well as policewomen recruits received their training at the same colleges. The medium of training at the training Colleges in Pretoria and Bishops Lavis was done mainly in Afrikaans, but English-speaking recruits were issued with English textbooks and could write their tests in English. In Chatsworth they received tuition in English and at Hammanskraal mainly in Northern Sotho (Pedi) as well as other ethnic languages and if necessary in the two official languages of South Africa, which at that time were English and Afrikaans.

Table 12 The first intakes

Training College	Number	Race
Pretoria	102	Whites
Hammanskraal	100	Blacks
Bishops Lavis	100	Coloureds
Chatsworth	30	Indians
TOTAL	332	

All female applicants had to conform to the same academic and physical prerequisites. They received the same training, uniforms, salaries and fringe benefits. Female instructors of the existing Colleges did their training. At present all male as well as female recruits, from all races are now trained at the Pretoria Training College.

Policewomen received the same training as their male counterparts. Training included eight theoretical subjects namely: the two official languages, plus Criminal Law, Criminal Procedure, Police Administration, Police Science, Investigation of Crime, Police Act and Regulations and five practical courses namely handling of fire-arms, communication, physical training, self-defence and parade and ceremonial drill. Because Head Office wanted to accentuate the feminine side of the recruits, the female members received an extra course in deportment, make-up and grooming and social ethics. Six policewomen were specially trained to give these lectures.

Female instructors were used to train the recruits in the platoons. The Brigadiers also regularly visited the Colleges in order to establish that correct standards were adhered to. There were very few dropouts during the training period, never more than five to eight percent. The reasons for not quitting could be because of the careful screening of the recruits in the beginning but may also be linked to aspects to be explored in the follow-up interviews with female police members who are at present working for the SAPS.

2.5.4 Placement

After five months of intensive training, there was a passing-out parade together with their male colleagues where after the women constables were posted to the various stations according to their preference. Because it was a totally new venture, Head Office felt that the women must be protected and therefore the first few training recruits were given protected work. They were protected because the work on patrols and in the locations was seen as too dangerous for policewomen. The result being that they were given administrative work in charge offices, Divisional Headquarters or Head Office.

2.5.5 Promotion and benefits

In 1972 policewomen were on a different post structure than the policemen, which meant that policewomen had to compete with each other for promotion and not with the policemen. Promotion posts were allotted according to the numerical strength of policewomen, which limited promotion possibilities. Promotion in the SAP was either given on the completion of the Police Diploma or on seniority. Because the policewomen were all more or less in the same age group, seniority did not apply. Women were really keen on promotion and therefore they improved their studies by enrolling at the Technikon SA for a Diploma in Policing and some of them also enrolled for a degree at local Universities in order to improve their qualifications. Promotion posts were soon filled and many women had to wait quite a while for promotion. On the other hand, the men, relying on seniority soon realised that the women were making faster progress than them, however they did not always realise that there were two post structures. The salary and all the benefits for policewomen however were the same as that of her male counterpart.

2.5.6 Barriers and problems

One of the problems was that policewomen felt that they had had full training, the same as their male counterpart, but were barred from doing all sections of

the police work. Policewomen who worked in the offices were frustrated, because they were restricted to work in an office. They had been fully trained and office work was not the vision they had anticipated when they joined the police. Policewomen were not allowed to go out on patrol.

Another problem was that females had entered a male environment. There were three ways of acceptance by the men. Firstly a group of policemen accepted the females immediately as their equals and they worked in complete unison. Then there was the group who did not accept them at all and regarded them as intruders. There was the third group who was very attracted to the women. This was not an overwhelming problem, but it did occur.

On the other hand, the policemen were also unhappy about the fact that policewomen did not do the dangerous or unpleasant work and were seldom placed on shifts. Being in administrative posts the policemen had all the weekends free, but they received the same salaries as the men. This often led to unpleasantness and friction in the work environment between the policemen and the policewomen.

Requests, mainly from Commanders, were granted for the policewomen to enter into normal police work, and not only to work at administrative duties. Slowly women infiltrated into all facets of policing. Eventually, with the Bill of Rights being implemented, all restrictions were lifted and women were fully incorporated into the different facets of policing. They started working in the uniform branch in charge offices and doing shifts, the criminal investigation department, the Security Police and in specialised branches such as the criminal bureau, the Police orchestra, Forensic laboratory, social services, the law department, the dog school and the Police Museum.

2.5.7 Roles and positions

In 1989 the separate postal structure was cancelled and only one postal structure remained for all the police members. All the limitations were lifted

and all the post structures opened up for women. Policewomen could now apply for any position in the SAP.

Researchers from the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) and the Institute for Defence Policy (IDP) (1995: 24), had a nation wide opinion survey done with respondents from all members of the South African population, eighteen years and older and found that there are still deeply entrenched cultural factors, which exists within South Africa. This predisposes people to reserve positions for women in policing, for example not utilising them to patrol dangerous areas. This research indicated that 70 percent of those questioned felt that women should not be allowed to do police patrols in dangerous areas and 83 percent of the respondents felt that males should always accompany females colleagues on police patrols. In the historically male dominated society of South Africa, the researchers found that stereotyping still exists which means that women are still unable to take up positions of their choice, especially where danger or risk is involved according to these researchers. They also state that the SA Police service has only recently started a conscious recruitment drive to provide a service that is more representative in terms of gender and that the drive towards women's emancipation is far from being complete.

The following table gives a breakdown of the situation of the total number of male police officers and female police officers in the VAALRAND AREA as on 1 February 2003.

Table 13 Ranks of male and female officers in the Vaalrand

RANK	MALE	FEMALE
Assistant Commissioner	1	0
Directors	3	0
Senior Superintendents	11	2
Superintendents	52	13
Captains	112	41
Inspectors	833	155
TOTAL	1012	211

Since 1994, policewomen have been moving into better positions in the hierarchy of policing. But the above-mentioned table illustrates that policewomen still have little formal authority or power, compared to their male colleagues.

The following is a breakdown of the ranks in the SAPS.

Table 14 Different ranks in the SAPS

OFFICERS
Commissioner
Director
Senior Superintendent
Superintendent
Captain
NOT OFFICERS
Inspector
Sergeants
Constables

The SAPS still tend to be male-dominated. Women have not yet been integrated into the mainstream of policing. They are concentrated in much smaller numbers than the men and are substantially under-represented in the police. However, Bezuidenhout and Theron (2000: 22) state that more women are entering the police service and according to statistics, which were released in May 1996, just over 80 percent of the police population were male with just over 19 percent female. These figures do not represent equality in the workplace and is an indication that the culture of policing seems to undermine the democratic values underpinning gender equality.

In this context the Functions of the Commission for Gender Equality (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996. Annotated Version: 79) state that:

(1) The Commission for Gender Equality must promote a respect for gender equality and the protection, development and attainment of gender equality.

(2) The Commission for Gender Equality has the power, as regulated by national legislation, necessary to perform its function, including the power to monitor, investigate, research, educate, lobby, advise and report on issues concerning gender equality.

(3) The Commission for Gender Equality has the additional powers and functions prescribed by national legislation.

Nel and Bezuidenhout (1995: 127), proclaim that with affirmative action and the equality clause in the Constitution, together with the activities of the Commission on Gender Equality it should be a positive contribution towards improving the status of all the women of South Africa.

2.6 EVALUATION AND CONCLUSION

South Africa's policing fraternity did not fully support the development of women police and therefore the result was that this country took a long time to introduce women into the SAP as a necessary adjunct to the men. The passing of the various Acts of Equality and anti-discriminatory laws in different parts of the world and in South Africa since 1993, as discussed previously in this Chapter, has been beneficial to women and to a certain extent has helped to improve the slow process of integration of women into previously male dominated professions.

From the discussion above it seems that South Africa have similarities with other countries in that it took a long time for policemen to accept women into this previously male dominated area not only in South Africa, but the world over. However, it is noted that slowly, but surely women are starting to be accepted. In the South African police previously the women's department of

policing in ran parallel with the men's but was not part of the men's department. It was a separate department operating on its own as a support or service entity to the men's department as an auxiliary.

No evidence has been found to indicate that biological factors handicap the employment of women in any sector of the police world. Evaluation studies of policewomen indicate that without exception, women are able to handle the job of policing as well as men (Balkin 1988: 35). Women, who entered policing when they were only expected to handle women and children, have worked diligently to become experts in these areas.

As the concept of women in the role of police officers grow internationally and as policewomen the world over prove their competency in this comparatively new career path, policemen should become more accepting of women as equals. Cilliers (1997: 5), states that current thinking is that more training opportunities should be made available to recruits, so that the number of women in senior positions can be increased. Policewomen are a valuable asset to modern law enforcement and therefore should be empowered to play a greater role in policing. The police service therefore should become more representative of the communities that it serves.

Based on the historical overview of women in policing, one can identify shortcomings and problems that will lead to the following chapters.

In the following Chapter 3, the motives for joining, training and job satisfaction, and other job-related findings as derived from the interviews with the research group, will be interpreted and discussed extensively.

CHAPTER 3

MOTIVES FOR JOINING, TRAINING AND JOB SATISFACTION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the focus is on describing the perceptions and experiences of the participants of the research group regarding their role in the police.

Therefore the various experiences of women in the gendered aspects of police work will be exposed in this chapter. The concepts described as categories or themes in this chapter all relate to the way the women perceive themselves in their career as policewomen. These include the negative ones like male dominance; gender discrimination; culture; culture shock; subculture or cop culture; physical challenges and marginalisation. The positive categories include: contentment; professionalism and equality.

Where applicable, these findings will be integrated with relevant literature research findings. The presentation of such literature reinforces the relevance of the research in as much as the accuracy of the findings are confirmed by similar literature and where there is a discrepancy, there is scope for discussion and clarification.

3.2 MOTIVES FOR JOINING

The respondents were asked what their motive for joining the police was and from the interviews it was apparent that there were several reasons why the respondents decided to join the police. It should be noted that none of the respondents were forced to join the police. They did so voluntarily. They said the following about their reason for joining:

❖ Status of the uniform

More than one of the respondents mentioned that they were attracted by the uniform: Respondent 13 (a White Superintendent) said: *I liked the uniform and the fact that it was something different from the normal; what all the ladies usually do.* Respondent 21 (a White Superintendent) supported this perception as follows: *I was always interested in the police. When I was at school, I always thought that their uniforms were very nice.* No data from the literature could be found to support this reason for joining the police. Contrary to this, some of the Asian population have a very strong patriarchal type of hierarchy in society, the uniform is a negative to them and being a female is also a very low status to them (Miller 1999: 130).

❖ Interesting job

Respondent 2 (a White Inspector) said: *I wanted an interesting job, that is why I joined.* Respondent 6 (a South Sotho Superintendent) said: *I liked the career of policing.* This corresponds with the literature study as Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 69) established that both sexes were drawn to policing because it seemed like an exciting and action-packed job.

❖ Family pressure

A few of the respondents said that their families expected them to join the police. These females came from a previous family background in policing or their family members had acted as role models for them to join the police. In this regard respondent 11 (a White Superintendent) said: *I come from a police environment. My father was a policeman and therefore, because of family tradition, I decided to join.* Respondent 3 (a White Inspector) said: *I was influenced by family and friends.* This correlates with the literature as Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 65) found that knowing someone who had been

associated with the police, as well as friends influenced their decisions to join the police.

❖ **Financial start**

Respondent 5 (a Xhosa Captain) stated as follows: *I joined, due to a lack of funds and not for a long term career, but just to keep myself busy and to accumulate funds so that I can have money for my studies. But to my surprise I got stuck here.* Respondent 9 (a White Captain) said: *I wanted to study, but my father did not have the money for my studies. So, I thought I would join to the police and then study.* From this it is clear, that some of the respondents saw the police as a stepping-stone in their career; to get out of a difficult financial position or to further their studies. This finding was not supported by the literature.

❖ **Promising perception**

Respondent 8 (an Afrikaans White Captain) said as follows: *The police seemed like a promising job, it had a lot of advantages and you could work yourself up quickly through the ranks.* In this instance, Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 68) affirm that job security was very important to the police personnel.

❖ **Service**

Respondent 4 (an English White Superintendent) joined because she wanted to serve children who became victims of crime. She stated her motivation as follows: *I wanted to work at the Child Protection Unit. This was my biggest motive for joining the police* and respondent 10 (a Sotho Captain) said: *I joined because I like working with people, and helping people.* Of the more specific reasons were, that they wanted to make a difference in policing in that they wanted to help children and to be part of the Child Protection Unit. These findings were similar to the motives for joining as reflected in the following literature. Milton (1972: 33) maintains that the reason for women joining the police is the same as the reasons for men. For them it is an opportunity to

perform a useful service, for example to help victims of crime, battered women and old people. These findings correspond with those of Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 65; 70) who found that women who had had some association with police, played a role in choosing policing as a career as well as affording them an opportunity to pursue a useful role in society in that they were helping their fellow men. When the service-orientated jobs, such as teaching, which women usually perform are limited, policing provides an attractive alternative. Previously, women were motivated to join the police through benevolent campaigns, but as the role of policewomen changed, the type of woman that was attracted to do police work was also different to her predecessor. This change in policing led to an increased number of positions that opened to women and the type of person drawn to do the job (Parsons & Jesilow 2001: 61-62).

3.3 FAMILY REACTIONS

The respondents were asked what the family's reaction was when they decided to join the police. The following reaction of their families were registered during the research:

❖ Family opposition

Respondent 4 (an English Superintendent) stated that: *My father refused to sign the documents, because I was under 21. My brother had gone to the recruiting office and told them that I was not allowed to join. I joined with an effort and a big fight. I got my father to sign and my brother did not talk to me for a while.* Respondent 8 (an Afrikaans Captain) said: *My family was shocked. My mother said that I would not adapt and that it is not the place for a woman but the more they tried to keep me from going, the more I wanted to go.*

However there was also family support. Respondent 25 (a Zulu Inspector) said: *The family supported me. They were not negative, just afraid, because*

there were not many women in the police then. There were only men working outside in the communities.

These findings correspond with the literature in that some family members initially oppose their daughters' decisions to join the police as it was thought not to be a place for a woman to be working. Muraskin and Alleman (1993: 161), state that police work serves as an aspect of social life in which men have traditionally predominated and therefore this could be the reason why some family members, are set against their daughters joining the police. The protection of people and their property has been the responsibility of males throughout the ages and as women were never seen as capable of protecting themselves or their communities, they were not considered suitable for this job (Bezuidenhout and Theron 2000: 19).

❖ **Job security**

Respondent 1 (a White Inspector) said: *My family, my Mother, especially, was very happy. She thought that it was a stable, secure job for a woman.* Respondent 7 (a White Superintendent) supported this statement: *My parents supported me and guided me. They would not stand in my way* and respondent 12 (a White Superintendent) said: *My father was very happy that I had a career.* Some of the respondents were motivated by their family members or friends to join the service as they knew someone who was associated with the police, which also played a role in their choice of career. Respondent 19, who is an English-speaking White Senior Superintendent, said: *I think that my Dad was secretly pleased, because my elder brother is in the Metropolitan police in Britain. He wanted me to follow in his footsteps.*

3.4 TRAINING

3.4.1 Views on training experiences

When the recruits enter the Police College to become police officers, they undergo a training course for a period of six months. Male and female recruits

receive the same basic training at the College. The recruits were asked how they experienced their training.

The respondents said the following about their experiences of the training:

❖ **Tough**

Respondent 7, a White Afrikaans Superintendent, who had been in the police for the last nineteen years, said: *The basic training was very tough; tougher than it became a few years later. We had inspections and no duvets. You had nothing personal there; I thought it was a bit harsh.* Respondent 17, a Sotho Superintendent, who had been in the police for fourteen years, said that: *The 6 months felt like 6 years to me. The rules were very strict and they used to punish us. The training was tough; we used to run for a long time, for everything. It was very intensive.* These views were supported by respondent 23, a Coloured Inspector, who had been in the police service for thirteen years, said: *It was tough, but rewarding after those 6 months. It was tough, the physical training and the shooting. They make you hard for the outside world.* Respondent 24, a South Sotho Captain, who had been in the police service for nineteen years, also felt the same: *It was very tough sometimes; I wanted to run away. I was a spoilt woman from home. It was like being in the desert; especially being a woman was tough.* These views were supported by the literature study. Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 86) found that recruits were punished for wrong behaviour and that they were pushed to physical and mental exhaustion.

❖ **The training was enjoyable**

Respondent 2 (an Afrikaans Inspector), said the following about her experience of the training: *It was interesting, nice and enjoyable. It wasn't harsh for me. Some women were moaning, but for me it wasn't harsh.* A view that was supported by respondent 12 (an Afrikaans Superintendent), who

said: *It wasn't that difficult. There was the discipline, but not like it used to be in the years back when it was tough.*

Some of the respondents stated that they had enjoyed the training and found it interesting, but challenging. They therefore coped well in this training environment. This view was supported by the literature, as Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 86) found that in general, the training pushed the recruits to physical and mental exhaustion and that some recruits survive and some don't.

❖ **Deteriorated**

Respondent 12 (a White Superintendent), said the following: *If you look at what the students are like today, it was totally different than what it was before. When the force changed to a service, the goals changed completely. Now it is a community service.* This statement is supported by respondent 7 (also a White Superintendent), who said: *The basic training was very strict, but I was in a nice group. We stood together. We motivated each other. It is not the same anymore. It is not the same type of person that gets out of the College. There is no discipline anymore.* This is supported by the literature. Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 87) also found that where a weakening of the training had occurred, an ineffectual attitude from recruits was experienced. O'Connor ((Muraskin) 2003: 445) states that there is an urgent need for improved police training and that police training programs should be instituted in order to accommodate women with their exceptional skills to help with the nation's policing problems.

3.4.2 Challenges

The respondents were asked what challenges, if any, they had to meet during their training at the Training College. The following are a few of their comments on the challenges that they experienced while training as recruits:

❖ **Physically challenging**

Respondent 1 (a White Inspector) said: *There were a lot of challenges: Women aren't as strong as men, but if your mindset is correct, and then you will overcome the challenges. It was a challenge to survive. Just not to become a loser, not to be thrown out of the group, or to be seen as somebody that does not want to take part, was a challenge in itself.* Respondent 23 (a Coloured Inspector) supported this view and said: *The challenges were more physical, to test your strength if you are able to arrest somebody. It was as if they were pushing you to the limits. It seems as if a lot of challenges are experienced, especially because women are not as strong as men physically.*

It is clear that some recruits experienced challenges during the training and that some women police officials found it especially difficult, because they are not as strong physically as men. The literature supported these findings. Brown (b 1996: 3) found that in the course of their training the emphasis is on physical strength and that women's capabilities could be challenged in this context.

❖ **Isolating**

Respondent 3, an Afrikaans Inspector, said that she felt very isolated from her family, because she could not see them for the first couple of weeks: *I am very family orientated and it was very difficult not to see them for a period of 6 weeks - your freedom was also taken from you.* This was supported by respondent 4, an English Superintendent, who said that: *Being away from home was my biggest challenge as well as the physical part it, very masculine; the type of people that you deal with.*

It is clear that some of these respondents missed the family support that they were used to at home. They also linked this missing of family support to loss

of freedom. To this was added the masculine and physical challenges that were experienced, indicating a feeling of a sense of loss of femininity. This finding was not supported by the literature.

❖ **Male dominating**

Respondent 5, a Xhosa Captain, experienced a lot of challenges during the training, because she felt it was so male orientated. She said: *There were challenges during my training - because there were so many male instructors. I noticed that there is no space for a woman in this world. It was a challenge to work with them (the men), because you must show people what you are and what your expectations are.* This respondent experienced the world of policing as an overwhelming male world and felt compelled to meet the male standards. No data from the literature could be found to support this.

❖ **Self-revealing**

Respondent 14, a White Superintendent, felt that it was self-revealing. She said that: *The challenge was to cope with reality. I never knew that I would deal with fire-arms which was the first basic in training, to know that I would use it. And the variety of people that I met there; that was quite a challenge.* This respondent had a positive challenging self-revealing experience. She did not think that she could do it, but she coped. This finding was supported by the literature. Auten (1989: 48), found that overall, the experience or background of women with firearms was basically nil, with very few ever having held a firearm and much less ever fired one.

❖ **Not at all challenging**

Respondent 2 (an Afrikaans Inspector) said that: *There were no challenges; I could do everything.* This was supported by respondent 13 (an Afrikaans Superintendent) who said the following: *I was a tomboy. I had no problem with the training.* There were also those respondents who felt that they

experienced no challenges during training. This finding was not supported by the literature.

Some of the views of the respondents in the SAPS correspond with those in countries such as the USA and Europe. Fooner (1976: 14) states that men and women are basically given the same essential training, from police law enforcement to firearm training in order to help them to cope with the different problems in the communities. In this regard, Jones (180: 1986), reiterates that training involves the developing of women's skills, as well as insight and understanding, so that they are more assertive and effective and better equipped to cope with working in an all-male environment.

3.5 RELATIONSHIPS

3.5.1 Satisfaction at work

The respondents were asked how they experienced their work situation. They stated the following in this regard:

Contentment:

❖ Privileged

I am privileged. I work with wonderful colleagues. We are mostly women of different races and the situation is very good (respondent 11, an Afrikaans Superintendent). This respondent seems to be content in her work, working mostly with women of different races. This finding supports the literature study. Felkenes (1991: 7) states that regardless of race or gender, the levels of job satisfaction among all officers assessed, were extremely high.

❖ Professional

With 90 percent of my colleagues I deal on a professional basis. I am very sceptical and therefore I am not close to them. I am not a person who brings

colleagues home (respondent 1, a White Inspector). *I don't become involved personally with my colleagues. They are friends, but not family friends* (respondent 3, a White Inspector). These respondents clearly wish to keep their private lives separate from her work and her colleagues. Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 132) found that women rely on old friends and family for companionship.

❖ **Enjoy**

I enjoy my work. Sometimes I am too committed, too demanding, too ambitious probably. Men have placed a demand on me, because I have been in situations where petrol bombs were thrown at us and the men expect me to handle the situation. And I have (respondent 4, an English Superintendent). Respondent 7, (an Afrikaans Superintendent) *also said in this regard: I love my job. I can work with figures and paper and budgets.* On the other hand, respondent 10 (a Sotho Captain) said: *I am happy to be at Communication. I love working with people and helping people.* Respondent 26 (a South Sotho Captain) said: *I am happy. My colleagues respect me and I respect them.* Although the respondents work in different Departments they seem to be happy in their work situation and enjoy what they are doing. They also feel that they are getting recognition from their peers. Despite the complexities, the respondents seemed content to work for the police, which correspond with the literature study. The Police Foundation (1990: 99) found that there are numerous women who favour doing police work, because they enjoy serving the public.

Complexities:

❖ **Different cultures**

Respondent 5, a Xhosa Captain, said the following: *As a Black woman, it is very difficult to work with different kinds of races, but I never had a problem, because I am a very diverse person and I managed to persevere.* Respondent 6, a South Sotho Superintendent, reiterated by saying: *I work with many different cultures. As a junior I worked with whites. It is not an*

issue for me. I can adjust easily, so that I have good relations with everybody. Although the respondents work with people from different cultures, they seem to cope well and this could be because they have chosen service and hence people orientated occupations. No literature was found to support this finding.

❖ **Ambivalent**

Respondent 12, an Afrikaans Superintendent, said: *It is easier to work with men than with women. You have a habit of bringing your personal life to work and jealousy amongst women is another problem. The only conflict that we have with men is when they make accusations about women.* Respondent 17, a Sotho Superintendent, said that: *Because of Resolution 7, because of the transition that we are going through in the SAPS, I am uncomfortable with these changes, because I am not used to it, but I think that is just a matter of time and I will adjust to it. There is nothing that they can do, because it is a transformation that we have to go through.* Respondent 9, a White Captain, said: *Some days I am contented and other days I am not. With the restructuring it is very difficult.* This respondent seems to be experiencing complexities at work, which are more than likely related to daily trials and tribulations and could apply in any job environment. No literature was found to support this finding.

3.5.2. Acceptance

The respondents were asked whether they felt that their male colleagues accepted them in the working environment. The following are some of their comments:

❖ **Lack of respect for race as well as gender**

Respondent 5, a Xhosa Captain, said: *Men can't accept women as being in charge, as their supervisors in charge, black and white males they really can't. Even our senior officers don't want our women to be in charge. That is still a problem. I don't know if they don't trust women, but the problem is that men*

tend to see us as females, not as their colleagues. But I am their colleague. I become a woman, a wife and mother when I go home, but at work I am their colleague. Respondent 14, a White Superintendent, said the following: *You are not respected for what you can do or what you can offer the police; you are only seen as another lady for the guys. They only see what they can get out of you in terms of relationships; also in terms of 'you want to be in a man's world, you have to deliver.*

Some of the respondents also felt that men don't consider their rank and see them as a threat because of their gender. Respondent 18, an English speaking Indian Senior Superintendent, said the following in this regard: *I do think that the men find it difficult to work for a female Commander and especially one that is the same age as them. But one thing that I do when I have a problem is that I confront it head-on. My attitude is that I don't focus on the negative; I rather magnify the positive. There will always be people that like you or not.* Respondent 24 reiterated by saying: *Black men don't respect the black females, but the white males they respect me because of my rank. They don't say that this is a woman; they say that she has a rank, this they respect. Black males don't respect black female officers, maybe because of their culture.*

It seems as if the respondents are still very concerned about racial issues at work. Based on the research findings of Martin and Jurik (1996: 221), women of colour often perceive men of their race as more supportive of them than their white women colleagues. This statement differs from the findings of this study in that the respondents felt that the white policemen were more supportive of the black policewomen and gives rank its status, while black males did not.

❖ **Gender clashes and male attitudes**

Men feel that you are a threat; you are an interloper because you are a woman (respondent 8, a White Captain). *Men have respect for your rank, but when you go to a scene, the men take over, even though you have a senior rank* (respondent 9, a White Captain). *As a senior, it is easier now, because*

we are now further in the process of acceptance of women in higher ranks (respondent 14, a White Superintendent). There are certain things that women can do better than men because of the kind of woman that you are. I have never wanted to be a man; to kick in doors. We must rather complement each other, not compete with each other (respondent 19, a White Assistant Commissioner). I get on well with policemen because of the languages (Sotho and Zulu) that I speak. Sometimes they have an attitude. The black men don't like a woman to tell them what to do. I just tell them that I am doing my job (respondent 22, a White Inspector). There is always a problem, especially where it concerns promotions. If you, as a woman are promoted before the men - they think women can't do what men can do (respondent 25, a Zulu Inspector).

The literature supported these findings. Balkin (1988: 30; 35) established that male officers did not favour policewomen and displayed negative attitudes towards them and studies of policewomen on patrol have shown that even though policewomen can do the job, policemen's attitudes however still show that men do not believe that women can do the job. According to Johnson (1991: 15), policewomen are under constant pressure to prove themselves as well as having to cope with negative responses from their male colleagues. From these responses it seems as if there are gender clashes in the SAPS. The men still want to take the lead and the feeling from the respondents is that they can cope.

Acceptance in the workplace:

❖ Respect equality

Respondent 26, (a South Sotho Captain) said the following: *The white policemen respect you more than the black policemen.* Respondent 13 (a White Superintendent) said: *A lot depends on ourselves and the main issue is that we still have to prove ourselves as women, but once the policemen have seen that we are capable, they accept us and we become one of them.*

Some gender issues cropped up in the responses from the respondents and this was also reflected in the culture issue surrounding male and female in the workplace. Bezuidenhout and Theron (2000: 25) found that female police officers are not treated with the same respect as their male counterparts. From the responses it seems that even though inequality in the workplace has been removed by the Constitution, it is the acceptance by policemen of the policewomen in the workplace, which still needs to be changed. Certain respondents also felt that they are not fully accepted by some of their male colleagues, which corresponds with the literature. This whole issue concerning women in the workplace still seems to be a problem, with men finding it hard to give women their due as Young (1991: 229) states that women are allowed into the male world, but it must be on male terms. In this regard, Miller (1999: 6) asks the following question: What matters more, the gender of the officers, or that those of either gender actively integrate the ethic of care within their social control and policing ideology? This encapsulates this whole issue of gender in the workplace, as more emphasis should be put on the outputs of the officers in the social environment rather than what the gender of the officer, performing the duty, is.

3.5.3. Frustrations and barriers

The respondents were requested to share some of their views, if any, of frustrations, barriers, and feelings of resistance or sexual harassment experienced in the workplace. The respondents made the following comments:

❖ Sexual harassment

Respondent 4, a White English-speaking Superintendent, had the following statement to make: *As far as sexual harassment goes I have had absolutely no problems. I think that it is a person's personality and because I have a no-nonsense personality they know that there is absolutely no way to try anything with me.* However, respondent 6, (a Sotho Superintendent) had another experience: *When I was a junior, I was sexually harassed once. I was a Constable and a Captain harassed me, but I put a stop to that immediately. I*

went and spoke to my Commissioner about it. Respondent 12, a White Superintendent, added another dimension to the same problem: *There is one male Superintendent that is in the habit of always making suggestions, but that is the way he is. It depends on how you experience it. It doesn't really bother me and I just tell him to stop; and put him in his place.*

These findings were supported by the literature study. Anderson, Brown and Campbell (1993: 27) state that negative feelings towards women at work are perceived by many as the cause for harassment and that although sexual harassment is extremely common at work, only the minority of cases are ever reported. This may also be the reason why the findings of the respondents indicate that there is very little sexual harassment in the SAPS in South Africa. Herrington ((Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 362) states that women must either accept or endure sexual harassment and Retief (2002: 46) says that sexual harassment is more a demonstration of power than of lust. According to Brown ((Leishman, Loveday & Savage) 1996 a: 6), it seems as if policewomen in Eastern European countries appear to suffer less discrimination and harassment than their counterparts in continental Europe, the British Isles and the United States.

The reason for this could be because the role and the working status of women in former communist regimes might have resulted in greater equality which had to be won by political lobbying and legislation in the West. Because of a male-dominated society, women have had to struggle against overwhelming odds in order to gain acceptance as a valued person in the job market (Pogrebin 1986: 127).

❖ **Femininity**

Respondent 3, an Afrikaans Inspector, had the following to say about this issue: *I have realised that being a woman, can keep you back, even though you really want to do certain things. I cannot go into the location, for example. I don't have the physical strength to arrest the 10 people for example. It is something that you have to realise and accept. You are a*

woman, you had the same training and you are not going to stand back for them, but they won't stand back for you either. This respondent has accepted her femininity, with the realisation that being a woman in some instances could hold one back to perform one's duty. No literature was found to support this finding.

❖ Age and gender

The biggest frustration is to be accepted by all colleagues, especially here, because of my age (I am young) and because of being a woman (respondent 4, an English Superintendent). The drawback that this respondent experiences is three-fold: age, gender and lack of experience. No literature was found to support this finding.

❖ Gender bias (positive and negative)

Respondent 1, a White Inspector, was also the first to register her dissatisfaction with gender bias: *Feelings of resistance, yes, you will always get that. Some of the men feel that a woman's place is at home, 'barefoot and pregnant'. A female has to work twice as hard in order to be accepted, but when they see that you are willing to do your best, they praise you and accept you.* Respondent 17, a Sotho Superintendent, reacted as follows: *Some of the black policemen don't accept you because of their culture. The men just marginalize us. Some of them, you just feel it, that they don't accept you. That culture has existed for quite a long time. They must marginalize women; degrade us. They still do. The resistance is still there.*

It seems as if gender bias is more common in some cultures and in particular amongst lower ranking black males. Lower ranking black males would come from less educated family backgrounds with strong emphasis on traditional cultural value. Since 1994, there has been a strong trend towards establishing gender equality in this country, mainly guided by black males who are in positions of power, who seem committed to changing traditions as quickly as possible.

❖ Red tape

The issue about red tape was mentioned by Respondent 18, who is an Indian Senior Superintendent: *I have frustrations with red tape, policies and procedures and long drawn-out things. We have not moved at the pace that I would have liked to. What I have realised that at National and Provincial level things have moved at a fast pace, but at grass roots level it has taken transformation longer to move.*

From the interviews it was established that there are frustrations and barriers existing between the sexes. This finding corresponds with the literature study. Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 121) found that police officers complain bitterly about rules and regulations, which constrain their activities at work.

3.5.4. A victim in the work situation

The respondents were asked whether they had ever been victims in the workplace and if this were the case, to describe the situation that had occurred.

The following are their comments:

❖ Marginalised

Respondent 4, a White Superintendent, put her position forward as follows: *Yes, I have been a victim. When I worked in Public Order Police, there were years when women were not allowed to work on patrol.* This finding was supported by the literature. Martin (1993: 331) states that the barriers to equal opportunities for policewomen are that the men feel that the women would not be able to perform their patrol duties as well as the men. However, it may be more than this, as it is possible that men feel threatened by having women do similar work to them and being successful at it.

❖ **Victim of gender issues**

Gender issues showed their face again under this topic as well. Respondent 3, a White Inspector, formulated as follows: *It has to do with when you should get promoted and then somebody else gets the promotion instead. It comes with the kind of work that you are doing. You have to accept it. I am a woman; I was not promoted.* Respondent 6, a Sotho Superintendent stated as follows: *I was short listed for a post, but a man was appointed as the Commissioner.* This also had an effect on respondent 10, a Sotho Captain. She said: *Whilst I was still in a junior rank, again males were the people that were against me. They were plotting to get me away from the police station where I was stationed. They were pressuring my station Commander where I was to have me transferred. This did not materialize.*

The literature links with the findings, in that the Police Foundation (1990: 120) also found that women supervisors face a dilemma in dealing with women. Women police officers are condemned and their authority undermined by both male and female officers who want to continue traditional sex role norms. In the case of women, it could be, because the women are competing with each other for promotion. Hite (2000: 155) maintains that although there are many women who are not happy with the idea of hierarchy, they will have to accept it, because the corporate world is based on hierarchical power structures.

❖ **Snobbishness**

Respondent 7, a White Superintendent, said the following: *Yes, I was a victim, because we are so rank-orientated. When I became a functional member and got a rank and became a Captain, after the Police Law changed, some of the female civilians did not want to address me by my rank.* Civilians may not realise that policewomen undergo similar training to policemen. No literature was found to substantiate this finding.

❖ Racism

Regarding this issue, respondent 2, a White Inspector, reacted as follows: *I have been a victim of racism. The trial unit was the special unit where I worked, they took it away from me and the only reason was because I am white. They had to appoint black women, because there were too many white women working there. With the entire Captains' promotions, although we are supposed to be empowered, there will be 20 black men and 5 black women. You will get 10 white men and 4 white women* (respondent 9, a White Captain). *With my promotion situation I was originally taken off a list because of a percentage and that was all. It was not because I couldn't do the work or not perform* (respondent 12, a White Superintendent).

According to these respondents, not only does racism still seem to be a problem in the SAPS, but there also seems to be inequality in promotions, regarding gender issues and affirmative action. The literature links with the findings. Keeton (2002: 48) states that affirmative action is not just about race. Studies conducted all over the world indicate that women are paid less for the same work done as the men and if they decide to have children, there is no ramp back onto the career path.

❖ Selection for courses

The respondents reported several work related problems during the interviews. One of the respondents, a White Inspector (1), recounted that she wanted to attend the tactical training course, but had to apply more than once in order to be accepted eventually. *The tactical training was a bit of a problem - I had to apply 3 times. They took me in as a guinea pig, to see if I could do the job, but I proved I could.* The question remains whether it is a gender related issue. This could also have been a promotion issue, as the passing of courses is a consideration for promotion. The literature supports this finding. Schultz (1995: 145), state that male hostilities continue to frustrate many female police officers.

3.5.5 Equal opportunities

The respondents were asked whether there were equal opportunities for male and female in the SAPS. The following are the comments from the respondents on equal opportunities:

❖ Promotional inequality

Respondent 8, a White Captain, was adamant: *On paper, yes. On paper it says equal opportunities. Everybody can apply, but you just don't get promoted. And they never give you a reason. They should give you a reason, but they don't.* For respondent 24, a South Sotho Captain, it was also clear: *Not in the Vaalrand. How many Station Commissioners do we have who are females? We have about thirteen Commissioners, of which 12 are men. There is only one woman at all the Stationer Commissioner meetings. And you know people believe in the majority rule, so if she says something, she can't make a difference.*

There is a definite feeling amongst these respondents that promotional inequality still exists in the SAPS. However, this relates to 'male domination' and is not an issue on its own. These findings are substantiated by the literature. Ueckermann (2004: 1) stated that according to a census, which was done in order to establish how many women are in top positions in companies, it was found that women are in the overwhelming minority. Only 7,1 percent of all directorships in South Africa are in the hands of women, even though 52 percent of the population consists of women of which 41 percent forms part of the working population.

❖ Male domination

Concerning the issue of male domination, respondent 5, a Xhosa Captain, had the following to say: *There are definitely equal opportunities, but women are stopped to take up those opportunities. Definitely, nationally now it has*

cascaded down to our areas but females have been stopped to enjoy those opportunities. There are still remnants of the police force here in the service and that is why things are not working out the way that they are supposed to be in this government sector. Respondent 6, a South Sotho Superintendent, supported this view by the following statement: Females are not recognised at all. Why? This organisation is male dominant. The man is the boss and you can't take that away. Respondent 12, a White Superintendent said the following: There is supposed to be equality. They tell you that they want to empower women, but the feeling that I get is that they still keep you down. If you look at the top management, there are no females there and I don't think that women ever will be. Respondent 18, an Indian Superintendent, made the following statement: Until recently, it has been 10 years down the road now; I think that I am one of two females in the Province who was appointed as an Area Head (Unit name). It has taken almost 9 years for that to happen and we still don't have a female at National level. I think there is one female Area Commissioner out of 43 Area Commissioners in this country.

It is clear from the above-mentioned; that the feelings amongst these respondents are that male domination still exists in the SAPS. These findings support the literature study. Men always seem to have the upper hand, according to Hakim (1996: 1), so that it is a struggle for women to get what they want. It is customary that women remain disadvantaged and discontented with their lot.

❖ Equality

The following respondents thought that equality exists in the SAPS: Respondent 1, a white female Inspector, who has been in the police service for eleven years, said: *These days, yes. Previously no. There were units that would not take in women, but these days if 1 out of 20 who apply for the job is a female, she may get the job, black and white does not matter. Since 1994, a lot of things have changed, we have equal opportunities in work to improve and empower ourselves, in studying for example. Respondent 5, a black Captain, who has been in the SAPS for 13 years, however states: There are*

definitely equal opportunities, but women are stopped to take up those opportunities. Definitely, nationally now it has cascaded down to our areas but we have been stopped to enjoy those opportunities. There are still remnants of the police force here in the service and that is why things are not working out the way that they are supposed to be in this government sector.

Respondent 13, a white Superintendent, who has been in the police service for 21 years; reiterated by saying: *Yes, there are equal work opportunities but it depends on oneself. Females can be Branch Commanders and Unit Commanders and even Directors. One day we may have our own Area Commander.*

Respondent 17, a Black Superintendent, who has been in the police for 16 years said: *I think so, yes, with this transformation that we are busy with. There are equal opportunities for everybody now, as compared to the past.*

Respondent 26, a Coloured Captain, who has been in the police for 12 years, reiterated and said the following: *Not before 1994, but now there are equal opportunities. Before there were courses that we could not attend - they looked at us as women. But now we can. Now they say we are equal.*

Despite the perceptions of inequality, there was a feeling amongst these respondents that they thought that there was equality in the SAPS, but that they cannot necessarily tap into this. These findings support the literature. Heidensohn (1989: 14) says that in the USA, American society puts great stress on equality and all officers are called officers and not policemen or women; the uniforms are the same for both sexes and the women carry weapons as well which serves as a great equalizer. Westmarland (2001: 18) states that despite the equal opportunities legislation, a variety of studies have asserted that female officers are treated unjustly due to their gender. The main decision makers in the world are still men. It will only be when both men and women are defined as persons that equality will thrive in society (Muraskin & Alleman 1993: 45). The respondents are a medley of all the culture groups in South Africa presenting their views on the changes that have occurred in the South African Police since 1994. Bezuidenhout and Theron (2000: 28) found that all members of SAPS are treated in the same way. However, when colour is taken into consideration, the chances of black men and women as well as white women are considerably better than white men,

due to the Government's commitment to improve the conditions of those who had been previously disadvantaged.

❖ Race percentages

Regarding racial quotas, respondent 11, a White Superintendent had the following to say: *Yes, if you don't bring in affirmative action. These days it is about giving different races jobs. At the stations a certain percentage must be black and then male and female and then the other races are given jobs, but we cannot do anything about it, this is a government decision.*

The literature supported this finding. According to Keeton (2002: 48), the racial gap is closing dramatically, however, the progress with women has been much slower than expected. Most of the respondents felt that even though there should be equal opportunities for both male and female in the SAPS that this was not the case. It seems as if the feelings about equality stems mainly from not being promoted to a higher rank and it was generally felt that most of the ranks are still occupied mostly by men. It appears as if these respondents feel that equality has brought them more freedom, but that there are still problems experienced by them in this regard. If one takes into account the demographics of South Africa, there should be 50 percent males and 50 percent females in the police service. At the moment there are 135,000 members in the SAPS of which only 20 percent are females.

In general policewomen seem to feel that they have great obstacles to overcome, but when specifically asked about their treatment they are positive about their prospects, if not immediately, then definitely in the future. It would seem that they believe that gender equality will happen eventually.

3.5.6 Existence of a cop culture in the SAPS

The respondents were asked whether there was a cop culture existing in the SAPS. The reactions were the following:

❖ Unique behavioural patterns

Respondent 1, a White Inspector, who had been in the police service for eleven years stated here views in this regard as follows: *The culture comes in the way that we talk, walk, dress (restrictions on this; you cannot do this, you cannot do that); the way that we move, deal with other people. A lot of females are bombastic. Then you get crude language both sexes swear. When we speak we have a culture.* Respondent 2, a White Inspector, who had been in the police for 12 years, added the following: *I like to do my work and play at home. I don't play with my colleagues.* Respondent 5, a Xhosa Captain, who had been in the police service for 13 years, had the following to say about the sub-culture of the police: *I think it is their culture. If they work with a lady in a cop car, they will start calling those lady names, using dirty language. And their culture of driving vehicles so fast, our detective vehicles don't last. They drive 200 kilo's in a private road. They do come to work drunk at times.* The differences between her own perception of her work relations and that of her male counterparts, indicating aspects of the police sub-culture, was expressed as follows by respondent 6, a South Sotho Superintendent, who had been in the police service for 18 years: *They even visit each other after hours. We females are different. A lot of us are married with partners outside the police. Police ladies don't like the company of each other outside work. When they talk, they call other people outside the police 'haas', or if a person is 'mad' they say 'cell sick'.* Respondent 11, a White Superintendent, who had been in the police for 14 years, added the following: *They have their own language. There are certain words which the police use, like 'haas' meaning civilian, 'blougat', a new police recruit (you know nothing), 'police coffee' means brandy and a 'matras', is a policewoman. Yes, both sexes are part of it.*

These findings are supported by Jacobs (1987: 4:6), who states that policemen seem to resemble a subculture of their own in society, because they have their own set of norms whereby they define their occupational behaviour in their 'males only' club but policewomen do not want to be one of the boys, as they feel that they want to maintain their feminine identity. There

also seem to be a few women in the police who like to be more macho than the men, but this does not seem to be the norm, according to the respondents. It seems that women generally value their femininity, even in a male dominated working environment.

❖ **Entangled**

The extent to which the police sub-culture is characterised by a measure of enmeshment, was expressed as follows by respondent 2 a White Inspector: *They drink after work and have a party. I go home. The police have a culture of their own - but that is because they don't really have friends outside the police, so their colleagues are their friends and so the only thing that they can actually talk about is crime, I don't think they know anything else.* Respondent 3, a White Inspector agrees with this: *Yes, we are a family on our own. You cannot penetrate that. When we go to a function, the members of the police always come together and a woman is part of it to a certain extent, but a woman is not like a man in the sense that you drink until 12 o'clock. You have certain responsibilities at home.* Respondent 12, a White Superintendent, even stated that: *Most marriages in the police they have this habit of friends first, family second. That happens a lot. When something is wrong, they stick together; they won't say a word. In their personal lives, there are a lot of relations between married policemen out of wedlock going on.*

The findings were supported by the literature. Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 134) affirm, that by retreating to the companionship of other officers both male and female police officers adjust to the isolating influences of the police occupation. Policewomen, however, have a harder time doing this, because they are not that readily accepted by their male colleagues, however by dating or marrying another officer they gain acceptance into the world of policing.

❖ **Macho cop culture**

The police sub-culture is not only enmeshed. Respondent 4, a White Superintendent, who has been in the police service for 12 years, termed it

macho. This makes it difficult for her to relate to. She formulated her view as follows: *If I look at men, I was married to a policeman, there is a type of personality that policemen do have; a 'I am better than others' attitude, which I don't think that policewomen have. The men mess their wives around, it makes them a type of macho person but I absolutely abhor it, I cannot stand it. This does exist.* Respondent 8, a White Captain, who has been in the police service for 15 years, added another dimension as follows: *Yes, a cop culture exists. The men braai, during office hours. On the first Friday of the month here it is done during working hours and at 4 o'clock you go home. After that we visit the canteen together. But if I visit the canteen by myself, I get a bad name, but if a man walks in there, he is macho.* Respondent 18, an Indian Superintendent, who has been in the police service for 14 years volunteered the following view: *There are whites where the whole family is in the police. We drive a police car and we go to police functions. It is there. I think that this cop culture is a macho cop culture. There is a boys' club, a macho boys' club where they drink a lot and drive fast. I also knew a butch lady who is not afraid of anything.* Respondent 19, a White Assistant Commissioner, who has been in the police service for 23 years, indicated the problem which some women encounter with this attitude of the men: *There are some women that like kicking in the door syndrome, like Modesty Blaze and James Bond. There are some women that like the macho thing, but not very many. In general women have no desire to be like men. And often men would prefer not to take women into the location, not because they don't think that they cannot do the job, but because he has to check his own back and also the women's. He still feels responsible for her.*

These findings were supported by the literature study. Stevens and Yach (1995: 32) state that the world of policing is an action-oriented, macho and aggressive world. The very character of a cop culture poses as a persistent barrier against women and largely contributes to the difficulties, which women have to face in the police (Martin 1996: 512). On the other hand, Martin and Jurik (1996: 97) state that although the policewomen crave to be accepted, they never do become 'one of the boys'. The respondents interviewed for this study seem to contradict this finding, as they wish to retain their femininity and

certainly do not 'crave' to become one of the boys. O'Connor ((Muraskin) 2003: 447) found that the cult of machismo in policing was changing, albeit at a very slow pace.

Overall, these women experienced the language used mostly by the policemen is bombastic, crude and vulgar according to the respondents. It seems as if both sexes use descriptive words to describe certain things, like calling citizens 'haasman', but overall it seems as if the language that the women use, is not as crude as the men's. At functions, it seems as if the members of the police tend to group together and prefer each other's company compared to having friends outside the police environment. All of the respondents were in agreement that the members of the SAPS have a culture of their own, especially the men. The question on cop culture in the SAPS brought home just how dedicated some of the policemen are, to the extent of even neglecting the members of their families. According to the respondents, this police culture seems like an all-encompassing culture, which includes the way that members of the police talk, dress, walk, socialise and even drive their vehicles. Sometimes the policewomen would join the policemen, but it would seem as if the policewomen do not really wish be part of this culture as the men socialise together after work and the women have other responsibilities at home, for example looking after their children. It also seems as if a problem of out of wedlock relationships exists between the policemen and women at work however, this may be a 'normal' situation as it occurs in all other working environments.

Next, the experience of the respondents concerning job satisfaction will be discussed.

3.6 JOB SATISFACTION

3.6.1 Specific position

The respondents were asked whether it was their choice to be working in the specific position in which they were at the time of the interview. The following are a few of their comments on job satisfaction:

❖ Enjoyable

Respondent 3, a White Inspector, said the following: *It was my choice to work for the police and it was my choice to stay. In rank I would have liked to be further, but I enjoy my type of work where I have total job satisfaction and I can work out my frustrations totally.* Respondent 24, a South Sotho Captain agreed: *I know in life what I want and I love my job, because otherwise I will be frustrated.* These respondents' esteem needs are addressed here as they find great satisfaction in their work. The literature links with these findings as many psychologists are of the opinion that a person's behaviour is directed by their motive, to satisfy needs (Erasmus-Kritzinger, Swart & Mona 2000: 337). Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 120) also found that officers enjoy the freedom which their occupation offers.

❖ Proven competency

I wanted to prove that as a policewoman I could also be appointed to a special Commander's post. But before, no woman was appointed in the Vaalrand. But a Provincial Commander appointed me, otherwise I would never have been appointed. Locally no one would have noticed me (respondent 6, a South Sotho Superintendent). This respondent developed her self-actualisation needs and wanted to prove her competency. This statement links with the literature, as Erasmus-Kritzinger Swart & Mona (2000: 338) state that the need for self-actualisation involves realising one's potential for continued growth and self-development.

❖ Not happy

Respondent 7, a White Superintendent, was straightforward when asked to react to the question: *No. I was transferred here.* Respondent 14, also a White Superintendent, was also not happy that her application was not approved: *No. I applied for HRM (Human Resource Management) and did not get it. I would love to be at Area Office.* Respondent 22, a Coloured Inspector, also wanted to be deployed at another unit: *No, I wanted to work at the Fire-arm Unit. The unit closed down and I had to give three alternatives where I wanted to go to.* Respondent 23, an Afrikaans Inspector, was prepared to move, this is how dissatisfied she was at the time of her interviews: *No, if I had a better offer I would go. I was given this job during the apartheid era and I was so innocent, I wanted to be a lawyer if only I had a bursary, I would have gone to University and even now there is nothing challenging for me in the police force because I don't know what criteria they are using for promotions.*

It is clear that there were respondents who were unhappy in their present positions within the SAPS. The dissatisfaction was mainly related to not being placed at the units they wanted to work in. The literature research could not uncover previous studies that supported this finding.

❖ Means to an end

Respondent 12, a divorced White Superintendent, who had been working for the police for 14 years, added another dimension to this issue. She was also not happy: *Not in the beginning, no, this is only a means to an end. I had to make a choice after I got divorced and because I am single with two children I had to think of that as well. And this was the best choice.*

From the above it is clear that there were different kinds of responses from the respondents on whether it had been their own choice or not. However the responses were mostly positive. Since the Minister of Police had closed the special units some of the police officers had to be placed at other police

stations or in other areas. Several of the respondents stated that they were satisfied with and loved the job that they were doing. The negative responses related to the situations where the respondents were transferred to positions against their wishes, or it had been a second choice, or it was a choice made because of being a single parent and having children to care for. These findings have to be seen in the light of the changes, which have taken place and are still taking place in the SAPS since 1994.

Because of their unique position as working wives and/or mothers and the cultural expectations of women in these positions, the respondents were also asked to give their experiences regarding their roles at home and at work.

3.6.2 Role at home and work

Because women have to carry out a dual role in society, both at work and at home, it was deemed necessary to ask the respondents whether their role at work affected the lives of their families or not. The following are a few of the comments on their role at home:

❖ Prioritise to accommodate

Respondent 1 (a White divorced Inspector, who has been in the police for eleven years) indicated that she has had to change her priorities: *I have learnt to prioritise - in my working situation and my home. In November, for 3 weeks we worked from 7 in the morning until eleven at night. I had to go with the flow and your family starts to accept it. I am lucky that my family is 100 percent behind me.* The respondent said that she has learned not to bring her work problems home. She indicated that she has a good husband who supports her. For respondent 13, a divorced White Superintendent, this was also not an issue, because she sees herself as a born police official and she has independent children.

No literature was found to support this finding.

❖ Disruption

However, disruptions do occur. Respondent 8, a divorced White Captain, who has been in the police for 15 years, said the following: *When the children are ill, it does affect my work situation. They don't like me to be on call, because I can be called out at any time.*

This finding is supported by the literature. Family life and childrearing is the single most significant obstacle to the career prospects of female officers (Martin 1996: 525). Holdaway and Parker (1998: 58) state that conflicts between home and work are generally more problematic for policewomen than for their male counterparts. Martin (1996: 521) states that equal opportunity policies address the issues of discrimination while working within the service, but do not even regard the most indirect forms of institutionalised discrimination, which in point of fact require women to make a choice between their career and their family. Furthermore, it imposes stress on husbands and children.

❖ Tension at home

The fact that one respondent has a higher rank than her husband, had a detrimental effect on their personal lives. She (respondent 3, a divorced White Inspector) said: *I was married to a policeman and I had a higher rank than him. This influenced him a lot. He was my senior for 4 years and then I finished my studies and I got promoted very quickly and I got my rank very quickly. But then they stopped the promotions and he did not get any further. Indirectly It affected him a lot that he was still a Sergeant and I was already an Inspector. He had a bad self-image. Indirectly it caused a lot of tension.* Respondent 9 (a married White Captain) experience this in another fashion: *I am married to a policeman. In some ways it is good and in some ways it is bad. With my husband at home, we don't have one boss; we have two bosses. He knows about the danger in the work, but then I have the other side, that he keeps me down. I am not allowed to go to the police braai and he does not like me go out on calls.* Respondent 14 (a married White

Superintendent) indicated her experience as follows: *I waited 10 years to become a mother. Unexpected things can happen; the baby can get sick for example. My husband is not a police official and sometimes it is not convenient for the family if and when I have to work night shifts.*

The above findings were supported by the literature study in that policewomen experience conflict in their work situation because of problems at home and *vice versa*. Martin and Jurik (1996: 179) maintain that some husbands perceive their wives' careers as challenges to their masculinity and therefore they feel insecure if their wives have a higher job status than them. This however is not a unique problem experienced in the world of policing, but could be a problem in any household.

❖ **Work load**

Respondent 11, a married White Superintendent, who has been in the police for 14 years, acknowledges that the fact that she does not take her work problems home, creates stress for her: *I make a point of not bringing problems from home to my work, but I have too much work at the office and then I go home stressed and tired.*

The literature supports this finding. It is truly difficult for women to balance successful careers with their personal lives and many women who have children suffer insurmountable career setbacks (Keeton 2002: 48). The stressful nature of policing puts strains on family life for all female officers, because they still bear the greater portion of responsibility for household maintenance as well as child care (Martin and Jurik 1996: 100).

Regarding their roles at home and at work, the responses varied, but overall it seemed as if the policewomen's role at work does affect their role at home too negatively, but that they have learnt to cope with it and in most cases their families have also learnt to cope. Martin (1996: 521) states that equal opportunity policies address the issues of discrimination while working within the service, but do not even regard the most indirect forms of institutionalised

discrimination, which in point of fact require women to make a choice between their career and their family. However this also applies to men, but in their case it has become an accepted norm - in policing and in all other job situations. The importance of this with regard to women is that if it happens there can be no acceptable family life and the children will suffer.

3.6.3 Achieving Promotion

The question asked of the respondents was, what the importance of achieving promotion meant to them in their work situation. Promotion in the police means that a person gets a higher rank with the accompanying increase in salary and therefore a possible better standard of living. This entails that promotion could be an important issue in a person's life and therefore it was decided to include this as a point of discussion. The importance of achieving promotion for the respondents was linked to several aspects as reflected in the questions. The following are a few of the comments on the importance of promotion:

❖ Ratios

Respondent 1 (a White Inspector, who has been working for the police for eleven years), indicated emphatically that ratio's impacted – in her experience – on promotional issues: *Yes, very important. With the restructuring and affirmative action, there were a lot of restrictions; a lot of people were promoted to make the ratio look good. I have been overlooked for promotion once, but it wasn't because of not having the qualifications, it was a fact of ratio numbers that had to be right.*

There was no literature to support this statement.

❖ Remuneration

Respondent 2 (a White Inspector, who has been working for the police for 12 years), had strong views about her remuneration and the policies regarding

remuneration of the police. She said: *Well, everybody wants to work him or herself up; you don't want to be left behind in a certain field. It is not so much the rank; it's the money. With the rank goes more money. I think that the police must start looking at the salary scales for the type of work that you do. I have to put in many more hours and have much more to do than an Inspector taking down a statement for example. There is much more responsibility to what I do, but the salaries of the Inspectors are the same. The only way I will get an increase and it doesn't matter where I work, is the rank I hold. Actually, whether I wash floors or whether I am the best Detective, if you have the same rank, you get the same money.* Respondent 11 (a White Superintendent, who has been working for the police for 14 years) added the following: *Achieving promotion is very important. It is all about money, life revolves around money these days, but I enjoy my work.*

The literature supports this finding. According to Maslow's needs, an adequate income is one of the most basic needs (Erasmus-Kritzinger, Bowler & Goliath: 2001: 34).

❖ Responsibility and career development

Respondent 5, a Xhosa Captain, who has been working for the police for 13 years, said career development and responsibility should be linked: *A person must work hard and be dedicated in order to get promotion; it goes with responsibility.* Respondent 17, a Sotho Superintendent, who has been with the SAPS for 17 years, added that moving up the ranks, remuneration increase, promotion and motivation goes hand in hand for her: *It is very important, because you are growing financially in the levels of the ranks, when are going up. You go to your next promotion. That is also motivating, and it is a challenge to you and your responsibility also grows.* Respondent 8, a White Captain, who has been in the police for 15 years, stated that she was motivated by the prospect of promotion to the next rank: *Because I started to study when I was young, they told us that after two years you would become a Sergeant. That was my aim, something to reach out for. You knew that if you worked hard at it, that you deserved it.* Respondent 10, a Sotho Captain, who

has never married and been working for the SAPS for 16 years, said these prospects are good for morale too: *It is very important. It boosts morale within the working sphere. You have to work hard. You have to prove yourself. You have to walk extra miles. You have to do your work beyond expectation. And lastly, you have to equip yourself academically.*

The respondents' self-actualisation needs are addressed here and dedication is of great importance in order to improve one's rank at work. Self-actualisation needs refer to the desire to fulfil one's potential, in actual fact, to become what you want to be, by applying your skills as well as your knowledge. These needs involve the continuous desire to fulfil one's potential, according to Boeree (2004: 4).

❖ **Appreciation**

Respondents 3 (a White Inspector) and 24 (a South Sotho captain) said in clear statements that they want to be acknowledged and appreciated for what they do. They formulated their wishes as follows: *To me achieving promotion is very important. It is very important to get acknowledged in your job. Your self-image suffers and your self-worth as a human being if they don't acknowledge you* (respondent 3). *I think that it is right to be promoted because it shows appreciation of my work. If you study it shows that you want to be promoted, it shows that you are interested to broaden your knowledge* (Respondent 24).

This comment links with the needs in Maslow's hierarchy of needs. A show of appreciation for work well done creates great satisfaction. When the basic needs have been satisfied, the need for esteem can become dominant. Humans need to have self-respect and the respect from others. According to Simons et al (2004: 2), when these needs are satisfied, a person feels self-confident and valued. However when these needs are frustrated, a person may feel worthless and inferior.

❖ **Respect**

Respondent 26 (a South Sotho Captain, who has been in the SAPS for 12 years), added there is a need to be respected: *Achieving promotion is very, very important. I am faced with challenges now; I am a leader now. People respect me now.*

This comment also relates to Maslow's hierarchy of needs, as respect is one of the important needs to be achieved in life.

Overall, these respondents felt very strongly about the importance of achieving promotion at work, which links with the relevant literature on how important it is to assure ourselves of our own worth as individuals. Maslow claimed that the need for self-esteem could be met through gaining respect or recognition from others (Kunc 2004: 3-4).

3.6.4 Promotion possibilities

Achieving promotion goes hand in hand with promotion possibilities. The respondents were asked whether they thought that there were any promotional possibilities open to them. The following are a few of the comments on achieving promotion:

❖ **Outstanding**

Respondent 13, a White Superintendent, who has been working for the SAPS for 21 years, quoted her Commissioner. According to her, she said that the person that shines (that is, deliver outstanding work), will be the one she will promote.

The literature research did not support this finding.

❖ Available

The availability of promotional positions was also attended too by some respondents. Respondent 9, a White Captain who has been in the SAPS for 13 years, said: *Maybe there are promotion possibilities. It depends on what they decide which posts are available. I can do all the administration jobs and I am very adaptable.* Respondent 18, an Indian Senior Superintendent who has been in the SAPS for 14 years, added that there rests some responsibility on the applicants too when promotions are concerned: *There are always promotional possibilities for anybody. It is what you make out of life. You can go anywhere; you can do anything.* Respondent 24, a South Sotho Captain who had been in the SAPS for 19 years, voiced an optimistic view: *Everything is open for me as a woman in the SAPS because I was oppressed in the past.* However, respondent 26 a South Sotho Captain who had been in the SAPS for 12 years, added the hampering effect of resolution 7 on promotions: *Now, for this year there are no promotions because of Resolution 7. But in future yes.*

In the literature research, similar concerns were registered. Westmarland (2001: 65, 184) established that women officers, who had been successfully promoted to jobs of high rank, had indicated that their choice of career moves had been limited throughout their careers. National UK statistics, however, show that women are more quickly promoted in some ranks than the men and although there are more men applying for the jobs, the women will be twice as likely to get employed.

❖ Discouraged

Some respondent also registered discouragement regarding promotional issues. Respondent 2, a White Inspector, who had been in the SAPS for 12 years, said the following: *A big No: None. I tried 3 times to be promoted to a Captain - I should have been promoted 5 years ago - but nothing happens.* Respondent 21, a White Superintendent who has been in the SAPS for 9 years, added that age may also have an effect on the lack of promotional

positions' availability or not: *I don't think so. I am acting in the post of the Area Head at the moment, in a Senior Superintendent post. He is acting at the Vereeniging Station as Station Commissioner. He is very young, so there are no promotion possibilities.*

These findings correspond with the literature found. Martin ((Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 344), states that women officers still face discriminatory treatment, which limits their options and opportunities for advancement in their policing career.

❖ Hopeless and confusing

Different respondents voiced what could be termed 'hopelessness' when they considered their views regarding promotions: *No, I don't think that we will see any promotion possibilities for the next 2-3 years. The posts are frozen and they are taking away posts. So, you must not hope for any promotion (respondent 3, a White Inspector who has been in the SAPS for 12 years,). No, because it is all about equality. At finance, for example, we must be 4 black officers and 2 white officers, but we are 3 white officers. So one of us will have to go (respondent 7, a White Superintendent who has been in the SAPS for 19 years,). I don't think now with affirmative action (respondent 11, a White Superintendent who has been in the SAPS for 14 years). At this stage not when you look at your percentages and because of the affirmative action. Promotions have also been stopped because of the transformation. They talk of promotions, but maybe next year. We have been moved over to where the men are, so we are not part of the designation anymore (respondent 12, a White Superintendent who has been in the SAPS for 12 years).*

Respondent 8, a White Captain, who has been in the SAPS for 15 years, said there are confusing messages where promotion of women police officials are concerned: *According to the system, yes, but when it comes to the push, no. They always overlook you. Your qualifications or hard work don't count anymore. Nobody tells you why. You just have to guess. At meetings they*

tell you that there are more possibilities for women and they publish that the woman must be put into more manager's posts, because for years she has been overlooked. But then you put your application in and you are overlooked once again. Nothing is done for women. This could be as a result of male domination in the SAPS.

These findings correspond with the literature found. Martin (1996: 517; 521;) states that a distinct lack of enthusiasm exists for policewomen to move up through the ranks. Enthusiasm for promotion seems to exist only at the point of entry into policing and very little is being done to encourage women through the rank structure. Anderson, Brown and Campbell (1993: 23) state that promotion and career development should be monitored in order to determine whether women have got stuck at a certain point in their careers. In this case, women should help each other to realise their potential through networking and by the sharing of information, mutual support and encouragement. However these findings ignore the affirmative action criteria, which at this stage seem to be the major obstacle for white policewomen. The literature did not support the finding of this research regarding the confusing messages where promotion for women are concerned.

❖ Hopeful

Respondent 6, a South Sotho Superintendent, who has been in the SAPS for 18 years registered hope regarding her promotional options: *If I am lucky, I can become a Senior Superintendent or if I am double lucky, I can become a Director. Even though I am a woman. Maybe they will give me a chance.* According to the literature, by the end of 2004, more than 23 000 Black women must be given jobs in the SAPS in order to make the SAPS more representative (Malan: 2004: 2).

There were mixed feelings about whether there were many promotion possibilities for policewomen in the SAPS. Some of the respondents felt that there were promotion possibilities, because they were well qualified, and therefore they still hoped to be promoted, but they realised that there were

restrictions. Some of the respondents were not too sure whether there were any possibilities in the police for them at all. The findings correspond with the literature found. Lemons and Parzinger (2001: 9) maintain, that increasing promotion opportunities should include more networking for women, coordinating career and family planning, being confident and competent.

3.7 CONCLUSION

From the interviews it was apparent that there were several reasons why the respondents decided to join the police and no one was forced to join. The training that the recruits received at the Training Colleges was both physical and educational. Some of the recruits found the training very challenging although some respondent experienced no problems. It was found that sexual harassment overall does not seem to be experienced by the respondents in the police. Most of the respondents felt that even though there should be equal opportunities for both male and female in the SAPS that this was not the case.

All of the respondents were in agreement that the members of the SAPS have a cop culture of their own, especially the men.

The respondents seemed happy to be in their specific position, which they were occupying in the SAPS at the time of the interviews, whether by choice or otherwise. Most of the respondents stated that they were satisfied with and loved the job that they were doing. However, it seems as if the stressful nature of policing puts strains on family life for all female officers,

There were mixed reactions as to whether the respondents thought that the working relations between the sexes had improved since 1994. Some of the respondents thought that relations between the sexes had improved, albeit not enough. Some of the changes were, that women could attend any of the courses that they wished to attend and have since learnt about the differences existing in the races and how they function. This has allowed them to understand the different cultures existing in society, better.

From the interviews it was apparent, that most of the ranks are still occupied by men. It was also stated that especially in the Vaalrand, no equality existed in the SAPS yet. On the other hand, there seems to be a medley of all the culture groups in South Africa presenting a feeling that things have changed in the South African Police since 1994. The respondents seem to be of the opinion that there are more opportunities for them in the police than before, although there were very few respondents who had a positive feeling about being promoted. It seems as if women police officers face promotion problems, which limits their options and opportunities for advancement. Nevertheless, as more women enter the occupation of policing into positions of authority, they may well be in a position to assist their colleagues in future to attain higher positions in the hierarchy of the policing structure. Therefore, there may be reason for guarded optimism about women's future in the sector of policing.

In Chapter four, the effect that society has on gender discrimination and equality is discussed, with the emphasis on patriarchal and egalitarian attitudes, sex discrimination in employment and the sexual harassment women sometimes experience at work. The barriers that females have to face will also be discussed, as well as women's struggle for equal opportunities, job dissatisfaction and participative management. This is a discussion on the changing environment, from the gender discrimination towards an environment where there is development towards gender equality and participative management.

CHAPTER 4

GENDER DISCRIMINATION AND EQUALITY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The Declaration of Independence, which was signed in 1776 in the USA, stated that 'all men are created equal and that governments derive their power from the consent of the governed'. Women were not included in this concept and the word 'woman' was not used in either the Constitution or the Declaration of Independence. The original American Constitution of 1787 was founded on English Law and did not recognise women as citizens or as individuals with legal rights. The first time the word 'sex' was used in a Constitution, was in 1920, with the signing of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which gave women the right to vote (Muraskin & Alleman 1993: 45-46).

Traditionally, women were consigned to the private sphere of the home and family and excluded from such public domains as politics and paid work. The expectations of society of the role of women are that they should be compassionate and considerate, compared to the stereotyping of the role of policemen as tough, powerful and dynamic (Brown 1996 b: 4). The exclusion of women within the police workforce in the past, confirms the fact of their wider exclusion within society and conflicts between the home and their careers impeded their performance both within and without the constabulary according to Holdaway and Parker (1998: 42).

In Britain and America, the entry of women in the police was resisted and their roles challenged, as they were considered unsuitable for the job of policing (Heidensohn 1998: 217; Martin (Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 333). Men in society are accustomed to dominate women and don't see them as figures of authority and women, on the other hand, are not used to exercising authority over men (Martin & Jurik 1996: 65). Because of this attitude, females

originally accepted a position in policing which was consistent with the view of appropriate work for women, for example clerical, administrative or counselling work. According to Martin (1996: 511) there is reluctance in police departments to bestow the necessary power on women. This inevitably forms part of social control mechanisms. Women who enter the profession not only have to prove themselves to their fellow peers, but also to the community that they interact with (Pogrebin 1986: 128).

The roots of imagery about women's inappropriateness in a man's working environment, for example policing, therefore may stem from society's concept of the role of women. The division of labour as well as patriarchy and the dominance of men in society have all served to oppress women and drive them to the bottom of society. Women, who enter a masculine profession, are seen as atypical and subject to social group sanctions (Alleman 1993: 27). According to Brown (1996 b: 1), the policing role of women was to be an extension of the domestic sphere and organisationally, they were to be kept within separate lines of management. Martin (1996: 512) states that the two major difficulties faced by female officers in Great Britain are gender discrimination and having to cope with a family.

The following is a discussion on patriarchal attitudes in society, discrimination in the workplace and the barriers that policewomen face.

4.2 PATRIARCHAL ATTITUDES

4.2.1 Male domination

The patriarchal system is a male-dominated household, where the man is the head of the household and the woman must obey him. In the patriarchal family, the husband works in a job outside home and the woman is a housewife. In a traditional family of this kind, values promote the unquestioned authority and supremacy of the father in contrast to the role of the self-sacrificing mother. Being a good wife or mother at home, often means that a woman must downplay or sacrifice her professional career. As

adults, these traditional gender roles may be carried into the workplace, thereby strengthening the male-dominant culture (Lemons and Parzinger 2001: 4). Patriarchy is universal, in that authority and leadership are and always have been associated with the male in every society, which places explicit emphasis on occupational segregation (Hakim 1996: 7). The Western culture includes a system of male patriarchal control where a need exists to tame women and nature (Muraskin & Alleman 1993: 43).

4.2.2 Labour division

The gendered division of labour requires that women are located in jobs where they had less decision-making power than men in a society where men controlled the economic, religious, political, and military institutions of authority (Martin & Jurik 1996: 30). By entering the domain of the police, therefore, women threatened to disrupt the work norms, group solidarity and the already insecure occupational status of police force. Men feared that if women met the norms, the meaning of masculinity and femininity would become blurred and that men's sense of masculine identity would be undermined (Police Foundation 1990: 148).

4.2.3 Getting ahead

There is enormous pressure on men in society to get ahead and to climb the career ladder. For them, the idea of working with women in an arena, which traditionally belonged to them, is a predicament. When a woman is therefore promoted above a man, it can lead to feelings of disenfranchisement and could socially embarrass him (Hite 2000: xiv).

4.3 GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN EMPLOYMENT

4.3.1 Acceptable

The explicit exclusion from the common law doctrine that all men are equal in the eyes of the law complicated the campaign for legal equality for the

American and British women, black as well as white. Discrimination against women remained both legally and socially acceptable for a long time. It is rooted in the commonly held views of members of society of what the appropriate roles for men and women are (Gregory 1987: 13). Because of discriminatory treatment, options and opportunities for advancement for women officers are limited.

4.3.2 Disadvantages

Women face a variety of disadvantages, which stem from their status as being woman. Women are highly visible, under pressure to perform well, and are often excluded from the informal networks, which are essential for success (Police Foundation 1990: xv). The problem is that men do not want to accept women's authority and therefore women experience opposition from their male colleagues (Heidensohn 1998: 219). Men belittle women's work and magnify their failures (Martin & Jurik 1996: 40). The dilemma that women face is, that men do not want women to behave like men and neither do they accept women who act as their equals either. Feminine women are also regarded as inadequate officers and are seen as a liability in a dangerous situation (Martin & Jurik 1996: 75). They face overt hostility from men as well as experience double standards of performance in the job environment (Police Foundation 1990: xvi).

4.3.3 Stereotyping

There are many problems which women experience in policing, which include discrimination and stereotyping (Zietsman 1995: 26 and Brown a (Leishman, Loveday & Savage 1996: 187). The culture and social environment in which men and women grow up may be a determining factor which influence the attitudes of men and women at home and at work. According to Brown (a 1996: 189), not only does gender discrimination operate within the police culture but it is also endemic in the police culture. Men have created an idealised image of policing, as action-oriented and violent and women

threaten these working-class cultural norms of men's and of policing as men's work and police officers as masculine, (Martin & Jurik 1996: 64).

4.3.4 Discrimination

According to Hale and Menniti ((Muraskin & Alleman) 1993: 177), the reason why women are so seldom used on police patrols is because of gender discrimination. It has been argued by men, that women are not biologically or socially equipped to perform traditionally male jobs in such areas as policing or fire fighting (Steel 1987: 54). Men feel hostile towards the idea of having female police officers amongst the ranks of men. The Police Foundation (1990: 139) examined the nature and extent of discrimination against female officers and found that most female officers had experienced both gender discrimination and sexual harassment in their job environment. The problem with discrimination is that it weakens attachment to the conventional social order and keeps the individual from developing any loyalty to the employer (Conklin 1998: 552).

Discrimination is rife in the police force and women often become disillusioned within their job situation (Dunhill 1989: 110). The burden is on police departments to prove to the courts the assumption that women are not capable of performing police work if they don't want to accept them. Carpenter (1993: 11) states that legislation should specifically prohibit discrimination in the workplace and that men and women should receive equal opportunities of benefits and training. Women should be applied in any job situation is to affirm equality of opportunity regardless of gender.

The following is a discussion explicitly on the barriers which women face in policing.

4.4 BARRIERS THAT FEMALE POLICE OFFICERS FACE

4.4.1 Beliefs

Police work ranks among the highest of the entire male dominated occupations, of gender related tasks. The male group as such, is set against womanhood, in as much as they maintain an ideology of toughness, and authority according to Dunhill (1989: 107). In accordance with this, Miller (1999: 4), states that given the ideological preoccupation with masculinity in policing, any behaviour that appears tied to femininity, weakness, or subjectivity is suspect and scorned by men.

Gaining the confidence of their fellow officers is only one of the many hurdles that policewomen have to overcome in order to be accepted (Muraskin & Alleman 1993: 161). According to Brown (1996 b: 1), although countries vary in their admittance of women to police departments, their resistance to them being admitted has almost been universal. Balkin (1988: 29) states that if policemen aren't happy with their circumstances in the job situation, then policewomen's circumstances are even worse, because of not being accepted by most of their male colleagues.

Many of the barriers which women face in policing, are based on the belief that women cannot adequately perform in the basic police role as police officers. Women face many barriers in the workplace, for example hostility, resistance, gender segregation and sexual harassment.

4.4.2 Bias

Steel (1987: 55), states that some policemen are biased against the women. Policemen argue that law enforcement is a dangerous profession and that is the reason why they don't want to employ women, as women will not be able to handle dangerous situations (Milton 1972: 27). Policewomen are also a potential source of anxiety for some policemen. Policemen feel their masculinity threatened by the women and perhaps by keeping them to one

side in dangerous situations, the men are actually protecting themselves by preventing displays of competency from these policewomen (Balkin 1988: 36). A few comments made by men pertaining to women seeking equal employment opportunities in job employment, included such terms as 'unwomanly', 'sexually suspect', 'physically weak' and 'emotionally unstable'. (Walklate (Leishman, Loveday & Savage) 1996: 197).

4.4.3 Stereotyping

Tchaikovsky (1989: 185) states that policemen tend to stereotype policewomen according to their traditional values to certain conventional feminine models, for example, wife, sister, mother and daughter. As the male dominated society imposes conventions on the appropriateness on women, the police attitudes and their treatment of women, reflect these conventions of appropriateness. Policewomen also face considerable opposition to overcome the belief that women are not capable to carry out the full range of police work like policemen do (Brown 1996 b: 2).

According to Martin ((Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 341), stereotyped female qualities such as being well groomed, supportive and sensitive are valued less highly than the masculine terms aggressive, logical, and mature in the world of policing. Those women pursuing occupational advancement in the world of policing suffer the stigma of being called tough or aggressive, traits that are considered to be unfeminine by the male dominated culture (Pogrebin 1986: 128). In South Africa, deeply entrenched stereotypes on a cultural level are still prevailing in our societies against women in the police department, such as not allowing them to fight in wars or patrol dangerous areas (HSRC and IDP 1995: 24).

4.4.4 Vulnerability

The feeling of being vulnerable operates as a disqualifier to women in the police department. Women have started to enter a previously male-dominated sector, which is a non-traditional role for women as women are seen as

caring, childbearing creatures (Steel 1987: 53; Young 1991: 196). The most common sources of stress for women police officers are those centred on being female. As well as having to cope with negative responses from their male colleagues, policewomen are also under constant pressure to prove themselves (Johnson (Dunhill) 1991: 15).

According to Dunhill (1989: 107), in order to maintain an ideology of toughness and authority, womanhood is one of the things that the male group is against. Women are told that they are a liability, for example on patrol duty. Their capacity of childbearing is brought against them as a disqualifier in the workplace (Dunhill 1989: 108). Contrary to this, available data indicate that policing on the whole, is not a physically demanding occupation (Charles 1982: 203). Young (1991: 206) reiterates that the women's body is subject to verbal abuse, as well as sneered at, make fun of, and drooled over. And women in the working arena have to endure this.

4.4.5 Remuneration

Previously, the arena of paid work was considered usually masculine. A man's ability to provide financially for his wife and children was an important component of the male self-image of masculinity (Cott 1987: 154). According to Milton (1972: 18), in the USA, some jurisdictions pay women less money for performing the same jobs as men.

The most obvious manifestation of inequality during the post-war campaign for sex equality was focused initially on the existence of separate rates of pay for men and women who were doing the same work (Gregory 1987: 1). Not only were women workers found in low-paid jobs and low status areas of employment, but they were frequently paid the 'female rate for the job' (Gregory 1987: 22). Carpenter (1993: 11) argues that men and women must receive equal pay for work of equal value. Sainsbury (1996: 110) states that in the USA and the UK, women's earnings still lagged behind men's even though the Labour government confirmed its commitment to equality by

introducing the Sex Discrimination Act 1975 (which included the Equal Pay Act 1970 as a separate schedule) and which came into force immediately.

Because of the special importance, the intimidating working environment will be analysed in more detail.

4.5 INTIMIDATING WORKING ENVIRONMENT

4.5.1 Abusive language

Johnson ((Dunhill) 1989: 166) states that policewomen have to bear name-calling such as 'lesbian', and 'whores' and they become targets for punishment and abuse to bring them back into line. In their daily lives, women endure frequent sexist remarks as well as harassment from their male colleagues. Remarks about them as sex objects make life very unpleasant for them, but Stevens and Yach (1995: 32), think that sexist comments, banter and innuendo, may be considered normal in the male-dominated workplace. However, behaviour such as this may create a hostile and intimidating environment in which women may feel uncomfortable.

Women may pose a threat to policemen's self-image by hindering their use of raunchy language and exposing the fact that actually only a little of routine police activity really involves fights or physical danger (Coffey & Brown 1992: 14 and Muraskin & Alleman 1993: 1). According to Martin ((Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 331, 334), women pose a threat to the group solidarity of men in the work situation and inhibit their use of crude language. Women also find themselves to be the butt of ridicule and mockery. Amongst policemen, bawdy talk is a kind of game and a way of putting policewomen in their place. Alongside the talk, is the jocular flirting behaviour, verbal sexual harassment and unwanted touching that policewomen have to suffer from policemen (Dunhill 1989: 106; Miller 1999: 175; Walklate 199: 194).

Martin (1993: 336) and Dunhill (1989: 104) state that men's language keep women in their place and though many men feel uncomfortable swearing in front of women, they resent any inhibition put on their expressiveness.

Frequent sexual jokes, bawdy talk and gossip remind the women that they are desired sexual objects, visible outsiders, and feared competitors. Women have created a potential threat to male officers in the job environment, where males not only use certain derogatory words when referring to females but also profane language to indicate their opposition to women occupying men's roles (Martin & Jurik 1996: 65 & 68). Martin (1996: 523) however, maintains that the presence of the women in the police service was thought to have a noticeable impact on the language and behaviour of the male officers, in that they toned down. The increasing number of women at police stations has an impact on the language and behaviour of male officers.

4.5.2 Macho image

The world of policing is an action-oriented, macho and aggressive world, with the atmosphere of a boys club rather than a professional service provider (Stevens & Yach 1995: 32). Women do not feel comfortable with the macho image of the men in the workplace. Power, prestige and status, are according to Young (1991: 191) allocated to tough and manful acts of crime fighting, even though the use of a non-confrontational approach, used by policewomen, is a far more effective way of diffusing difficult and dangerous situations (Dunhill 1989: 104). Researchers testify to the supremacy of masculine values in policing and that policemen felt that this job is unsuitable for women (Brown 1996 b: 6). Policemen felt that policewomen should adapt to the standards of behaviour of men and that they should not complain about the pornographic calendars in police stations for example.

4.5.3 Cop sub-culture

In a study done amongst policewomen in New York, it was found that policewomen did not want to be one of the boys, because they felt that they wanted to maintain their feminine identity (Jacobs 1987: 6). They actually wanted to be acknowledged as women doing a job, rather than women doing a man's job.

The difficulties which policewomen face are the result of the 'cop culture' (Martin 1996: 518). Police officers form a cohesive group because of the nature of their work. The police officers resemble a subculture, because they have their own set of norms whereby they define their occupational behaviour in this 'males only' club (Jacobs 1987: 4). Policemen are very much aware of their public image and definite group solidarity exists within the police department. Women are perceived as a threat within this male dominated culture; therefore the position of female officers has been neglected (Heidensohn 1998: 217).

4.5.4 Sexual harassment

Although there are numerous definitions of sexual harassment, the issue here is that the behaviour is unwanted, unrequested, intimidating and offensive and victims of sexual harassment display such physical symptoms as depression, anxiety, insecurity and low self esteem (Venter 2002: 38). Sexual harassment is any unwanted and unwelcome sexual behaviour which could be either physical or verbal, and which interferes with work or life. This includes making frequent sexual remarks, pressing against someone, displaying sexual photographs, coercing or making someone the target of sexual rumours.

Even though Lourens (1996: 91) states, that no lawful definition defining 'sexual harassment' exists in South Africa, this has been changed. In terms of section 6 (3) of the Employment Equity Act 55 of 1998 (EEA) sexual harassment is a form of discrimination and is therefore prohibited.

In South Africa The Code contains the following definition of sexual harassment:

"(1) Sexual harassment is unwanted conduct of sexual nature. The unwanted nature of the sexual harassment distinguishes it from behaviour that is welcome and mutual.

Sexual attention becomes sexual harassment if:

(2.1) the behaviour is persisted in, although a single incident of harassment can constitute sexual harassment ; and/or

(2.2) the recipient has made it clear that the behaviour is considered offensive; and/or

(2.3) the perpetrator should have known that the behaviour is regarded as unacceptable" (Venter 2002: 38).

According to the Police Foundation (1990: 139), some officers abused their authority, by directly harassing their female counterparts. Although sexual harassment is extremely common at work, only a minority of cases get reported (Anderson, Brown & Campbell 1993: 24-25). The key element of harassment in the workplace is that someone holds power over you, and you cannot complain or strike out in case you lose your job (Martin & Levine 1991: 26). Sexual harassment may be a demonstration of power rather than a reflection of lust (Retief 2002: 46).

Hale and Menniti ((Muraskin & Alleman) 1993: 178) and Walklate ((Leishman, Loveday & Savage) 1996: 194), state that the most frequent complaints cited by women are unwanted touching, jokes of sexual nature and the pressure to engage in sexual activity. Women endure continual sexual harassment and acceptance generally requires becoming one of the boys and in order to play the role of policing well. In doing this, she sacrifices her femininity. The only option to her, other than quitting, is to endure the behaviour of her male colleagues (Herrington (Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 362). In fighting back against the system, the chances are that she might become ostracized.

According to Brown (1996 b: 4), policewomen are forced into 'acceptable' roles in the policing department and 'controlled' through the harassing behaviour of men. Heidensohn (1998: 219) states that in their everyday environment, women acknowledge that they experience opposition from their male colleagues as well as abusive behaviour, which seems to be a universal phenomenon. The negative effect which sexual harassment could have in the

organisation, is that it may reduce performance and motivation of the employee, which can lead to loss of trained employees and increased absenteeism, (Anderson, Brown & Campbell 1993: 29). Martin ((Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 333 & 340) states that women experience psychological stress, which could contribute to higher turnover rates in the job situation and that men's sexual harassment of women have become more severe as the proportion of women increased in the workplace.

Retief (2002: 46) states that, there has been a growth in the awareness of sexual harassment, which has led to widespread recognition that it is a serious matter, which has to be dealt with. On handling sexual harassment cases The Code (of South Africa) places an obligation on employers to eradicate sexual harassment in the workplace and to create a working environment where the dignity of employees are respected. The Code also states that if the conduct is serious or persistent, dismissal may be appropriate and the employer is thus encouraged to hold a disciplinary hearing if such conduct persists (Venter 2002: 40).

The following is a discussion on the emancipation of women, incorporating the feminist movement and the road towards gender equality, with special reference to female police.

4.6 THE EMANICIPATION OF WOMEN

In contrast to nineteenth-century women, twentieth century women stand out as individuals. In order to gain acceptance as respected persons in a competitive job market, women in the workplace have had to struggle against what seems like insurmountable odds (Pogrebin 1986: 127). The development of gender equality is a phenomenon of the twentieth century. In the police it is of special importance.

4.6.1 Victimisation

The drive towards women's emancipation is far from being absolute, because of the patriarchal attitudes still prevailing amongst most of the population groups. Feminist criminologists have focused on the issue of victimization of women and because of the pressure from these feminists groups, important changes have occurred over the years (Conklin 1998: 227). The aim of feminism was 'to free women from sex-typing and allow them individual choices' (Cott 1987: 6). The following is a discussion on selective aspects of feminism and about these important changes, which have occurred for policewomen especially.

4.6.2 Motivation for change

Although feminism is seen as a rather recent movement, which emerged during the late nineteenth century and came into full being in the latter half of the twentieth century, this is not so. Feminism is much older than this and is implicit in humanism and of the same period (Green 1995: 2). The manifestation of feminism in 1910 signalled a new phase in the discussions and campaigns for equal rights for women and the fight for freedom that had been on going for hundreds of years. According to Forcey (1999: 13) feminism is an acknowledgment of women's oppression and exploitation and of the need to do something about it. Feminism is generally applied to claims for women's rights, which include sexual equality as well as sexual difference. In 1914, feminism was defined as a 'world-wide revolt against all artificial barriers which laws and customs interpose between women and human freedom' (Cott 1987: 14). Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988: 502) state feminism is a set of theories about women's oppression as well as a set of strategies for social change. Martin and Jurik (1996: 18) affirm that feminism is a worldview as well as a movement for social change. Not only does it include various perspectives, which identify and represent the interests of women, but it also aims to end women's domination. Feminism soon became the motivational force for changes re women issues.

American society witnessed a 'social revolution' of enormous proportion in the last two decades, which included the women's liberation movement (Charles 1982: 194). A wave of feminism was stimulated by the participation of women in the civil rights movement as well as anti-war activities. The women's movement was further stimulated by the increase in the education of women and their massive entry into paid work during the 1950's and 1960's (Martin and Jurik 1996: 7-8). It was a movement of consciousness in which women wanted to change the idea of being submissive to men.

The unifying category of 'women' is rejected because of the realisation that there is no essential quality to being a woman that unifies all women; and therefore the differences not only between men and women must be respected, but also between women (Naffine 1997: 56). Men and women are alike as human beings, but they differ from each other by their very nature and when this is taken into account, some women are just not suited to fulfil a full-time domestic occupation.

4.6.3 Women's rights

The goals of the feminists, which are to ensure women's rights to paid employment, to equal pay for equal work, and to jobs in all occupations without limitations imposed by sex discrimination, became more socially accepted during the 1970's because during the 1960's and 1970's, legislation extended civil rights and equal employment opportunities to formerly excluded social groups including women (Martin & Jurik 1996: 7-8). This movement strove to improve not only the status of women, but also their usefulness and to gain access to the rights and prerogatives that men have. It was aimed at self-development as well to promote individual freedom by activating gender solidarity. Although the feminist movement requires gender consciousness as basis, it calls for the investigation of prescribed gender roles (Cott 1987: 37).

4.6.4 Differences

Although more men throughout the world continue to have greater access to power, wealth and privileges than women do, it has also become clear that feminists are having increasing difficulty coming to agreement on the theories and strategies needed to explain and challenge these inequities. Feminist theories fluctuate around a standpoint, which is also increasingly supported by men, which focuses on the identification of essential psychological and sociological differences between men and women. This difference-versus-equality debate on feminism is on both theoretical as well as strategic levels (Forcey 1999: 17). It slowed the movement down.

In order to differentiate between gender differences and equality issues, the following are some of the viewpoints on the feminist theory:

The Feminist doctrine

They acknowledge that differences amongst women do exist and that it does not depend on a single doctrinal standard to define equality. "These scholars seek equality for women through law by questioning, recontextualising, and attempting to unsettle existing laws in a wide range of areas" (Frug 1992: 11).

Equality doctrinalists

They analyse how the position of women may be improved by using and extending civil rights or the Constitution on their behalf. They argue that there are no differences between men and women and that sexual differences should be considered legally irrelevant (Frug 1992: 5).

Cultural feminism

Their viewpoint is that women are what men are not. Women have noble qualities such as passivity and emotionality, qualities that make women unique, with a feminine identity, which men have prevented them from fully

developing. The social restrictions, which diminish and suppress femininity, are confronted (Frug 1992: 9).

Social Feminism

Martin and Jurik (1996: 18, 25) state that social feminism encompasses a worldview and movement for social change. Not only does it include various perspectives, which identify and represent the interests of women, but it also holds distinct agendas for ending women's oppression. Capitalism as well as patriarchy is stressed as being responsible for women's subordination. Sexist ideology binds women to the home and keeps them from higher-paying men's jobs.

Liberal feminism

Muraskin and Alleman (1993: 9-10) state that liberal feminism lies at the heart of feminism and adheres to predominant democratic principles. Liberal feminists aim for full equality and participation in society and want to be equal partners with men. Liberal feminists argue that women's fundamental nature is the same as men's. They emphasise that men and women will behave similarly when they have equal opportunity, power and numbers. They want women to have access to the full range of jobs and they must be treated in the same way as men (Martin & Jurik 1996: 24). Valier (2002:128) states that women liberationists considered issues such as abortion, rape and wife battering as very important feminist issues.

4.6.5 Ground level

Overall feminists persist in rejecting the patriarchal culture and challenged unequal power relations and aspired to a movement for social change. Social feminists tried to change the way society functioned in the late 1960's. The liberal feminists on the other hand, concentrated on such issues as childcare, abortion and contraception. They fought against staying at home and looking after the children. In stead they wanted improved care facilities and to exist

as equals in every day society. According to the above-mentioned theories, feminists seek equality for women, even though acknowledging the differences between sexes.

4.6.6 Hampering conservatism

Green (1995: 2) states that feminism embodies the theory, that women are as much ends in themselves as are men. Women would like to see a change in the social order and to improve the position of the woman in society accordingly. The dilemma is that there is a set of assumptions in the legal framework that limits legal reasoning and also affects decision-making. One such an assumption is that men and women biologically occupy different roles in life. The question remains whether equality between the sexes will ever be achieved, because biological differences between the sexes will always be there (Martin 1993: 343). Feminist criminologists want to establish whether campaigners for gender-neutral policing are doing themselves and other women a disservice by stressing their similarities rather than their differences from the men who make up the overwhelming majority of the police (Schultz 1995: 6). In South Africa, part of the problem is the inherent conservatism of the South African, which has caused justice to take such a long time before women were appointed in better positions in the SAPS (Watson 1999: 14).

4.7 DEVELOPMENT OF GENDER EQUALITY

4.7.1 Legislation

The USA adopted the most comprehensive range of legislation to promote and later require equal opportunities for both sexes, according to Heidensohn (1998: 219). The biggest impact on the administrative role of police agencies in America concerning women, include the 'Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964', as amended by the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1974, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, creed, colour, sex, and national origin with regard to compensation, terms and conditions or privileges of employment (Steel 1987: 56). According to Schultz (1989: 115), the title

'policewoman' was replaced by the unisex title, 'police officer' for both men and women.

The negativity towards women in the police force in Britain only started to subside after the Sex Discrimination Act was passed in 1975, which stated equal opportunities for both sexes (Heidensohn 1998: 220; Bezuidenhout and Theron 2000: 21).

In South Africa, feminists formed the Women's National Coalition in 1992. This group consisted of 54 South African women's groups in order to ensure that women by law received equal rights in the new South Africa and were also awarded the same opportunities as easily as others (Mufweba 2003: 15). In the Constitution of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996 was promulgated. In Chapter 2 of the Constitution, the section on the 'Bill of Rights' is set out. Chapter 2, section 9 (3) states that: 'The State may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language or birth'. In sub-section 9 (5), it states that discrimination is unfair unless it is established that the discrimination is fair (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 1996: 5-6). Discrimination was therefore addressed when the equality clause was put into the Constitution.

4.7.2 Affirmative Action

Affirmative action is seen as the rightful correction of the past. This incorporates special treatment for certain groups and the previously disadvantaged. The representatives for pro-affirmative action are of the opinion that it can only enhance the quality of public services, whereas those against it believe that there will be deterioration in the workplace as a result of employing more women (Steel 1987: 67). One of the main reasons for affirmative action in Australia was to increase the number of female applicants in the workplace; however there seems to be an amalgamation between application rates, acceptance rates and the number of sworn officers. Despite

significant changes which have occurred, since the 1960's, stereotyping women's work still continue to exclude police work as a career option (Prenzler 1995: 263).

Affirmative action policies may cause resentment from policewomen's male counterparts. It is clear however, that affirmative action policies are highly sensitive and of great concern to male officers, because they could possibly undermine their morale (Weisheit 1987: 143). In America, the balance has shifted away from concern with social equity toward protection of individual rights (Police Foundation 1990: 15). According to Winters (1989: 141), the number of black females in the Chicago police is rapidly growing, due to affirmative action as from practically zero percent in 1973, the percentage of females in the CPD has outdistanced the number of black and Hispanic males. Nel and Bezuidenhout (1995: 127), proclaim that with affirmative action and the equality clause in the Constitution, as well as the activities of the Commission on Gender Equality it could be a positive contribution towards improving the status of women in South Africa. Keeton (2002: 48) also states that affirmative action is not just about race, but should also be about gender. Affirmative action is allowed as it is regarded as fair discrimination.

4.7.3 Gender equality problems

The first generation of women who entered the workforce in earnest in the 1970s, realised that the only way they could succeed in entering the working environment initially, was to imitate the qualities and characteristics associated with their male colleagues (Book 2000: 3). Authoritarian leadership structures were large-scale and women realised that they had to abide by the rules of the men's world in order to succeed. The women's movement enlarged the labour pool when they challenged the sex roles, differentiating 'masculine' and 'feminine' work (Miller 1999: 85). Miller (1999:133) also states that men and women bring their own different merits to the job, which is a reflection of the traditional expectations of masculinity and femininity.

Woehrle (1999: 42) reiterates that the basis of inequality is not simply gender differentiation, but the larger system of the protection of privilege for a small elite of the world's populace. Gender relations are part of a wider complex of social relations, which includes power. Hammersley (1992: 201), states that the existence of the animosity or ill feeling of inequalities which exist between the sexes including power differences, cannot be denied. Stevens and Yach reiterates (1995: 32) that even though women may still have little formal authority as well as little power compared to their male counterparts they carry a great deal of responsibility in their families and the community.

Young (1991: 193) found that policemen were constantly overtly hostile towards women in policing, and those women who want to make a career in policing, still had a low cultural status because the social environments in which men and women grow up determine the attitudes of men and women at home and at work. In this regard, Zietsman (1995: 26) states that the culture of policing tends to undermine democratic values, underpinning gender equality.

Some policemen contend that women do not have the physical capability to carry out their responsibilities, which their male colleagues have. According to Schultz (1995: 5), although women are slowly moving up in the ranks of police departments, women frequently do not avail themselves of promotion opportunities because systematic discrimination still exists against them. Holdaway and Parker (1998: 54), reason that women officers would benefit from a more positive and encouraging approach in their career development if their supervisors were more encouraging.

Daly and Chesney-Lind (1988: 504) describe gender as having the following five characteristics:

- ❖ Gender is not a natural fact but a complex social, historical, and cultural product; it is related to, but not simply derived from, biological sex difference and reproductive capacities.

- ❖ Gender and gender relations order social life and social institutions in fundamental ways.
- ❖ Gender relations and constructs of masculinity and femininity are not symmetrical but are on an organizing principle of men's superiority and social and political-economic dominance over women.
- ❖ Systems of knowledge reflect men's views of the natural and social world; the production of knowledge is gendered.
- ❖ Women should be at the centre of intellectual inquiry, not peripheral, invisible, or appendages of men.

From the above-mentioned it would seem that gender issues is a complex issue, as it is rooted in a male world in which women want to make changes. In contrast to the gender reinforcement approach, gender recognition reforms have generally aimed to improve women's social rights by altering the bases of their rights. On a cultural level there are without a doubt still deeply entrenched stereotypes that prevail in the South African society as a whole (HSRC& IDP 1995: 24). Miller (1999: 163) states that women who chose a law enforcement career are seen as atypical in the archetypal masculine confirming field where men favour higher-risk situations, more action and greater potential for aggression. In South Africa, studies have established that although the race gap in corporate management is starting to narrow, but there is still only minimal progress in the gender gap (Keeton 2002: 48).

4.7.4 Struggle for equal opportunities

Newburn (1995: 155) states that during the last 20 years there has been a marked increase in the awareness of issues surrounding the role and status of women in society, especially concerning sexual discrimination and disadvantages, which women face in the labour market. Women strive towards goals of equality: equality of access to education, a single sexual standard and equal suffrage. Because feminists aim to alter the power relationships between men and women, it has been met with resistance (Cott 1987: 9). Feminists want equality between the sexes; not forgetting that

similarities as well as differences which exist between men and women. Men and women perceive the world in significantly different ways. The question of equality for women and how they can achieve it is at the core of the feminist legal undertaking; and the relationship between sexual differences and equality is the crux of the matter. Women must combat their subordination through legal change (Frug 1992: 4).

Because power is unequally distributed between sexes in society, the focus on the difference between men and women as a way to obtain equality is fated. It is argued that the law should either ignore or acknowledge sexual differences (Frug 1992: 8). Although there is reluctance on the part of many male officers to admit women into the traditionally male-dominated police roles women have an invaluable contribution to make towards policing and should therefore have equal rights to the benefits of this career (Charles 1982: 195). Martin (1993: 331) states that the barriers to equal opportunities for policewomen are that the men feel that the women would not be able to perform their patrol duties as well as the men.

Coffey and Brown (1992: 15) state, that policewomen would like to have a fully integrated role within the police service instead of being only involved in community work. Stevens and Yach (1995: 32) acknowledge that the culture of policing tends to undermine the democratic values, which support gender equality. Brown (1996 b: 3) states that women from all jurisdictions believe that they have been discriminated against in terms of deployment and promotion, but also prospects, training and opportunities for overtime payments. According to Coffey and Brown (1992: 17-19) nearly 80 percent of women interviewed in a study were positive about the fact that they would like to do the same range of duties as men. Women brought the ability to expand roles within policing, and that's what is needed in the community (Miller 1999: 161).

4.7.5 Participative management

Herrington ((Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 365) states that the old ways will no longer be the best ways. Managers will have to conform to incorporate more women into positions of management. Participative management should be supported, where cooperation exists between males and females. Acceptance of policewomen by policemen will have to improve. Women are able to provide a different kind of service to the community, because of their inherent nature to be more compassionate and understanding than men (Herrington (Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 262). There will be shifts in the attitudes of men when they stop upholding the traditional divisions of labour. Research evidence has consistently shown that policewomen are equally adept as men at most police tasks.

Women's leadership and power in the law enforcement structures have to be increased because they remain dramatically under-represented in law enforcement. Policing is too dependent on the para-military use of force, rather than the problem-solving skills of negotiation and community policing in which women excel. Court (1997: 24) states that there are times when women themselves reconstruct or reinforce the ideas and practices of separate gendered spheres of private and public worlds. Despite two decades of legislative and social reforms, organisations still mostly consist of males and therefore drastic changes will have to occur to make it more participative (Court 1997: 25).

According to Cox and Fitzgerald (1992: 152), hiring qualified female officers can be a valuable move towards improving mutual understanding and respect in the community. On the other hand, the recruitment of people from minority groups could also place stress on the police institution, which may increase hostility between black and white as well as male and female officers. Young (1991: 240) mentions that the 'new policewoman' seems self-contained, self-assured, extremely capable and unwilling to only play the traditional role of

homemaker. They are also professional and unwilling to be considered surrogate men.

4.7.6 Policewomen and gender equality

Integrating women into policing have brought new methods into this all-male domain. There has been a marked increase in married women in the labour market since 1960, not only in the USA, but also in the United Kingdom, Netherlands and Sweden according to a research report by Sainsbury (1996: 105). Women most often have a different approach to policing than men. They intend not to use force or physical control as much as men do (Miller 1999: 73). They pick up the non-verbal body language more easily and also have better communication skills than men and will therefore be an invaluable asset to law enforcement if their present role is broadened (Miller 1999: 85).

Changing masculine bias would require a shift in policing paradigms to which many officers still remain opposed. Without such a change occurring, the potential of community policing in which both sexes are utilised, may not be realized. If women are to be empowered to play a bigger role in the police environment, they need to have greater access to education, economic resources and greater control in personal relationships. The police service needs to become more representative of the community and it is therefore necessary to consider strategies to employ more women into the service and to eliminate those aspects that may tend to undermine women's advancement into more senior positions.

Even though it has been the attitude of some male police personnel that women are not physically or emotionally tough enough to meet the demands of the police profession, evidence suggests that this perception is incorrect. While women generally may not be physically as strong as men, by training themselves, they can achieve a level of fitness well within the normal demands of the profession. Research has also indicated, that upper body strength is less important for effective policing than general fitness, which

indicates that women are as capable as men to do the job (Prenzler 1995: 265; Felkenes 1991: 1).

Policewomen should not sacrifice their femininity to be accepted by their male colleagues. Sherman (1975: 438) feels that in order to prevent de-feminisation of women it is essential to introduce and expand certain programs especially for policewomen. In a gender context, women as well as men are categorised differently and often function in different domains of society although there is an overlap and interdependence. As a consequence, men and women have different life experiences, perspectives and priorities. They cannot function optimally without each other. A healthy society will appreciate and value the positive aspects of these differences and utilize both sexes to its benefit and advantage. Women have proven to be a tremendous asset to law enforcement and should therefore be encouraged to pursue their career in policing.

Walklate ((Leishman, Loveday & Savage) 1996: 203), reasons that if equal policies are taken seriously, it will have an impact upon not only the internal dynamics and relationships of police organisations, but also on the relationships with the public, because these two aspects of policing are connected. Therefore, if a policeman can relate in a non-sexist manner to his female colleague, then the possibility exists that he will relate to a female member of the public in the same way. Not only will this improve the relations with the general public, but will also reflect on internal working relationships. Females tend to have more empathy than men; they are more supportive and less judgmental than their male counterparts. Men and women should complement each other, as both of them have something unique to bring to the world of policing which reflects their masculinity or their femininity. According to Herrington (Dunham & Alpert) 1992: 365), it seems as if the younger police officers are more accommodating and accepting of their female counterparts. According to Bennet (2001: 2) it was found that although the racial gap in South Africa was gradually narrowing in the workplace, the gender gap has barely budged and the employment equity apparently has done little to change the position of the women in top-level jobs.

4.8 CONCLUSION

Gender discrimination is against human rights according to the Constitution of South Africa, and therefore any discrimination whatsoever in the workplace is a crime. According to the HSRC and IDP (1995: 24), with patriarchal attitudes still abounding in South Africa amongst all the population groups. The SAPS however, have started a conscious recruitment service drive in order to provide a service that incorporates gender.

Although discrimination and sexual harassment are unfair practice, it still exists in the policing workplace. Even though women have started to become involved in occupations which have been previously male dominated, the decision makers are still mainly men. Cultural stereo types however of male and female work are dissolving, and more and more people are realizing that law enforcement is a career just like any other and that women are as capable of excelling in their career paths (Martin & Levine 1991: 52). Instead of focussing on women's physical abilities only, the focus should rather be on women's leadership skills, their reasons for wanting to be a police officer, their potential and motivation.

Brown (1996 b: 6), states that indications in the West seem to indicate that resistance, discrimination, harassment and reform is the norm for women in policing. Even though it may take years of evolution to see any true improvement, large entries of women into police departments could pave the way to implement and evaluate creative ideas in policing. One's obligation is towards the country in which one lives and therefore both men and women should co-operate to ensure the safety and security of the nation and therefore it should not only be about equal rights in employment. Men and women should work together and share the full burden and responsibilities at the workplace. Changes have occurred in improving the opportunities for women in policing during the past generation.

Not only have legal reforms made it easier for women to stand up against discrimination, but the reforms on equality have also helped them on their career paths. However, it will be a very slow process to generate positive change in law enforcement because there still seems to be an ingrained, predominantly male-oriented tradition still existing in the police environment in South Africa. Herrington (Dunham & Alpert) 1993: 366) feels that it may take years of evolution to see any true improvement. Communities, however, can influence police agencies to be more approachable, as a large influx of women into policing may provide the police with the implementation of creative and new ideas (Fielding and Fielding 1992: 217).

Although the position of the women in society is changing, it is still difficult for women to be accepted inside the policing culture. Women are however experiencing liberation from the traditional gender roles, which means greater participation in the labour force (Conklin 1998: 222). According to Stevens and Yach (1995: 32), if women are empowered to play a greater role in community policing, it is necessary to consider strategies for recruiting women into the service and also to ensure the eradication of all aspects of the current police culture, which may tend to undermine women's advancement into senior levels. The police service needs to become more representative of the communities that they serve. Large numbers of women could lead to more creative ideas in policing. There have been demands for different kinds of policing. New policing methods could be implemented which would recognise the unique contribution of women and more female police officers could be employed for different kinds of policing, as the need arises.

Even though policemen may initially be threatened in the job situation, there are potential benefits not only to policewomen but also to members of society working side by side with policemen. If policewomen perform all the job functions that policemen do, they will be utilising their talents in the fields of their choice. Policewomen should be seen as part of the manpower component, because they are competent, knowledgeable and dedicated. Maybe in years to come, as policewomen take on more authority and

responsibility in their jobs, and demonstrate their capabilities, and as the principles of feminism become more entrenched in social structures, the role of women in policing will be perceived as invaluable. South Africa has one of the most liberal constitutions in the world and, in theory; women do not need to fight for freedom, or equality or against oppression anymore (Mufweba 2003: 15).

In the next chapter, Chapter 5, the findings relating to the contribution and changes that women have made to the police, will be discussed. This will include the transformation and changes that the policewomen have experienced in the SAPS and the impact that policewomen have had on policing since 1972.

CHAPTER 5

CHANGES AND CONTRIBUTION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

If there were no women in the SAPS, there would have been limited requirement for change, but as more and more women joined, changes to accommodate their specific needs were necessary. These changes would have been defined by the specific needs of these policewomen and inevitably the burden of determining the necessary requirements and effecting the changes would have fallen on the women themselves. The more dynamic women would work harder to make these changes and eventually it would speed up the process of change. In this Chapter, a discussion will follow on the perceptions of the respondents of what the contribution of women to policing is and the changes according to their point of view that women have generated in the SAPS since 1972.

5.2 TRANSFORMATION AND CHANGE

5.2.1 The role of women in transformation

The respondents were asked whether they thought that women had a role to play in the transformation that occurred in the SAPS since 1994. More than one respondent agreed and said the following:

❖ **Softer touch to victims**

Yes, the role that women play is very big. If you go to a situation, where a woman has been raped or if a woman has been a victim of domestic violence, a lot of times the men get very angry, the policewomen however have a softer touch. The victim would rather speak to a female, than speak to a male about being raped. The women have brought a softer touch to the police in victim

support. The woman is more inclined to show sympathy and empathy than a male does (respondent 1, A White Inspector). Yes, women have a role to play. The police can't just be a man's world. Your complainants are old people, children and victims. They need women in the police. Women have more empathy than men (respondent 8, a White Captain).

Policewomen are needed most often when the victims are women, children and older people in society, because women have a softer approach than most of their male colleagues and are more empathetic and compassionate in their dealings with victims. This softer touch, which this respondent refers to, encompasses sympathy and empathy. This is in accordance with the literature. Bezuidenhout and Theron (2000: 25) found that females are more capable in handling certain sensitive cases, for example sexual abuse cases or domestic violence.

❖ **Not militaristic**

Respondent 2, a White Inspector, said: *In a certain way, yes, women do have a role to play. There is less brutality. Women work with people differently. Just the way you talk to the arrested person, he will trust you much more because of the way you talk to him. I saw men approach men to arrest them and the suspect becomes aggressive. He becomes resistant. Women talk it through. They come with me out of free will; I never have to use cuffs. The men think you must be aggressive, they think that if you go in with this attitude, you will achieve nothing, but actually I think we achieve more by our attitude - we have a better chance.* Respondent 3, a White Inspector, supported this view and said: *We are not as militaristic anymore. Women will handle situations totally different from men. Men in general are more militaristic than women. I think women brought in softness. She makes things more accessible, approachable. I would handle a situation totally different from a man.*

Policemen are still seen as the aggressive type, according to some of the respondents, whereas women are more approachable and accessible to the

victims. The literature is in accordance with the findings. O'Connor ((Muraskin) 2003: 447) states that he increased representation of women in policing, is almost certain to transform the rigid military climate of police agencies and hopefully they would make policing kinder, gentler, and more sensitive to individual rights.

❖ **Policies**

Respondent 14, a White Superintendent, said: *Yes, definitely. I think that we can offer this male-dominated organisation a lot. They must just open their eyes and take the dinosaurs out of their National offices, which are making the policies and put somebody there, that will understand that there is definitely a need for women. But they don't see it. The policies are made in a nice cosy office and they don't know what is going on ground level. I don't think they know what they are doing. We, females, can even have a 99 percent role to play and the men 1 percent.*

The literature supported this finding. Book (2000: xiv) states that rigid hierarchies and top-down management approaches are outmoded.

❖ **Better insight – more compassion**

Respondent 18, who had been in the police service for 14 years and is an Indian Superintendent, said the following: *Yes, definitely. Because policing was traditionally male orientated; it was a very physical kind of environment. Only the men were making the decisions. Women have a better insight and more compassion than men. Therefore women are needed.*

Once more, the view exists that women have a better insight and more compassion than men. Coffey and Brown (1992: 14) maintain that policing is about community reassurance incorporating law enforcement, which should be done with empathy, considerateness and patience. These are characteristics particularly associated with policewomen. Balkin (1988: 30)

states that members of the public felt that women were more sensitive and responsive to their needs.

❖ **Comprehensive role in transformation**

Respondent 24, a South Sotho Captain, said the following: *Yes, women have a role to play in transformation. In each and everything that the men discuss there must be a woman from ground level to top level from station level to National level in order to give their inputs.*

These findings were supported by the literature. Even if they lack physical strength, they compensate by relating to people verbally and psychologically better than most policemen do (Johnson 1991: 15 and Balkin 1988: 31).

The negative responses were the following:

❖ **Discrimination**

On paper there is supposed to be no discrimination and the transformation is for everybody, but they don't practice what they preach. There is no transformation. On paper they say that changes are occurring, men and women are equal, but in reality it is not really like that (respondent 5, a Xhosa Captain, who had been in the SAPS for 13 years).

On the negative side, however, there was a feeling that transformation has not kept pace with the increased number of women in the SAPS as the boardrooms and senior positions are still male dominated and often the inputs of policewomen are not taken seriously. Literature was found to support this statement. The MEC for Safety and Security, Nomvula Mokonyane (Webb 2000: 1) stated that women make up only 20 percent of the SAPS. She also said that employment equity was not about replacing whites with blacks, but to assist the previously disadvantaged, which means both black and white, but it this will remain only on paper, if women don't translate them into real rights. Jones (1986: 181) stated that she had researched the question whether the

Sex Discrimination Act was working in Britain and the answer is: 'In name only'. The author states that she thinks this is due to a lack of commitment and will.

❖ **Gender discrimination**

We are not getting equal opportunities. Look at promotions. There will be 20 Black men promoted and five Black women; whereas in the case of Whites: six men and four women (respondent 9, a White Captain). Respondent 10, a Sotho Captain also supported this view and said: We are given a platform at times, but the platform is not enough. Your inputs are taken as a mere formality but they are not implemented or taken into serious consideration.

The respondents seem to be of the opinion that very little gender equality currently exists in the SAPS.

This finding was supported by the literature. Bennett (2001: 2) states that it does not seem as if employment equity has done much to the position of women in top levels in South Africa. It is clear however, that although the racial gap has gradually narrowed, the gender gap has barely budged. Conklin (1993: 553) states that the advantage of eliminating discrimination, would be to open opportunities for the minority groups, such as women and the previously disadvantaged and new bonds would be created in the conventional social order amongst groups.

❖ **Male domination**

Respondent 6, a South Sotho Superintendent, said: *There is no transformation at all. Women are not called into boardrooms where men hold the meetings. It is still male-dominated.*

The literature supports this finding. Policemen are very much aware of their public image and definite group solidarity exists within the police department. Women are perceived as a threat within this male dominated culture;

therefore the position of female officers has been neglected (Heidensohn 1998: 217).

The respondents felt that transformation had not kept pace with the increased number of women in the SAPS as the senior positions are still male dominated and often the inputs of policewomen are not taken seriously. Women definitely have a role to play in the world of policing. There was a definite feeling amongst the respondents that women must be more representative not only on ground level, but also at the top level in the SAPS. The respondents seem to be of the opinion that very little gender equality exists in the SAPS.

5.2.2 Changes that woman have accomplished

The respondents were asked whether they thought that women had brought any changes into the world of policing. They said the following in this regard:

❖ Victim support

Respondent 1, a White Inspector, said: *Yes they have. Women feel more comfortable with you - so a lot more cases are reported; sodomy and domestic problems for example. Women would rather speak to a woman, although you get males that can handle the situation - they feel a lot more comfortable with a woman.* Respondent 2 agreed with this view and said: *Yes, certainly in cases where women and children are hurt, or beaten. Women want to talk to women. Children are scared of men; they think that all men are like their father. They are scared of policemen but will talk willingly to policewomen.* Respondent 10 said the following: *Women stood up against the victimisation or the abuse of women in all spheres and they have made our male counterparts within the police aware of it. Whereas before, when women went to the charge office and complained about domestic violence the policemen would say: 'go home and sort it out with your husband'. But with women inside the charge office you stand up as a woman and say: 'this is not supposed to happen, we should help this woman'.*

Victim support most often is directed towards women and children. The literature supports the findings. Valier (2002: 141) noted that before the second-wave feminism occurred, people assumed that violence against women was rare, but the women's movement actually revealed that rape, sexual assault and wife abuse was quite a common occurrence.

❖ **Softer touch**

When I came into the police in 1984, the women then were more 'macho'. Then the women were more butch. But changes have come since then. Women have brought a softer touch. Men have a different attitude than women. Women are more understanding than men. It is very important for us to be in the police (respondent 7, a White Superintendent, who had been in the SAPS for 19 years).

Women seem to be more understanding than their male colleagues. This finding corresponds with the literature. Miller (1999: 153) states that men and women bring different qualities to the job, and these reflect traditional expectations of masculinity and femininity.

❖ **Male domination**

No, women have not brought about any changes. I'll tell you why. The decisions on policing are all made mostly by men, so how can we bring about change? In the police we work within a hierarchy. Decisions within in the police come from the top structure, where decisions are made on the objectives of the police for the year. Who decides the policing priorities for the year? The Commissioner is a man and we cannot change that. So what role do we play? (respondent 4, an English Superintendent)

No literature was found to support this finding.

❖ Gender discrimination

Women have brought about changes in the police, but the men are getting the credit. We make changes, we do this, we do that but we don't get the credit. Men get the credit. It works like that. If I came with a brilliant idea, the men will be credited (respondent 5, a Xhosa Captain, who has been in the SAPS for 13 years).

The literature supports this finding. The issue here seems to be that women do not get the recognition for the work which they have done, which equates with the esteem needs of Maslow. Erasmus-Kritzinger, Bowler and Goliath (2001: 34) state that esteem needs include the need to achieve and to be recognised as well as appreciated. The difficulties which policewomen face may be the result of the 'cop culture' (Martin 1996: 518). Police officers form a cohesive group because of the nature of their work. The police officers resemble a subculture, because they have their own set of norms whereby they live (Jacobs 1987: 4).

The overwhelming feeling amongst the respondents was that women had indeed brought about a lot of change. Most of the respondents mentioned the specific characteristics associated more with women; the more compassionate side of women; the softer touch that women have towards victims of crime, especially valuable in rape cases and child abuse cases. The negative responses concerning male domination and gender discrimination, seem to revolve around the fact that men are in control generally in the SAPS, which creates resentment amongst the policewomen.

5.2.3 Other changes occurring

The respondents were asked whether they thought that any other meaningful changes had occurred in the SAPS since transformation. The positive responses of the respondents were as follows:

❖ Gender changes

Respondent 1, an Afrikaans Inspector, said the following: *In the senior structure, your top structure, there are much more women involved. You get a lot of the units for instance, where the Head of the Child Protection Unit, is a woman.*

The literature corresponds with this finding. Gender recognition as a strategy aims to strengthen women's social rights as workers, according to Sainsbury (1996: 196).

❖ Service improvement towards children

Yes, there has been service improvement to the public, especially in circumstances where the children are the victims of crime as well (respondent 2, an Afrikaans Inspector).

It would seem as if people from the communities are becoming more involved with the police and the service to the public has improved, especially in the case of women and child victims. This seems to be a positive aspect, which could lead to reduction in crime. The literature supports this finding. The initiators of women in policing programs sense that women will bring change to the policing system and feel that this change would be the better for their presence (Sherman 1975: 437).

❖ Racial changes

Respondent 19, a White Assistant Commissioner, who has been in the SAPS for 23 years, says the following: *There are a lot more black women in the police although we have had black women in the police since 1982. I think that they had a harder battle in order to be accepted than white women.* Respondent 21, a White Superintendent, who has been in the SAPS for 9 years, supports this finding and says the following: *There are more women*

coming in and there are more black people in senior positions and more black people are getting appointed. Not male to female changes, but racial changes definitely. Respondent 21, a White Superintendent, also supports this view: There are more women in the police, especially more black policewomen, according to respondent 19, with a few women in senior positions. Racial changes have also been addressed.

In this regard, Bouman (1997: vt8) states that in order for the SAPS to establish good relationships with the public and the black South Africans, it is necessary to provide the members of the police with greater insight and understanding of the attitudes and cultures of these groups. Information should also be available on how to make a positive impact on such relationships.

❖ **Community involvement**

Respondent 22, a White Inspector, said: The community has become more involved with the police. They are freer now. They can speak out. Their voices can also be heard, not like that before, it is more open. They have their rights nowadays.

This finding is supported by the literature. Lombard (1996: vt3) states that the prime objective of management in the South African Police Service is to transform the SAPS into a 'user-friendly' Service, which is acceptable to all citizens of South Africa. Bouman (1997: vt6) reaffirms that a process of demilitarisation has been designed to ensure that policing services, which are provided to the public, are performed in a transparent and accountable manner. Improving the image of the SAPS should not only be about the changing of ranks or symbols, but that the members of the public perceive the SAPS as representative.

❖ Ranks and regulations

There has only been a gradual change in the standing orders, changes regarding regulations, but not enough. Then there were big changes after 1994, rank changes. Changes from a force to a service. I don't know where the service is, but I believe we are coming to it. Equality, yes, but only after the affirmative action law and the equality law and the labour relations law came into place. But the police are far from implementing the law as it is, because it takes two or three years before the police have to implement the law. We are quite behind. It should be wonderful if we were 50 percent men and 50 percent women one day (Respondent 14, a White Superintendent). Yes, there have been changes. Some of the policewomen have been promoted to higher ranks (Respondent 25, a Zulu Inspector).

It would seem as if changes have occurred in the regulations as well as in the ranks as they are starting to adhere to equality laws in the police, but not enough has been done. The President of South Africa, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said recently, that no government in South Africa might ever claim to represent the will of the people, if it failed to address the central task of the emancipation of women in all its components (Sefara 2004: 2).

❖ Changes in uniform

A White Superintendent, who has been in the SAPS for 19 years, said the following: *We have a nicer and more practical uniform. We can wear trousers instead of a skirt. Women speak their mind more freely. I think that the women have a point of view, which they use now, and they know they will be backed up, for instance about women abuse and such matter.*

The uniforms of the policewomen have also improved, with trousers being more acceptable to wear in certain circumstances than wearing a skirt. This finding correlates with the literature. Brown (1996 b: 5) state that the Czech police, in their attempt to reform, issued new uniforms in order to convey a

more civil military image which did not seem as military as the private security guards. Heidensohn (1989: 14) states that in the USA, all officers are called officers and not policemen or policewomen and the uniforms are the same for both sexes. In Britain however, Young (1991: 210) states that there has been relatively little change to the basic uniform design, as for the most part it had been designed by men and therefore reflects the suitability for male officers.

The negative issues emanating from the respondents concerning this question were the following:

❖ **Gender changes**

No, I don't think that they treat us differently because we are women. I don't think that they treat me better than men. Maybe in riots they won't take a woman with, but I don't want to be treated differently (Respondent 3, a White Inspector).

No corresponding literature was found to support this finding.

❖ **No change**

No, I do not think that policing has changed. If we look at policing as a whole, the way we police. It is a laid down thing. We are a para-military organisation. It was said by the Commissioner of Police that we must have fire-arms and if we use fire-arms, there must be discipline. Discipline means that if your Commander says to you 'this is how we do it', then that is how you do, it. If they say, 'this is how we police', that is how we police (Respondent 4, a White Superintendent, who has been in the SAPS for 12 years). No changes, on paper only, but we don't see it There seems to be a para-military still existing in the police, incorporating the procedures that the members of the police must adhere to (Respondent 24, a South Sotho Captain who has been in the SAPS for 19 years).

One of the respondents felt that policing had not changed, because policing is a para-military organisation where discipline should be adhered to and this is not something that a woman can change. However, discipline per se is unrelated to gender, equality, race or any other issue in any organisation.

The literature research revealed the following. Bouman (1997: vt4), states that all members of the SAPS will be confronted with change as the direct outcome of the socio-political transformation within South Africa. This re-organisation should lead to a de-militarised and de-centralised police service, which in turn implies a shift from a machine bureaucracy towards a professional bureaucracy, with the emphasis on reliable, expert, high quality service.

The views of some of the respondents were that more women are representative in the top structure of the SAPS than before. A feeling also exists that women have more clarity in what they do and that most women deal with their work effectively. More females are also working outside the charge office in the field than before.

5.2.4 Improvement in the circumstances of women since transformation

The respondents were asked whether they thought that any improvement in their circumstances had occurred since transformation. The following were the positive responses from the respondents:

❖ Successful

Respondent 1, a White Inspector said: *Yes, there has been improvement. When your male colleagues see that you are successful in doing things, you start to get their respect. This is a very big improvement.*

This is a form of discrimination; in that women must first prove themselves to be adequate and only then will they be accepted. The literature supports this finding. Harrington (2004: 2) found that discrimination is all-encompassing in

police departments and that even supervisors are frequently the perpetrators in such cases.

❖ **Women accepted and their rights respected**

Respondent 2, a White Inspector, said in this regard: *Women are allowed to go on patrol now. Women are accepted now.* Respondent 3, a White Inspector, supported this view and said: *We are allowed to attend any courses now for example the Special Task Forces course. And if you feel that they are discriminating against you, then you can put in a grievance.* Respondent 19, an Assistant Commissioner, also supported this view and said the following: *There have been huge improvements in women's rights. We have a lot of support functions. There are a lot of opportunities and changes. And the uniforms have improved immensely. Now we can wear trousers. Maternity leave is longer. Before 1994 we did not get any maternity leave.*

It would seem as if women are being accepted by their male colleagues now and also experience more freedom. Not only have the uniforms improved, but also the maternity leave conditions. Previously women mostly had to man the charge offices and do the clerical work and were not allowed to go into the communities whereas now they accompany men to scenes of crime. It seems as if policewomen have more opportunities than before as they are free to attend any courses, have more support functions and are free to express themselves. Their uniforms have also improved. The literature supported this finding. Bezuidenhout and Theron (2000: 27) found that the uniform contributed to making them look smart as well as offering them a certain degree of authority.

❖ **Improved circumstances**

A White Superintendent (14), who has been in the SAPS for 12 years, said: *I think that the circumstances of women have improved, because the people are more aware of the circumstances of women, but policing has not changed. Everybody knows about affirmative action, equity and all the other things that*

have been put in place, so the circumstances of women have improved. But, I don't think that women per se have brought any changes in policing; their circumstances have improved because of affirmative action.

No literature was found to support this finding.

❖ **Freedom of expression**

Many things have changed; and there has been improvement for instance, we are now free to express ourselves. Before you just had to listen, now there is freedom of speech (Respondent 25, a Zulu Inspector).

There was no literature to support this finding.

There were many positive responses from the group on the improvement of their circumstances in the SAPS. From the responses of the respondents it seems as though the men are starting to accept and respect their female colleagues now.

The negative responses to this question were the following:

❖ **Promotion discrimination**

A White Captain (respondent 9), said: *The only improvement is that more women have been promoted, but they still stand at the back of the queue when promotion comes.* This respondent felt that although the circumstances of women have improved, because of affirmative action and equity, policing *per se* has not changed. Her point of view is that women have not brought any changes in policing, but their circumstances have improved because of these generic issues being brought in. This view ignores the women and children victim areas where policewomen have had a major influence on policing. Milton (1972: 6) states that policewomen can be an invaluable asset to law enforcement and their present role should be broadened.

❖ Gender discrimination

Respondent 13, a White Superintendent, said the following: *I don't think that there have been a lot of changes according to ranks and females given the opportunity to be Commanders. There is a vast scope for that. There are not enough female Commanders. There are a lot of young Captains and even young Superintendents who with a little bit of leading, will make good Commanders, but they will have to be given the opportunity.*

The literature research supports this finding. Martin (1993: 344) states that as women enter the occupation and move slowly into positions of authority, they could serve as role models and sponsors for other women. There is reason for guarded optimism about the future of women in law enforcement.

❖ Not accommodating motherhood at work

Respondent 14, a White Superintendent, said the following: *No. The reason for me saying this is that the men don't really feel for women. There are companies that have places for the children to stay while you are working shifts. They really look after their women. They give them a compressed workweek. We have nothing like that. The men go home and everything is done. We go home, feed the children, feed the husband, and then you do whatever you have to do, because sometimes you also take work home.*

This encompasses male discrimination at home as well as at work. In this regard Zietsman (1995: 26) states that the culture as well as the social environment in which men and women grow up may be a determining factor, which affects the attitudes of men and women at home and at work.

The negative responses concerned the improvements in the promotions for policewomen; but it has not been enough because there are still very few women in the higher ranks. Women still play a dual role, that of working and being the housewife, which puts a lot of stress on women and they would like to have more support in this instance.

5.2.5 Image of women in policing

The respondents were asked whether they thought that the image of women in the SAPS had changed. The following were the responses of the respondents:

❖ Decision making

There are a lot of changes now in transformation. The image of the women has changed from just being in the police to playing a very important role now, on ground level and at top level now, where decisions are made (Respondent 1, a White Inspector).

No literature was found to support this finding.

❖ Obtain information more easily

Yes, the men saw what was going on. It was easier for the women to get information out of a suspect. I think that women from the community also started reporting more cases, because they saw that they have the support of policewomen, where before they didn't (Respondent 2, a White Inspector).

It seems to be a characteristic of women to get the information from a suspect more easily than her male counterpart. This finding is supported by the literature study. Milton (1972: 96) states that it has been determined that that in some cases, especially in Alcoholic Beverage Control cases, that policewomen are able to obtain information in less time than the male colleague and in terms of intelligence gathering, it was found that female officers are more readily accepted than their male counterparts.

❖ **Field work**

Respondent 3, a White Inspector, who has been with the SAPS for 12 years, said the following: *In the beginning the women were only used in the administration offices, but these days you see that they are more part of the Special Task Forces. In vehicles, on patrol, we are more committed; we don't just sit in an office, doing administration anymore, making photocopies etc. There the image has changed a lot, and I like that.*

The roles have obviously changed for the women, as they can go out on patrol now. The findings of a major study, which was done on policewomen on patrol in 1975 in USA, found that women performed patrol duties as well as men (Balkin 1988: 30).

❖ **Physical appearance requirements dropped**

Respondent 4, an English Superintendent, who has been in the SAPS for 12 years, said: *Yes, to a certain extent. Men are starting to realise that women have to have an equal position; the image in the past was more that the woman is there to look pretty. There was a pre-requirement that you had to weigh so much and that you have to be so tall etc. Now there are no prerequisites.*

There are no prerequisites for women joining the police anymore, as the requirements have been dropped. In the past there were prerequisites, for example they had to be a certain height and their weight had to be in accordance with their height. The prerequisites in order to be accepted into the SAPS were discussed in Chapter 3; section 3.5.2, according to the Recruiting Brochure (1972).

❖ **Promotion**

Respondent 12, a White Superintendent, who has been in the SAPS for 14 years, said the following: *Yes, they gave them more attention, put them more*

into the limelight and put women into higher posts. If you look at promotion for females, they have given them more attention. They are considering them more for posts, where previously it was more male dominated. The literature supports this finding. Carstens (2004: 2) states that the government service is supposed accommodate 30 percent women in senior positions by the end of 2004, if the male/female ratio is taken into account.

❖ **Gender compatibility**

Respondent 13, a White Superintendent, who had been in the SAPS for 21 years, said: *Yes, I think men have come to realise that we are their equal and sometimes even their superior. I am not a sexist, but I think that whatever men can do, if I put my mind to it, I can do it better. I believe it. What makes them so smart? I know that they are strong but I believe that we are cleverer than they are. They may have a certain way of doing things, but I may have a different way of doing it. When you have to arrest somebody it is just a question of knowing what to do. It is just a way of tactics and a female can do it just the same as a male.* Respondent 18, also a White Superintendent, who has been in the SAPS for 14 years, supported this statement and said: *Oh yes, tremendously. In the police we talk about culture and there is a thing that we call 'staatsmatras'. Men are starting to see that women are not 'staatsmatrasse'. You always get common people in any place and women traditionally were seen as sleeping around. Men are starting to see that women aren't there to just be pretty or make the frilly curtains or make their coffee. They are starting to take us seriously and they can see that we do make a difference and there are challenges that we can rise up too.*

Policewomen are not seen as only 'staatsmatrasse' but are starting to be taken seriously in the work situation. The meaning of 'staatsmatras' has the connotation of a mattress belonging the government. Women from the community are also coming forward with their complaints more readily, because they have the support of the policewomen, according to the respondents. Their image in the police also seems to have changed for the better.

These findings about the 'staatsmatras' are supported by the literature. Young (1991: 206) states that the control of the body of the policewomen has been subject to verbal abuse forever. The body of the women is discussed and laughed at, as well as ogled over, scorned at and drooled over by policemen.

The negative responses to this question were the following:

❖ **Gender discrimination**

Respondent 9, a White Captain, who has been in the SAPS for 13 years, said: *There is no change. The men still always see us differently, as the weaker gender, although they accept us as their colleagues.* The literature supports this finding. Young (1991: 229) states that women are allowed into the male world, but it must be on male terms. Martin (1993: 344) reiterates that women officers still face discriminatory treatment that limits their options and opportunities for advancement.

❖ **Gender labelling**

No, I think the image of public is still that of a policewoman being a butch woman. The officers working on the outside, in the field, don't wear uniforms so you don't know that they are from the police (respondent 21, a married Afrikaans Superintendent). No literature was found to support this finding.

From the responses it seems as if the image of women in the SAPS has changed from just being in the police to playing a very important role now. There were very few negative responses and it was mainly that men still see women as the weaker sex although they have accepted them as colleagues. The responses mostly indicated that changes had occurred in the SAPS and that the image of women had improved to the extent that more women are applying to enter the SAPS every year.

5.2.6 Have women been able to change their own circumstances?

The question to the respondents was whether they felt that they had been able to change their own circumstances in policing. The following were the responses to this question:

❖ **Hard work and dedication**

Respondent 1, an Afrikaans Inspector, said: *Yes, I think through hard work and dedication women were able to change their circumstances. But I think that women have to work twice as hard as men. Women have shown that they are not just here to collect a salary, but they are prepared to work for that salary* Respondent 2, also an Afrikaans Inspector, supported this view and said: *Yes, I think so - it is like when you come into a new place, you have to prove yourself. You have to show the men that you can do the work. It was harder in the beginning.*

The literature supports this finding. Muraskin & Alleman (1993: xx) found that women have yet to achieve all they want to achieve, because they are still struggling. They are still victims of the justice system and are still discriminated against. Theoretically the law has attempted to end discrimination, but the only thing that has ended, is the system of discrimination. Women's work has been judged within Western masculinist culture as inferior to most of the work done by men according to Court (1997: 18).

❖ **Opportunities**

Respondent 17, a Sotho Superintendent, said: *Women are allowed to have an input. They have the right to change things if it will affect women generally in the organisation. They can change things now as compared to the past.* Respondent 19, a White Assistant Commissioner, supported this view and said: *You can try and make a difference by suggesting things and by trying*

things. If you don't ask, you don't get. Yes, I think women can change their own circumstances, but there are limitations and restrictions because we are a government service..

No literature was found to support this finding.

❖ **Gender compatibility**

Yes, I think tremendously. I think the biggest liberating factor is for a woman to get her driving licence and have her own money. The fact that we can be in control and that we have our own earning power. We have been liberated. We can do anything and go anywhere when we want to (Respondent 18, an Indian Superintendent). The literature supports this finding. It seems as if the esteem needs of the respondents have been met here, which includes the need to achieve (Erasmus-Kritzinger, Bowler & Goliath 2001: 34).

❖ **Self development**

Respondent 26, a South Sotho Captain said the following: *Yes, we have empowered ourselves. We have developed ourselves, because now we have the opportunities, whereas we were disadvantaged before.*

No literature was found to support this finding.

The specific changes of transformation in policing relate to gender equality, human rights, and affirmative action and the respondents' responses generally were positive in this context. Women have coped with and been able to change their circumstances by working hard, self-development, self-empowerment and keeping their self-respect. They are now allowed an input at work can change their circumstances to a certain degree, whereas in die past they were limited and disadvantaged. The opportunities are there to empower themselves now, and to take control of their lives.

The negative responses were the following:

❖ Dissatisfaction

Respondent 8, a White Captain, who has been in the SAPS for 15 years said: No. We are dissatisfied. We want to change our circumstances, but we can't. We are let down from everywhere: Nationally, Provincial and Area. Respondent 10, a Sotho Captain, who has been in the SAPS for 16 years, supported this view and said: It is still a problem to change our own circumstances. We are still experiencing those women that regard themselves as inferior but we also have those that can stand up and fight their own battles.

The negative feeling that still prevails however is that there still seems to be a problem concerning restrictions which start at ground level all the way through to government level.

No literature was found to support these views.

5.3 CONTRIBUTION OF POLICEWOMEN

5.3.1 Women working harder

The question to the respondents was whether they thought that women have to work harder in order to achieve. The following were their comments:

❖ Believe in yourself

Respondent 1, a White Inspector said: Yes, you do. A woman needs to work twice as hard, because she has to believe in herself and the only time a woman can believe in herself is when she has achieved something, so that is the one problem. Sometimes, in a male dominated world, they are very critical, because they don't intend to give you a chance. They break you down or they see you as a disappointment, even before you started, just because of the fact that you are a woman. But if you believe in yourself, that is not a problem.

The policewomen felt that during their term of work, they have to work harder than their male counterparts to develop their skills and expertise. Their managerial skills should be neither masculine, nor feminine, but acceptable to their male colleagues, superiors and other people who work with them. The literature supported this view. Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 130), state that a woman has to try ten times harder and to do ten times better than their male colleagues and Martin and Jurik (1996: 40) found that men belittle women's work and magnify their failures.

❖ ***Prove yourself***

Respondent 4 an English Superintendent, who has been in the SAPS for 12 years, said the following: *Yes, you have got to work a lot harder, because you have to prove that you can do the work. Men don't have to prove anything, because it is accepted that they are the stronger race.* Respondent 13, an Afrikaans Superintendent, who has been in the SAPS for 21 years, agreed with this view and said: *Yes, I think so. You have to prove yourself. Sometimes, when the men do something, fine, but when a female has to do something you have to do it the right way and there are not second chances. If you make a mistake once, you are out. But if a male makes a mistake, he gets a second chance. We do it once and we do it the right way, we don't need second chances. They think certain posts are for certain genders, Crime Prevention for instance, they think is a male domain. They think that females won't be able to do that. We don't have one female Station Commissioner in our Area, because they don't think we can do it. But they must just give us the opportunity.* Respondent 14, also an Afrikaans Superintendent, who has been in the SAPS for 12 years, was also in agreement and said: *Definitely. If I just take my job as the Station Commander into account, I had to work three times harder, no, three hundred times harder to prove to the Commissioner that I am able to manage the job and run the station with men and that I am able to handle my community and I am able to bring down the crime.*

The literature supports this finding. Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 130), found that a woman has to try ten times harder and to do ten times better than their male colleagues in order to prove themselves. When a female makes a

mistake, all the females are to blame, but when a male makes a mistake, no one pays any attention.

❖ **Recognition**

Yes. I know that it has always been like that for a woman, to get a name or recognition somewhere or carve a name for herself within the ranks. You must first work a hundred times harder than the laziest male to be recognised, to be worth your salt; for someone to take you seriously and for someone to trust you and for someone not to doubt your integrity (Respondent 18, an Indian Superintendent).

The literature corresponds with the findings. Parsons and Jesilow (2001: 130) found that females do have to try much harder and that the female standard has to be higher than the males. Bezuidenhout and Theron (2000: 28) on the other hand, found in a study of 12 police officers, (6 females and 6 males) who were all working at the same station, that women do not have to harder than men in order to get the same recognition that men do.

❖ **Capable**

Respondent 23, a Coloured Inspector's view was the following: *Yes. You must work harder than men do, so that they can say she is capable. Some of them just question your capability, whether you are able to do it or not. Their attitude is: Lets put her under stress and see whether she is going to cry or complain.*

This seems to be an example of male discrimination. Martin and Jurik (1996: 40) state that men belittle women's work and magnify their failures.

❖ **Smarter**

No, we must just work smarter as a woman and then we will achieve. When we are smarter, that means we are committed to the outcome to whatever we

are doing. We must leave a legacy (respondent 24, a South Sotho Captain, who has been in the SAPS for 19 years).

No literature was found to support this finding.

5.3.2 The quality of life in the communities

The question posed to the respondents was whether they thought that policewomen had made a difference to the quality of life in the communities.

The following were their responses:

❖ Softer approach to victims

Respondent 1, a White Inspector, said: *Yes, in communities where domestic violence occurs, the woman is the person that is contacted. The woman is the person that is spoken to. If you look at children in the community, they relate to a woman very well, not that they don't relate to men, but they are more susceptible to women.* Respondent 2, also a White Inspector said: *Maybe, just in the sense that women and children feel freer to come and talk to policewomen about cases such as rape cases and abuse cases.* Respondent 9, a White Captain, said: *Yes, especially at trauma centres. I know that some of the stations have their own trauma centres, an initiative which came from the women.*

The role of policewomen is community orientated. In cases of domestic violence or rape and abuse had occurred, it seems as if the women and children relate better to a woman than to a man. The literature study supported this finding. Balkin (1988:31) states that women police officers share a certain amount of compassion, which they feel that they bring to their jobs as females and mothers. Walklate ((Leishman, Loveday & Savage) 1996: 197) says that in a survey done of women's views of policing, 44 percent on the sample thought that women officers would be more understanding in cases of violence against women.

❖ **Added value to community relations**

Respondent 4, a White Superintendent, said: *Yes, because there are more of us in the SAPS than in previous years. More women are coming in. There has been a lot of improvement in community relations, through the newspapers for example and the people of the communities get to work with them.* Respondent 6, a South Sotho Superintendent, supported this view and said: *Yes, women do projects where they contribute to the community. They are more community orientated than men.* Respondent 7, a White Superintendent, also supported this view and said: *I think so. Because when I think of all the women that go to schools to make presentations for example, they tell the children about drugs and dangerous weapons. Mostly policewomen go to schools; they are concerned. There they have definitely made a difference. They also have sector policing. That is where they try and get the community involved against crime where they are living in their community.* Respondent 23, a White Inspector, was also in agreement and said: *Yes. The members of the community feel freer with women. Free to communicate with women, as we are not as harsh as men. They feel that we can do an investigation better than the men now. Now that we can go out and do our investigations.* Respondent 24, a South Sotho Captain, also supported this view and said: *Yes. Women talk to the victims and they even talk to the criminals. When a suspect sees a policeman, he becomes more aggressive, because he knows that he is going to be beaten, he is going to be tortured. But if you want something done in the community, send a woman. That is how we have changed the image of the police in the society that we serve.* Respondent 26, a South Sotho Captain, was also in agreement with this and said: *Women go out on special operations now. Before, the criminals had this tendency of not respecting the police but now, when you talk to them and you are a woman, they listen to you. They respect you as a woman. If only women can go out and do special operations, they will bring back the criminals.*

According to the respondents, there has been a vast improvement in the relations between the community and the police since more women have joined

the SAPS. The literature supports this finding. Balkin (1988: 32) states that members of the public generally have positive attitudes towards policewomen.

❖ **Caring**

Respondent 8, a White Captain, said: *Yes, at the Child Protection Unit, because women care more. You care about what is happening in the community around you.* Respondent 14, a White Superintendent, was in agreement and said: *Definitely. We as policewomen are involved in Crime Buster and Adopt -a-Cop projects. There is more empathy from ladies in their handling of crime victims and in empowering women and children.* Respondent 10, a Sotho Captain was also in agreement with this view and said: *Within the police we have the situation, women have come up with things like caring for the community. You are not just a police officer waiting to arrest somebody, to bring to jail. You are there to assist the people.*

By becoming part of such projects as 'Crime Buster' for example, policewomen have adopted a caring role, one of empathy, in the community. The literature supports these findings. According to Martin (1996: 520), some of the female officers whom she interviewed in a study on women in policing, felt that they had particular skills to offer in potentially violent situations and were more inclined to defuse a situation without the use of physical force than their male colleagues. It would seem as if the policewomen have brought a more caring attitude into policing by not simply considering their function of that of arresting people, but also of caring for the members of the community.

5.3.3 Contribution

The question that was asked of the respondents was what contribution (if any) they thought that women have brought to policing. The following were their responses:

❖ **Softer approach with civilians**

Respondent 1, a White Inspector, said: *I can talk about the softness they brought into policing. Today, the structure of community policing means that the community has to get to know us, because the women are pushed to the foreground now, they get to know you, it makes the relationship in the police world very communication friendly, because of the fact that it is very easy to relate to a woman. They go with a mindset which is that it is much easier to speak to a woman and because you are a woman, you are able to understand about what they are going through.* Respondent 3, also a White Inspector, agreed with this view and said the following: *A man is not tuned in like a woman. A woman is more compassionate. I think the woman does the rounding off in the police, that's how I feel. The men are busy with the hard facts, but we do that little bit extra, just because we belong here. For women, the police is a calling, for men it is just another job.*

The literature supported these views. Characteristics of women, such as their understanding, their compassionate nature and their inherent softness all contribute to an improved service to the community. The literature supports this finding. Women are able to provide a different kind of service to the community, because of their inherent nature to be more compassionate and understanding than men (Herrington 1993: 262).

❖ **Service**

The contribution of women is that of making the police much more of a service than a force. Because women don't use force normally, they are good communicators (respondent 6, a South Sotho Superintendent).

The literature supports this finding. Book (2000: 119) reiterates that women are well known for their ability to collaborate with others as well as nurturing those around them. Harrington (2004: 3) came to the same conclusion that women officers are not as likely as their male counterparts to use excessive force.

❖ **Trusting**

Respondent 9, a White Captain, who has been in the SAPS for 13 years, said: *I think that policewomen have brought a contribution to policing. With the trauma centres the police have become much more acceptable to the members of the communities. If you see all the cases of corruption, it is mainly males who are the culprits and when the members of the public see that there are also women in the police now, it gives them more trust in the police.*

Changes that have occurred in the community because of the presence of women in the police are that trust has been renegotiated between the public and the police. Contrary to this, Steel (1987: 67) states that even though there were members of the police who thought a deterioration would take place within the Police Department if women were enrolled and on the other hand, that women could substantially improve the conditions within the police, neither group can claim much support for their views from evidence found.

❖ **Victim support**

Respondent 14, an Afrikaans Superintendent, said in this regard: *I think policewomen brought a great contribution to victim support. Ladies are also better at office work, administrative work as well as in a support function; our support to rape victims, working with the members' salaries etc.*

The literature supports this view as Miller (1999: 153) states, that the qualities that men and women bring to the job are different.

❖ **Management**

Respondent 19, an Assistant Commissioner, who has been in the SAPS for 23 years, said the following: *There are women in the top structure of the police now. The structure of women in the police are the following: We have a Deputy Commissioner, who is a woman, we have a National Deputy*

Commissioner, who is a woman and we have the Divisional Commissioner, who is a woman. That is a big contribution. The face of policing is changing, albeit slowly. Gifford (2002: 2) stated that the deputy National Commissioner of police, is a woman and also that the days of discrimination, stereotyping and prejudice against women are at an end. Malan (2004: 2) states that more women will have to enter policing to make the numbers equal, however he does not make any mention of the different ranks.

❖ **Crime prevention**

Respondent 26, a South Sotho Captain, said: *Since there are so many women in the police, the crime has decreased, even if not with high percentages, but it has. When we arrest a male criminal, he is not aggressive towards us.*

This finding was not supported by literature, but more than one respondent in this research group supported this viewpoint.

The feeling amongst the respondents was that they contributed to the improvement currently existing in the relationship between the members of the police and the members of the society. From the responses it seemed as though suspects relate easier to a woman than a man, because of women's more compassionate side. The above-mentioned is entirely repetitive of what has been said before, but this just highlights the fact that women perceive themselves as more capable than men in such areas as victim support.

5.4 CONCLUSION

Policewomen have effectively made use of their inherent feminine qualities, such as empathy and teamwork in order to achieve the positions that they are in. Women are known to nurture those around them, qualities that have new meaning in today's workplace, especially in policing, where rape and child abuse is a very prominent problem in our society. They have become more involved in community-orientated projects; visiting schools, crime buster and

sector policing. Regulations have improved, such as maternity leave, as have their uniforms. They have freedom of speech now. Their roles have also changed, as they do field work now, attend courses; are part of the task force and go on patrol.

Gender changes seem to have occurred, as well as racial changes, as there are more women, black as well as white in the SAPS. However there were no changes in the discipline and the police still seem to be a paramilitary organisation. Policewomen have utilised such qualities as confidence and the courage to deal with change and yet policewomen are not perceived as equals and are still mainly dominated by men. There are more opportunities for women in the SAPS now, but they are still to be given a more dominant role in policing. Hopefully, acceptance of women will continue to improve.

The next chapter is a discussion on Maslow's hierarchy of needs and how the needs of the policewomen in this research group correspond with these views.

CHAPTER 6

HIERARCHY OF NEEDS AND SATISFACTION

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In any organisation, supervisors are supposed to be conscious of the needs of their employees. Understanding these needs may help them to improve their interpersonal relationships, as well as know how to motivate them to the benefit of their work environment. By understanding and satisfying their needs they could also manage to avoid conflict in the work situation. Maslow discusses these needs extensively.

Abraham Maslow was a humanist psychologist and carried out his investigations on human behaviour between 1939 and 1943. He developed a theory related to human motivation, and it has become one of the most popular and often cited theories on human motivation. Humanists focus on potentials and they believe that humans strive for an upper level of their capabilities, which is called self-actualisation (Simons, Irwin & Drinnien 2004: 1). Maslow's model conceptualises the motivational needs of the individual from the safety needs through to the ultimate stage of self-actualisation. As each of these five needs are satisfied, the person starts to focus on attaining the needs at the next level and in doing this, he moves up the hierarchy.

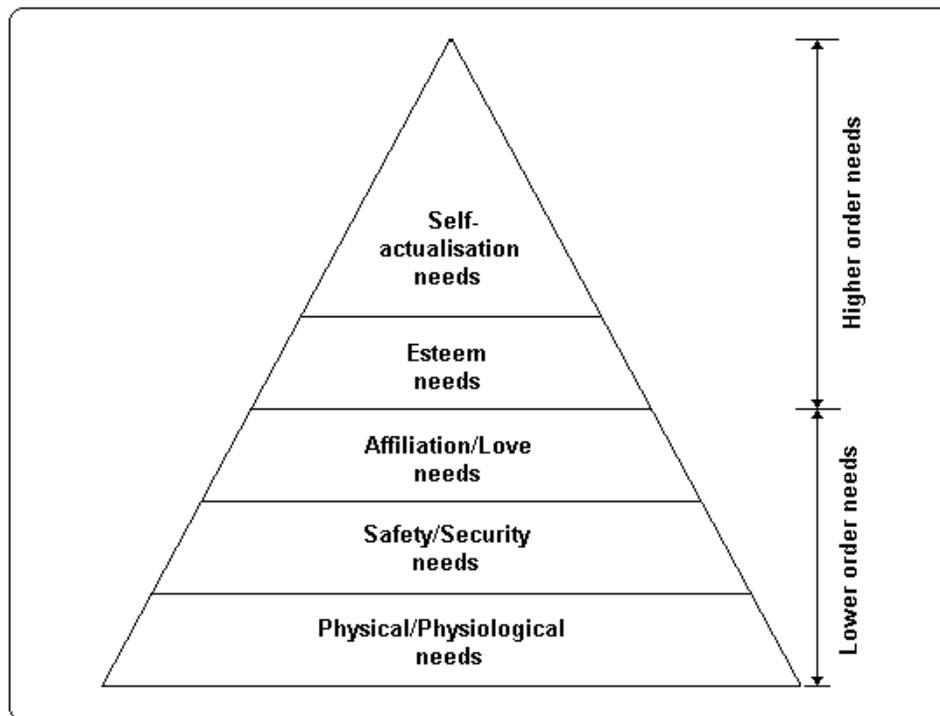
6.2 MASLOW'S THEORY

Maslow stated that within every human being there exists a hierarchy of needs. Maslow developed a theory according to which he proposed five levels of needs that every human-and therefore also every employee - seeks to satisfy. He extrapolated five needs, i.e. the physiological needs, which are the survival needs; the safety needs wherein the individual strives to create an environment which is safe; the social needs, which encompasses the needs for affection and love as well as relationships with fellow men. These are the lower needs. The higher needs include the esteem and the self-actualisation

needs. The esteem needs encompass the drive for the feelings of self-worth and the feelings of own importance and the self-actualisation needs, which are at the top of the hierarchy, are the motivators which allow the individual to maximise his/her own growth and thereby making a contribution to others.

Maslow made a diagram of his famous hierarchy of needs in the shape of a pyramid. The following is a graphical description of Maslow's hierarchy of needs:

Diagram 1 Maslow's hierarchy of human needs



According to Maslow, human beings develop through these different levels of need satisfaction. Some psychologists are of the viewpoint that a persons' behaviour is directed by his/her motivation to satisfy needs. These five needs can be classified into two groups, the lower and higher order needs or the physiological and psychological needs. The lower order or deficiency needs are the physiological needs; the safety needs and the affiliation needs or love needs. The higher order or growth needs are the esteem needs and the self-

actualisation needs (Erasmus-Kritzinger, Swart & Mona 2000: 337). Norwood (2004: 1) states that Maslow believed that as man ascends to higher degrees in the span of his lifetime, his needs change and when one reaches the higher order of needs, it relates to social interaction and self-worth. However it should be noted that an individual is ready to act upon the growth needs only when his deficiency needs are met.

The five needs are the following:

Physical or physiological needs

The physical or physiological need seeks to satisfy ones basic needs, like the need for food, warmth and shelter. If this need is not satisfied, none of the other needs can be satisfied and therefore all actions are directed at the satisfying of this need. Therefore employers should ensure that their employees are provided with an adequate income (a fair wage), as well as good fringe benefits such as a medical scheme, pension fund and a housing scheme as well as adequate leave (Erasmus-Kritzinger, Bowler & Goliath 2001: 33). At the lowest need, individuals seek coping information in order to meet their basic needs (Huitt 2004: 2).

The SAPS provides for most of these basic needs by remunerating its personnel. In interviews with some of the respondents it was apparent that their motives for joining the SAPS was to satisfy this need, for example, respondent 1 (a White Inspector) said: *My family, my Mother, especially, was very happy. She thought that it was a stable, secure job for a woman.* Respondent 5 a Xhosa Captain, said: *I joined, due to a lack of funds and not for a long term career, but just to keep myself busy and to accumulate funds so that I can have money for my studies. But to my surprise I got stuck here.* Respondent 9 (a White Captain) said: *I wanted to study, but my father did not have the money for my studies. So, I thought I would join to the police and then study.* Respondent 3, a White Inspector, said the following: *It was my choice to work for the police and it was my choice to stay. In rank I would have liked to be*

further, but I enjoy my type of work where I have total job satisfaction and I can work out my frustrations totally.

It is clear from the aforementioned statements that, initially women join the SAPS for the security of having a job and getting the salary at the end of the month. When this need has been satisfied, the move is to satisfy the next need, which are the social needs.

Safety and security needs

What the safety and security need entails is that one should feel safe in ones own environment. Boeree (2004: 2) states that there is a need for structure, for order as well as some limits. Having the security of a steady job, income security as well as working in a safe environment will fulfil this need. By providing insurance policies against possible losses and medical aid schemes in case of sickness, this need is satisfied. Franken (1998: 328) states that safety comes from knowing your environment and making it as orderly and predictable as possible. Concerning the research group, the following: Respondent 8 (an Afrikaans White Captain) said as follows: *The police seemed like a promising job, it had a lot of advantages and you could work yourself up quickly through the ranks.*

Employers, such as the SAPS, should make provision for such benefits as medical aid and pension schemes, because this acts as security for the employee. In interviews with some of the respondents, it became apparent that their motives for joining the SAPS was to satisfy the security need. Respondent 2 (a White Inspector, who has been working for the police for 12 years) had strong views about her remuneration and the policies regarding remuneration of the police. She said: *Well, everybody wants to work him or herself up; you don't want to be left behind in a certain field. It is not so much the rank; it's the money. With the rank goes more money. I think that the police must start looking at the salary scales for the type of work that you do.* The women in the police want to know that they have the security of a pension fund, a medical aid and other benefits. Individuals at the safety level need helping information.

They seek to be assisted in seeing how they can be safe and secure (Huitt 2004: 2).

When this need is satisfied, the person turns to their social needs.

Social needs

The social needs refer to the need for friendship, love and recognition. The need to belong to a group is strong and most people belong to some or other group, for example a family or a group at work or part of a friendship group. In this instance the employer can encourage teamwork, hold regular meetings and also encourage informal social gatherings with his staff members (Erasmus-Kritzinger, Swart & Mona 2000: 338).

Women in the police want to benefit from their social environment in which they are working. *I am privileged. I work with wonderful colleagues. We are mostly women of different races and the situation is very good* (respondent 11, an Afrikaans Superintendent). They sometimes socialise amongst themselves and during interviews it was established that especially the men socialise mostly amongst their colleagues, at work and after hours, mostly to the exclusion of their female colleagues. Respondent 18, an Indian Superintendent, who has been in the police service for 14 years volunteered the following view: *There are whites where the whole family is in the police. They drive a police car and they go to police functions. It is there. I think that this cop culture is a macho cop culture. There is a boys' club, a macho boys' club where they drink a lot and drive fast.*

One of the respondents (respondent 1, a White Inspector) however stated as follows: *With 90 percent of my colleagues I deal on a professional basis. I am very sceptical and therefore I am not close to them.* Respondent 3, a White Inspector, said: *I am not a person who brings colleagues home. I don't become involved personally with my colleagues. They are friends, but not family friends.*

Workers seem to have strong social needs which they try to satisfy through membership of informal social groups at work. Management who want to improve job satisfaction and work motivation have to take these needs into account and not simply see their employees as economic individuals who want to maximise their pay with the least effort (Nicholson, Schuler & Van De Ven 1998: 215).

The SAPS can also develop an *esprit de corps* to encourage recruitment from other family members. The SAPS, to some extent has accomplished this as is indicated by some respondents joining the SAPS by following in the footsteps of their fathers. In this regard respondent 11, a White Superintendent, said: *I come from a police environment. My father was a policeman and therefore, because of family tradition, I decided to join the SAPS* and she also said in this context: *I am privileged. I work with wonderful colleagues. We are mostly women of different races and the situation is very good* (respondent 11, an Afrikaans Superintendent). This respondent seems to be content in her work, working mostly with women of different groups.

The stronger the needs, for example the social need, the more motivated the person will be to satisfy it. The more rewarding the goal, the harder the person will work to achieve that goal, for example people who think that they may be promoted will work harder to prove their competency. If the person thinks that he/she can reach a certain goal, they will work harder to reach it. The more skill and inborn potential the person has, the more motivated the person will be to continue the action (Erasmus-Kritzinger, Swart & Mona 2000: 339). In this context, Huitt (2004: 2) states enlightening information is sought by individuals seeking to meet their belonging needs, which for example can be found in books on relationship improvement.

It is apparent that the SAPS as an organisation provides adequately for the lower needs of the individual, by satisfying the deficiencies or needs that these individuals have in their daily struggle for survival.

Once these social needs have been satisfied, higher order needs are created and have to be satisfied, according to their own potential. The stronger the need, the more motivated the individual will be in order to satisfy it.

The following are the higher order needs:

Esteem needs

When the basic needs have been satisfied, the need for esteem can become dominant. Humans need to have self-respect and the respect from others. A show of appreciation for work well done creates great satisfaction. According to Simons, Irwin and Drinnien (2004: 2), when these needs are satisfied, a person feels self-confident and valued. However when these needs are frustrated, a person may feel worthless and inferior. People at the esteem level seek empowering information, in that they are searching for information on how to develop their ego (Huitt 2004: 2).

The esteem needs refer to a person being recognised, valued and respected by others when one achieves something. From the research group, the following statements support this aspect: *To me achieving promotion is very important. It is very important to get acknowledged in your job. Your self-image suffers and your self-worth as a human being if they don't acknowledge you* (respondent 3, a White Inspector). Respondent 26 (a South Sotho Captain) said: *I am happy. My colleagues respect me and I respect them.*

People who are high in self-esteem have been found to be better adjusted, to perform better and to handle criticism better (Nicholson, Schuler & Van De Ven 1998: 511). The following was found in this regard: More than one of the respondents mentioned that they were attracted by the uniform: Respondent 13 (a White Superintendent) said: *I liked the uniform and the fact that it was something different from the normal; what all the ladies usually do.* Respondent 21 (a White Superintendent) supported this perception as follows: *I was always interested in the police. When I was at school, I always thought*

that their uniforms were very nice. The SAPS therefore fulfilled this status of the uniform esteem need.

Employers should publicly recognise achievements of their employees with a bonus; expressions of congratulations; promotion possibilities or even writing an article of praise in the staff magazine. Maslow claimed that the need for self-esteem could be met through gaining respect or recognition from others. Belonging, in a social context, is a prerequisite for the development of self-esteem (Kunc 2004: 4-5). Maslow placed self-esteem above belonging in the hierarchy, because without a social context in which to authenticate your own worth, self-worth means nothing. Satisfaction of the self-esteem needs will lead to feelings of self-confidence and competence and of feeling of being useful in society (Maslow 1987: 21).

On the other hand, Boeree (2004: 3) states that the negative version of these needs is a low self-esteem and inferiority complexes. Under stressful conditions one can regress to the lower level need and when ones career disintegrates, one might seek out some assistance.

According to those who participated in this research, the SAPS did not meet the following important needs of their employees, which can be the cause of great frustration to them. The respondents state the following: respondent 5, a Xhosa Captain, said: *There are definitely equal opportunities, but women are stopped to take up those opportunities.* Respondent 6, a South Sotho Superintendent said: *I was short listed for a post, but a man was appointed as the Commissioner* and respondent 10, a Sotho Captain, said the following: *Whilst I was still in junior rank, again males were the people against me.* Respondent 14, a White Superintendent, said the following: *You are not respected for what you can do or what you can offer the police; you are only seen as another lady for the guys. They only see what they can get out of you in terms of relationships; also in terms of 'you want to be in a man's world, you have to deliver.* Respondent 24, a divorced, 38 year old South Sotho Captain, reiterated by saying: *Black men don't respect the black females, but the white males they respect me because of my rank. They don't say that this*

is a woman; they say that she has a rank, this they respect. Black males don't respect black female officers, maybe because of their culture.

Self-actualisation needs

The self-actualisation needs are the fifth and highest level of needs of Maslow's hierarchy and are the fulfilment of a person's goals in life as well as his potential. Maslow defined it as: '...the desire to become...everything that one is capable of becoming' (Nicholson, Schuler & Van De Ven 1998: 510) and according to this theory, self-actualisation is a needs that motivates people's behaviour.

Norwood (2004: 1) states that Maslow defined self-actualisation as the point where people become fully functional. The self-actualisation needs refer to the desire to fulfil one's potential, in actual fact, to become what you want to be, by applying your skills as well as your knowledge. These needs involve the continuous desire to fulfil one's potential, according to Boeree (2004: 4). By applying one's knowledge and skills one achieves what one wants to become. This is fulfilled by self-development, by acquiring knowledge and also by being creative. This need can be fulfilled at work by studying further in one's field of knowledge and also attending training courses. People in the growth levels of cognitive, aesthetic and self-actualisation seek edifying information, i.e. seeking information on how to connect to something beyond themselves (Huitt 2004: 2).

Employers should provide extra training and education courses, as well as delegating tasks and providing more responsibility for their employees. Promoting an employee to a higher rank also fulfil this self-actualisation need. From the research material, respondent 3, a White Inspector, acknowledges that: *To me achieving promotion is very important. It is very important to get acknowledged in your job. Your self-image suffers and your self-worth as a human being if they don't acknowledge you.* Respondent 24, a South Sotho Captain, said: *I think that it is right to be promoted because it shows appreciation of my work. If you study it shows that you want to be promoted, it shows that you are interested to broaden your knowledge.* This respondent

developed her self-actualisation needs and wanted to prove her competency. This statement links with the literature, as Erasmus-Kritzinger, Swart and Mona (2000: 338) state that the need for self-actualisation involves realising one's potential for continued growth and self-development.

It should be kept in mind that the more rewarding the goal, the harder the person will work in order to get the work done. People put in long hours of work in order to be promoted or to get the work done. If an individual expects to reach her goal, she will work harder to reach it. On the other hand, the more potential the individual has, the more motivated she will be. Therefore the SAPS should motivate and support its employees to improve themselves and the outcome will be that the SAPS benefit from their outputs.

If all an employee's needs are satisfied it will lead to more effective communication in the work place, in which case the productivity could increase, as motivated workers work smarter when they know they can benefit from it.

6.3 JOB SATISFACTION

Mood at work should also be kept in mind when dealing with an employee. Mood states are characterised by two dimensions, that of positive mood and negative mood. (Nicholson, Schuler & Van De Ven 1998: 510) state that mood at work should not be confused with job satisfaction, which incorporates an attitude towards one's job, rather than how one feels on the job. It has been found that behavioural commitment to one's work appears to have an impact on one's performance. Researchers have tried to predict behaviour through job satisfaction, but have not been successful in this quest (Nicholson, Schuler & Van De Ven 1998: 75).

Job satisfaction has been researched in the academic business for some time. Nerkar, McGrath and MacMillan (1998: 1) began their exploration by arranging job satisfaction into three components:

1. Instrumental satisfaction refers to the person's level of satisfaction within the accomplishments of their tasks within the team.
2. Social satisfaction refers to the amount of satisfaction that result from the working relations and interaction between members of the team. This is related to Maslow's concept of social needs.
3. Egocentric satisfaction on the other hand, is satisfaction, which is gained by the individual who perceives that he or she stands to gain something, by being part of the innovation venture.

Nerkar, McGrath and MacMillan (1998: 1-2) state that satisfaction is frequently treated as a unitary construct in literature, because the distinction between these three components is usually not drawn. This theory however would suggest the existence of these different components and the need to separate them in order to draw meaningful conclusions about the effects of job satisfaction. In order to test a set of hypotheses, they found the following:

- ❖ The greater the social satisfaction of the team, the less able the team is to use its deftness to carry out the project.
- ❖ The greater the instrumental dissatisfaction of the team, the less able the team is to use its comprehension to carry out the project.
- ❖ Egocentric satisfaction did not have a mediating effect on the deftness of the team.

These findings are of importance for management in that it entails that social satisfaction plays a significant role in the innovation process and that management should therefore pay more attention to the process by which innovation occurs and not just concentrate on the content. Also it should be noted, that the lack of significant effect from the egocentric satisfaction construct, suggested that it may be less important to use short-term incentives to motivate team members, who appear to be willing to miss out on short term benefits in anticipation of the long-term self-fulfilment rewards which might come from being part of a successful team. This leads to the conclusion that job satisfaction should be split up into a

set of components, as each component had a different effect on team performance (Nerkar, McGrath and Macmillan 1998: 1-2).

@Work studies

Another on-going body of research called the @Work studies have been investigating the workforce as it is emerging, building on Maslow's pyramid of needs. The goal of the research was to explore which organization practices increase the employee's commitment to his work – pride, productivity as well as retention. This research uncovered new meanings in data, but the research also led directly back to the 1950's and the work of Maslow. Because of a continuous changing cycle, Stum (2001: 4) states that a new work structure is emerging in the organisational life and expectations of the workforce. This workforce is more skilled, itinerant, diverse and discerning in work and choices that are made than ever before and therefore the needs of the employees are of great importance.

This research paper indicates that the principles, as proposed by Maslow in his hierarchy of needs, apply to the structure, past present and future, of the South African Police Service.

As Maslow's model looks at the individual in relation to the totality of their environment, the @Work research studies at the employee/employer dynamic which takes place between the individual and the organisation which he/she works for. A meta-theory analysis of @Work results created a hierarchy of needs, which illustrates workforce needs within an organisational establishment.

The following five levels of the hierarchy, established from analyses of the @Work database developed between 1997-2000, were safety/security needs, rewards, affiliation needs, growth needs and work/life harmony needs (Stum 2001: 6-7).

1. Safety/security needs

The employee must feel physically and psychologically safe in the work environment in order for commitment to be possible.

2. Rewards

Extrinsic rewards in compensation and benefits are the next needs which must be met.

3. Affiliation

The need for affiliation is intrinsic. A sense of belonging to the work team and/or the larger organisation is sought at this level.

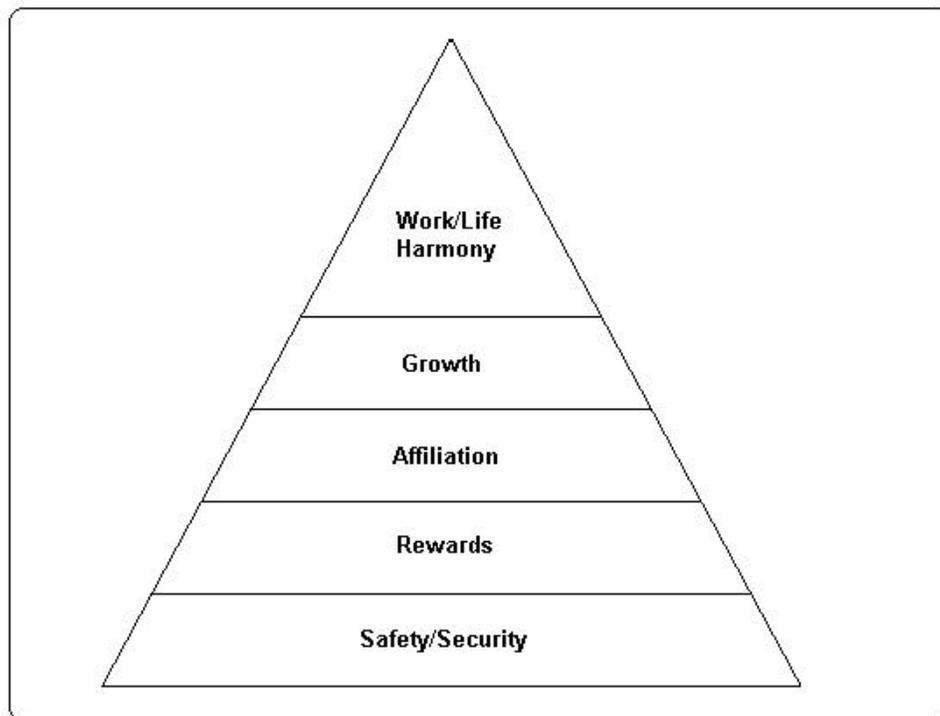
4. Growth

The need for positive individual and organisational change should be addressed in order to drive commitment at this level.

5. Work/life harmony

The drive is to achieve a sense of fulfilment in balancing work as well as responsibilities.

These needs can be depicted as follows in the following diagram:

Diagram 2 Commitment needs

In order for there to be a feeling of physical well-being, there must be a feeling that one's environment is safe. A lot of changes are occurring in the modern organisation and therefore employment security is of paramount importance to the worker. Rewards are very important to workers and it has been shown, that compensation and benefits are major influences for the reason why people do a job (Stum 2001: 7). The affiliation needs to tie in with the sense of belonging and being part of a team. The growth need encapsulates that employees want opportunities to change, as well as to learn new things and have new experiences on the job. Staff members aspire to reach their potential in their jobs. Which in turn leads to harmony, both at work and at home. Organisations should therefore make an effort to meet the expectations of their employees at each level in the hierarchy (Stum 2001: 8). In occupations where physical safety is of paramount concern, having a good record should be a prerequisite to focus on higher order needs. It should be noted that the supervisor in general has a great deal of influence over how elements at every level of the Performance Pyramid are experienced by the

workgroup and it is the interaction between the management and their staff members that creates the environment which motivates and retains the employees. The current @Work research also shows that to attend to higher-level needs when lower level needs are below expectations will not yield the commitment expected from employees (Stum: 2001: 9).

6.4 JOB SATISFACTION AND THE RESEARCH GROUP

North (2004: 1) perceives job satisfaction, as the fulfilment of material wants, expectations and needs related to the job – that is, those that concern actual income, benefits, physical working conditions and material resources. Job satisfaction translates into labour productivity, which means that employees, who are happy or satisfied in their jobs, produce higher outputs.

Brunetto and Farr-Wharton (2002: 535) report on findings which affect job satisfaction. Employee satisfaction is multi-dimensional, in that it is reached through satisfaction with supervision at work, the work itself, the remuneration and benefits, appraisal as well as promotion practices and colleagues.

One of the factors, which may affect job satisfaction, is one's identification with the organisation and the extent to which an employee identifies with the same goals as the organisation. Where the organisational identification is high, the employees' satisfaction will be enhanced (Brunetto & Farr-Wharton 2002: 536). Another aspect that affects the employees' attitudes towards their job is the discernment of fairness within the job. Job satisfaction is also influenced by the employees' commitment to the job and continual organisational commitment is the extent to which an employee feels committed to the organisation based on years of service (Brunetto & Farr-Wharton 2002: 537). Job satisfaction is linked to age and rank whereas job dissatisfaction is linked to position of permanent status and not to the organisational status. The length of the permanent status as well as the position held within the organisation was positively related to increased job satisfaction for police officers that were career orientated. On the other hand it was found that job satisfaction decreased the longer the police officers

remained in the same organisation (Brunetto & Farr-Wharton 2002: 539). Job satisfaction plays a very important part in the effectiveness of public policing. Employees need to feel that their basic job needs are met in order to achieve a basic level of motivation. There are some employees who refuse to work unless their basic requirements are met. In some cases the law lays down the minimum standards of requirements, for example remuneration and other benefits. In other cases the industry norms will establish rates and conditions. However, these norms may have little or no effect on the level of satisfaction felt by the employees. Where employees are dissatisfied, their productivity will be lower than normal and sometimes they also engage in specific anti-organisational behaviour that could be harmful to the company. This kind of behaviour can take many forms, such as the misuse of organisational assets, theft, fraud or corruption. Employees who act like this, are often motivated not by need or greed, but by resentment towards the company. The resentment is usually centres on the belief of the employee that their working conditions have been inadequate and unfair (North 2004: 1).

If employees believe that their material needs are not met, the effects could be damaging to morale; a perception that better opportunities exist outside the organisation; a general decline in motivation; loss of loyalty and high rates of absenteeism (North 2004: 2). Low job satisfaction is the result of employees who feel that they are underpaid. Interventions on the part of management would be to utilise an investigation in order to identify and rectify the existing problems (North 2004: 3-4).

According to The Business Research Lab (2004: 1) high employee satisfaction can reduce turnover. Dissatisfied employees are more likely to be leaving the company and they will very likely not recommend their company to a friend, which could make it difficult for the company to recruit future employees. Therefore, optimising employee satisfaction is the key to success of a business (The Business Research Lab 2004: 2).

When trying to improve job satisfaction in the workplace, there are two main problems. The issue is between increasing job satisfaction on the one hand and pleasing people on the other. There are three key tactics to improve job satisfaction (Anon 2004: 1). These are: building a greater sense of achievement; increasing the level of recognition as well as increasing the level of involvement with staff members. Management should implement these tactics. What should be borne in mind however, is whether the immediate emotional gratification in a worker's life or the sense of long-term achievement is more important at work. Management should not overlook first-rate work; they should not ignore success and neither should they denigrate effort. Opportunities should be created whereby employees could discuss their work with their employers in meaningful ways and are able to influence the goals that they have and reveal how these goals are going to be achieved (Anon 2004: 2). Increasing job satisfaction therefore is not to find ways to please people, or to give in to them, but a systematic implementation of tactics in order to bring out the unparalleled in the employees. If you have satisfied employees, they will render a better service to their customers, in this case, the public.

This question that was put to the respondents, was how they experienced their work situation in relation to job satisfaction, but not specifically how they related to the public. The responses however, were that they have made a difference to the victims of crime in the community, which have lead to huge satisfaction amongst the respondents.

The respondents were also asked whether they thought that any meaningful changes had occurred in the SAPS since transformation, the following was said: respondent 2, a White Inspector: *Yes, certainly in cases where women and children are hurt, or beaten. Women want to talk to women. Children are scared of men; they think that all men are like their father.* Respondent 22, a White Inspector, said: *The community has become more involved with the police. They are freer now. They can speak out. Their voices can also be heard, not like that before, it is more open.* These comments encompasses the self-esteem needs of the policewomen and shows that women feel

appreciated in their own right. A White Superintendent (respondent 7), who has been in the SAPS for 19 years, said the following: *Women speak their mind more freely. I think that the women have a point of view, which they use now, and they know they will be backed up, for instance about women abuse and such matter.* Respondent 2, a White Inspector, said in this regard: *Women are allowed to go on patrol now. Women are accepted now.*

All of these statements revolve around good feelings of women in the police. They feel that they have made a meaningful contribution to policing.

The following statements of respondents all relate to women feeling that more is being done for them in their job situation, especially after 1994 and they find some kind of satisfaction in their jobs. Respondent 1, an Afrikaans Inspector, said: *Yes, I think through hard work and dedication women were able to change their circumstances. But I think that women have to work twice as hard as men. Women have shown that they are not just here to collect a salary, but they are prepared to work for that salary.* Respondent 3, also a White Inspector, who has been with the SAPS for 12 years, said the following: *A man is not tuned in like a woman. A woman is more compassionate. I think the woman does the rounding off in the police, that's how I feel. The men are busy with the hard facts, but we do that little bit extra, just because we belong here.* She also said: *In the beginning the women were only used in the administration offices, but these days you see that they are more part of the Special Task Forces. In vehicles, on patrol, we are more committed; we don't just sit in an office, doing administration anymore, making photocopies etc. There the image has changed a lot, and I like that.* Respondent 4, an English Superintendent, who has been in the SAPS for 12 years, said: *Men are starting to realise that women have to have an equal position; the image in the past was more that the woman is there to look pretty. There was a pre-requirement that you had to weigh so much and that you have to be so tall etc. Now there are no prerequisites.* Respondent 12, a White Superintendent, who has been in the SAPS for 14 years, said the following: *Management gave women more attention, put them more into the limelight and put women into higher posts. If you look at promotion for females, they have given them more attention. They*

are considering them more for posts, where previously it was more male dominated. Respondent 13, a White Superintendent, who had been in the SAPS for 21 years, said: *Yes, I think men have come to realise that we are their equal and sometimes even their superior. I am not a sexist, but I think that whatever men can do, if I put my mind to it, I can do it better. I believe it. What makes them so smart? I know that they are strong but I believe that we are cleverer than they are. They may have a certain way of doing things, but I may have a different way of doing it. When you have to arrest somebody it is just a question of knowing what to do. It is just a way of tactics and a female can do it just the same as a male.* Respondent 17, a Sotho Superintendent, said: *Women are allowed to have an input. They have the right to change things if it will affect women generally in the organisation. They can change things now as compared to the past.* Respondent 18, an Indian Superintendent, said the following: *I think the biggest liberating factor is for a woman to get her driving licence and have her own money. The fact that we can be in control and that we have our own earning power. We have been liberated. We can do anything and go anywhere when we want to.* Respondent 26, a South Sotho Captain, who has been in the SAPS for 12 years said: *Women go out on special operations now. Before, the criminals had this tendency of not respecting the police but now, when you talk to them and you are a woman, they listen to you. They respect you as a woman. If only women can go out and do special operations, they will bring back the criminals.* She also said the following: *Achieving promotion is very, very important. I am faced with challenges now; I am a leader now. People respect me now.*

6.5 JOB DISSATISFACTION

Some respondents however registered discouragement regarding promotional issues. Respondent 2, a White Inspector, who had been in the SAPS for 12 years, said the following: *I tried 3 times to be promoted to a Captain - I should have been promoted 5 years ago - but nothing happens.* Respondent 5, a Xhosa Captain, who had been in the SAPS for 13 years, says the following: *On paper there is supposed to be no discrimination and the transformation is for everybody, but they don't practice what they preach. There is no*

transformation. On paper they say that changes are occurring, men and women are equal, but in reality it is not really like that. Another respondent (9, a White Captain) said the following: We are not getting equal opportunities. Look at promotions. There will be 20 Black men promoted and five Black women; whereas in the case of Whites: six men and four women. Respondent 13, a White Superintendent, said the following: I don't think that there have been a lot of changes according to ranks and females given the opportunity to be Commanders. There is a vast scope for that. There are not enough female Commanders. There are a lot of young Captains and even young Superintendents who with a little bit of leading, will make good Commanders, but they will have to be given the opportunity. Respondent 21, a White Superintendent who has been in the SAPS for 9 years, added that age may also have an effect on the lack of promotional positions' availability or not: I don't think so. I am acting in the post of the Area Head at the moment, in a Senior Superintendent post. He is acting at the Vereeniging Station as Station Commissioner. He is very young, so there are no promotion possibilities.

If very few promotional possibilities exist in the SAPS for women, it could become a great concern for them. Promotion plays an important part in the need for self-actualisation. If discrimination in promotion is not kept at bay in the SAPS, the issue of job dissatisfaction will become a huge issue for these policewomen and their feelings of self-esteem and self-actualisation may become dysfunctional.

Intrinsic and extrinsic job characteristics

Linz (8: 2003) states that job satisfaction amongst U.S. employees appears to be highly correlated with intrinsic as well as extrinsic job characteristics. Intrinsic job characteristics are factors that influence the feelings and perceptions of the employees about themselves and their work, which could motivate these employees to work harder. Intrinsic job characteristics include the following: whether the job makes the individual feel good about himself/herself (self-esteem); if the job provides an opportunity to learn or

develop the employees' skills (self-actualisation) if the employee feels a sense of accomplishment in his/her job (self-actualisation) and whether the employee feels a sense of freedom in the job situation (self-esteem) (Linz 8: 2003).

Extrinsic job characteristics, on the other hand, reflect outcomes generated by performing the job: remuneration; promotion; job security; friendliness and respect of co-workers and praise from their supervisors (Linz 9: 2003). These are the physiological needs; the safety needs and the social needs. It was established that job satisfaction was highest amongst employees who expect to receive additional pay for doing a job well and also that older workers express higher levels of job satisfaction than younger workers (Linz 13-14: 2003). This may be because of higher expectations of the young.

Ethical behaviour

More and more attention is paid to ethical behaviour in the business world. Krejčí, Kvapil & Semrad (2004: 1) state that ethical demands are made on the work that the police officers do. Ethical behaviour includes the norms which the officers have to abide by in their work, in case their actions should be appraised as professional accordingly to public expectations. This appraisal is done in for instance in scandal disclosures like where the press blame the police of corruption or their disproportional use of force in some instances. If an employee then perceives the organisation of not fulfilling its obligations towards him, i.e. that his needs are not satisfied fully, then he will not feel obliged to adhere to these norms too much. The consequences being lax attitudes towards these norms by the employees (Krejčí, Kvapil & Semrad 2004: 2).

This correlates with the theory of frustration. The employee is naturally motivated to reach some aims in his work. If he is blocked in this, he feels frustration which could be utilised into actions of aggression. It was found that ethical attitudes correlate higher with job satisfaction, than with job frustration (Krejčí, Kvapil & Semrad 2004: 6). Therefore, the significance of

the satisfaction of fundamental needs should not be underestimated in the forming of the correct ethical attitudes in policing.

6.6 CONCLUSION

The social needs of the employees in policing have changed over the years. Previously, policing was an entirely male-dominated domain. Women have slowly entered the police service and their needs differ from their male counterparts. This is an issue which management should definitely look into.

Women have a role to play in the SAPS. As they are given more areas to police they will expand their expertise in fields previously not open to them. Policewomen will also feel more committed to their jobs when their superiors support them; are involved in decision-making and receive feedback about their performance and expectations. Job satisfaction and promotion go hand-in-hand. When these policewomen are promoted to higher or better positions of authority, their esteem needs as well as their self-actualisation needs will be satisfied.

Strategies should be incorporated by management to raise job satisfaction amongst employees. Promotion possibilities should be looked into; work related skills could be adopted and even redesigning jobs to give employees more variety in their jobs as well as more responsibility. When an employee is proud of the work that they do, this implies job satisfaction.

The findings, recommendations and conclusion of the research will be discussed in chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7

FINDINGS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the findings and recommendations will be discussed briefly. Because it is based on the research, a brief summary is given first.

7.2 SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH

This research examined the attitudes of the members of the SAPS in the Vaalrand concerning the role of women in policing. Although some studies have been done on policewomen world-wide, none have been done in the rural areas of the Vaalrand. The relevance of this topic to society was to create an awareness of the needs of policewomen to members of the community and to policemen so they would share a common understanding and vision of the problems facing these women and to suggest how these problems should be tackled.

This study acknowledges that policewomen do differ from policemen and it is not the aim to claim superiority of either gender. This research was conducted to document the contributions that policewomen have made to the Department of Safety and Security in South Africa, the effect and impact that they have had on policing and the quality of service that they have brought to the community. The research also focussed on the perceptions of some of these police women regarding their integration into and acceptance into the police services of South Africa.

This was an empirical qualitative study. The research procedures as stipulated for a descriptive study were followed, as the main objective of the research was to describe the circumstances of women in the predominantly male environment of policing. A survey interview was drawn up, containing semi-structured in-depth questions regarding their recruitment, motivation for

joining and job-related satisfaction and other issues including discrimination and domination by men.

In the field of Criminology, this study focused on women and the problems that they encounter in policing and therefore detailed questions were asked concerning their role in policing. The following main issues were found: that discrimination still exists in the SAPS, as well as resentment; a lack of recognition, misunderstandings and unfulfilled challenges which relate to conflict being experienced. These respondents have aspirations in their work and aspire to better positions in the SAPS and there have been major contributions by women in the police.

7.3 FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Table 15 DISCRIMINATION

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
There was a feeling amongst the policewomen that their male colleagues (whether white or black) did not see them as colleagues, but as women per se. They were not respected or trusted to do the job, because they were not male.	This should be researched further – with special reference to the equality clause in the Constitution.
Sexual harassment occurred as isolated incidents.	Women police officials should be encouraged to report such incidents without fail, and these crimes should be investigated and the culprits prosecuted.
Policewomen still experience gender bias (positive and negative) from their male colleagues.	Endeavours to change these biases through workshops could be activated.

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
Racial issues seem to be a problem to some policewomen, as more black policewomen are now appointed, and it seems as if there are too many white women in certain posts.	Workshops should be made available to the different culture groups in order to learn to understand each other's culture better.
It seems as if equal opportunities at the Vaalrand still only exist on paper. Anybody can apply for the posts, but the men get promoted.	The establishment should look into the problem that these policewomen experience in the Vaalrand.
Women are stopped from having the benefits of promotional opportunities, because remnants from the previous police force still exist and the SAPS is still male dominant.	Issues relating to male domination should be addressed by the police services.
Confusing messages are send out: on paper and according to the policy there are more posts available for women, but at ground level this does not seem to be the case.	There should be more openness between the authorities and the members of the police about promotion possibilities and the problems associated with it.
On paper discrimination against women does not exist, but in reality it still does.	The anti-discrimination policies, which currently exist, should be implemented effectively.
Gender and racial discrimination still exist in the SAPS, with very few white women being promoted.	Victimisation of women, due to their gender and race is a major issue and should be the focus for management in terms of improving opportunities and entrenching women as valued members of the SAPS. Affirmative action needs to be explained in its initial stages and applied fairly.
Being a woman could hold you back in some situations when on patrol.	This is an area for research.

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
A big frustration in the service is being a woman and being young.	This is an area for research.
There have been no changes in policing as men still see women as the weaker gender even though they have accepted women as their colleagues.	This is an area for research.

In this regard, Muraskin (2003: 10) states that: 'Women are not inferior to men. Nevertheless, in the twenty-first century, there remains evidence of sexual discrimination, even with all the history and struggles to gain equality and similarly of treatment under the law'. This has been proven by the study and should be a matter for further research. It has been happening all along, but if we work on the differences and the strengths of these women, discrimination will naturally fall away.

TABLE 16 CONFLICT

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
The jealousy, which exists amongst women, makes it easier to work with their male colleagues.	Research should be conducted to determine how this can be alleviated.
A macho cop culture exists amongst the members of the police, especially amongst the men.	This issue can be addressed by means of workshops.
Working 'on call' causes disruptions and tension at home.	The authorities may have to look into this and maybe accommodate this specific problem, as it is usually the mother caring for the children.
The workload at work is too much to bear in addition to their workload at home.	Women should have special opportunities to discuss their problems and a regular evaluation of women should become a routine for

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
	the counsellors. Work-sharing could be considered (2 or more women share one post and the salary and benefits)
The SAPS are still male dominated.	Transformation should be more actively implemented. More women need to be placed in positions of authority.
Equality exists in the SAPS, but women are prevented from using these opportunities.	This is a new field for research.
Sometimes women police officials have to apply a few times to attend a tactical training course, before being accepted.	This is an example of discrimination and should be addressed.
Women are not sure about promotion	Promotion possibilities should be openly discussed and explained by senior management.

Although it has been noted that policewomen find enjoyment in their work, they are however still hampered by the negativity of some of their male colleagues. Furthermore, there is dissatisfaction amongst policewomen because they must compete with men, their efforts are not always accepted or appreciated and they have dual roles as policewomen and as mothers and wives.

TABLE 17 RESENTMENT

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
The training is perceived to have deteriorated, there is no discipline anymore and the new recruits differ from those that had been through the	The new training methods should be assessed.

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
previous, tougher training.	
Because of gender clashes and negative male attitudes towards the women, some of the male officials still see them as a threat and an interloper.	Workshops could be offered with the view of changing these attitudes.
Although at top-level things have changed, at grass roots, transformation is taking longer to have an impact because of red tape.	The effect of red tape on transformation issues should be researched.
Not being allowed to go out on patrol leads to feelings of marginalisation.	Barriers to equal opportunities should be eradicated.
Not being promoted, even though short listed because of gender, leads to the perception of being victimised because of gender issues.	Issues relating to promotion should be clarified in advance. Qualifying persons should not be left uncertain about their prospects.
The respondents felt that they were not promoted, because of the policy of affirmative action and also to improve the ratios.	The employees of the SAPS should be informed about these issues.
With the higher rank, comes an increase in remuneration, but some women in these positions work longer hours than their colleagues and are not compensated.	The authorities should address this issue.
The lack of promotion possibilities creates frustration and bad feelings.	Senior management should also address this issue.
After becoming a Captain, some of the female civilians did not want to acknowledge the rank.	This is a case of pettiness and should be addressed by management.

It would seem as if discipline has been watered down, which is not such a good thing. The implementation of discipline comes from the top down. There still seems to be feelings of resentment amongst the policewomen, which should be addressed by the authorities.

TABLE 18 LACK OF RECOGNITION

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
The cop sub-culture results in entanglement, which is experienced negatively by the women police officials.	This issue can be addressed by means of workshops or motivational courses.
Discouragement and feelings of hopelessness occur because no promotion possibilities exist.	Career development should be monitored, so that women do not get stuck in their careers at some point.
Some policemen do not treat women differently to their male counterparts.	This implies that the differences between men and women are important and should be recognised.
Members of the community still see policewomen as 'butch', and in spite of women working on patrol in the field and not wearing uniforms it has not convinced them to think otherwise.	If the SAPS could communicate to the community that women are employed for their strengths as women, then this may change the 'butch' perception.

Policewomen have different qualities from policemen and consequently positions should be created in the SAPS for women, both at senior level and at normal operational levels. They should have equal rank, remuneration and authority and the contribution that they make to the SAPS and the communities that they serve should be shown to be equivalent in all ways to their male counterparts. This whole issue needs to be further researched.

TABLE 19 MISUNDERSTANDING

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
Family opposition is based on the perception that the police is not the place for a woman to be.	Devices to change this perception should be researched.

Because the world of policing has been a seemingly male environment with danger involved, the above-mentioned view has been one that many families share. However, there is a place for women in the SAPS, especially where the issue of victims of crime are concerned which should be highlighted by the authorities.

TABLE 20 NEEDS/CHALLENGES

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
The need to be involved in a service-oriented vocation could be satisfied by joining the police.	When recruiting women police officials, this motivation/need should be capitalized on.
The training was experienced as physically challenging. The correct mindset could overcome this.	'The correct mindset' should be researched further.
The training is experienced as very male-oriented, because there were so many male instructors.	The ratio of male/female instructors could be changed.
Police work is enjoyed; they feel privileged working for the police.	This should be taken note of and emphasized.
Working with people from different cultures is not perceived as a problem.	In vocations where this seems to be a problem, these institutions can learn from the women police officials how to overcome it.
The need to have the opportunity to prove competency in special posts is real.	Senior Management should consider options to facilitate such opportunities.
Unhappiness at being transferred to	The specific jobs in which the

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
jobs where they were (seemingly) needed and not what they were skilled to do.	respondents are should be looked at and the respondents should be placed in jobs that fulfil their needs so that they work to the best of their abilities.
Working in the police service is only a means to an end (i.e. income).	It should be determined if this is one of the typical reasons for joining the SAPS. If so, then these people should receive special motivational courses to ensure their future satisfaction.
Promotion serves as a challenge to grow and increase the income.	The Authorities should note this.
Through hard work and dedication, women have been able to change their circumstances and to prove themselves.	More women need to be placed in management positions.
In order to achieve something, women have to work harder than men.	Women should be commended for hard work and achieving something. This will spur them on to succeed even more.
Women have to prove that they can do the work as well as men.	There should be no pre-conceived ideas about what women can and cannot do. They should be given the same opportunities as men.
Women must work harder than men in order to get recognition as a capable person.	This discriminating work place practice should be stopped.

The training was experienced by the respondents as physically challenging in a very male oriented world. This is a matter for further research. It also materialised that women still have to prove to their male colleagues that they

are capable of doing the job in this supposedly male environment. The respondents pinpointed definite needs, but one aim, which they aspired to, was the needs to be of service to the members of the community.

TABLE 21 ASPIRATIONS

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
Some women aspire to wearing the police uniform.	The authorities should note this. In order to get more women to join, uniforms should be adapted to their needs. It should be determined what the specific attraction to the uniform is.
Policing is an interesting job.	This should be seen as a draw card by the authorities and they should capitalize on it.
Financial start-up/stepping stone.	This could be utilised to get more women to join and once they have joined, their vocational needs could be attended to, to keep them there.
To join the police seemed like a promising job, with advantages.	What exactly was found to be promising should be researched further.
The police provide job security.	This view could be used in recruitment drives.
Achieving promotion means that you are acknowledged in your job, which in its turn creates self-worth and feelings of appreciation.	This should be noted and capitalised on.
With appreciation also goes respect for work that has been well done.	This is one of the esteem needs, because everyone wants to be recognised for work well done and management should take note of this.
Policewomen are successful in	Policewomen should seek self-

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
getting respect from their male colleagues when the latter see that they are successful.	gratification in their specific roles and this can best be done by recognition from management on the importance of these roles.

In spite of the difficulties and problems, which the policewomen are still experiencing, working for the SAPS to them is gratifying.

TABLE 22 MAJOR CHANGES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
The racial gap is closing, since affirmative action has been brought into the workplace.	This should be capitalised on, as it is a positive concern that all cultures should work together.
Women in policing provide a softer touch to victims of crime.	Policewomen should be utilised in positions where they are of assistance to child victims, women and the elderly. This should be further researched.
Policewomen are less aggressive; handle situations differently than policemen and are more approachable than their male counterparts and therefore achieve different results by their attitude.	Policewomen could be utilized more to defuse situations, because of their less aggressive and more understanding attitudes. This is a matter for further research.
Women have special insight as well as more compassion for their fellowman.	These special qualities of women should be exploited where victims in crime situations can benefit from it. These situations should be identified.
Women have a comprehensive role to play in the transformation in the SAPS.	There should be women at all levels in the SAPS in order to represent their female counterparts and consequently accentuate the

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
	transformation process.
Victim support has improved.	The natural empathy of women should be recognised and expanded.
Women have brought a softer touch to policing.	Men and women bring different qualities to the job and these should be recognised.
More women have become involved at top structure in the SAPS	Gender recognition strengthens women's social rights as workers and this should be encouraged and extended.
Service improvement towards women and children victims of crime has improved.	This service improvement should be encouraged as it may lead to an awareness of the needs of society and may also lead to a reduction of crime in communities.
Racial changes have occurred, with more black people being appointed and more black women coming into the SAPS into senior positions.	In order to establish good racial relations and to establish a good working relationship between the different cultures, members of the police should be provided with knowledge of the different cultures.
Women have contributed to the fact that more members of the community have become more involved with the police.	The SAPS should accentuate its transformation to a user-friendly service that is acceptable to all members of society.
The uniform is better and more practical, as women can wear trousers instead of skirts.	Uniforms should be fashionable as well as maintaining a distinction to accentuate authority and service.
Women are accepted in the police and their rights are respected.	This should be capitalized on.
Women feel they are now free to express themselves in the police.	This is a very positive response that should be reinforced.

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
Women are playing a more important role in decision making in the police.	This should be broadened.
Women seem to be able to obtain information from suspects more easily than their male counterparts.	Management should take note of this information and their present role should be broadened.
Women go out on patrols now instead of just doing administration work, which makes them very happy.	It should be encouraged, for women to go on patrols.
There are no physical appearance requirements prerequisites for women recruits to join the SAPS anymore.	More women can be recruited to join the SAPS now.
As opportunities to develop themselves have come into being, so the women have empowered themselves.	These existing opportunities for women should be broadened, so that they can achieve even higher goals that they have set for themselves.
In domestic violence cases, women prefer to speak to a policewoman. Children also relate well to women, especially in trauma centres.	Women should be utilised in such posts where they can be of assistance to children and women victims, in trauma centres for example. This is a matter for further research.
Women take part in community projects, such as talking to children in schools about drugs.	Policewomen should be utilised in such projects where their skills and natural empathy could be of benefit to the community.
Women have nurturing and caring qualities, which make them ideal to work in certain areas in the police.	These traits of women should be utilised in such areas as Child Protection Units and Adopt-a-Cop projects, where policewomen can become more involved for the benefit of the community.
Women have brought a softness of	These characteristics should be

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
touch into the field of policing, which reflects their nurturing nature.	utilised in such areas of victim support.
Women don't use force normally and therefore have contributed to making the police more of a service than a force.	This should be noted.
It seems that members of the community have more trust in the police, since women have joined them. Members of the community seem to accept them, because there are less cases of corruption reported against women in the police than against men.	Management should take note of this and capitalise on it by appointing more women to the SAPS.
Policewomen have contributed greatly to victim support, as well as being good at office work.	Management should take note of this and capitalise on it.
More women are in the top structure now which could benefit female members in other ranks.	They can make a difference to their female counterparts. Management should promote more women into higher-ranking positions.
Male suspects are less aggressive towards policewomen when arrested than towards policemen.	Appoint more women.
However, this thesis has determined that this organisational structure should cater for the females who have subsequently joined the SAPS, so that general dissatisfaction amongst the women, which is caused by gender inequality, discrimination, stereotyping, prejudice, bias and	

FINDINGS	RECOMMENDATIONS
physical differential is levelled out.	

Some gender changes seem to have occurred in the SAPS, with more women being promoted and also more promotions of women to higher ranks than before. Policewomen have greatly contributed towards making the SAPS more of a service than a force, by utilizing their special feminine traits. They have become more involved with community-oriented projects and care for and nurture those around them. These are all special qualities that have not been present in the SAPS before. They have improved victim support services and the members of the community place a trust in them to work for the benefit of those around them.

This research project has identified that policewomen have qualities that create goodwill between victims and the community and the SAPS because by their very nature, they are trusted and empathetic.

The findings of the research group also correspond with the findings of Maslow's hierarchy of needs. Once the basic needs such as having food in the house (physiological), and earning a salary (security need) are satisfied, there is an endeavour towards the next need, which is to socialise with colleagues (affiliation needs). The next need, wanting to be recognised for work well done (esteem needs) leads to the highest need when satisfied, a strive for promotion (self-actualisation need).

Various other points were also raised, which were perceived to be comments and observations more than issues. They are listed below:

Table 23 OTHER OBSERVATIONS

The respondents joined because they came from a policing background and/or because of the family tradition.
Some of the respondents found the training interesting and enjoyable.
During the first few weeks, isolation was experienced from the family, as

they were not allowed to see each other.
The challenge to be able to cope with the use of firearms was self-revealing.
There were no challenges as some could do everything.
Where relationships at work are involved, some deal with their colleagues only on a professional level and do not become involved with them personally.
In order to have a good relationship at home and at work, some had learnt to prioritise.
Some did not bring her work home and had good husbands for support.
Some felt that there are promotion possibilities in the SAPS as long as you do your work well and are outstanding.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The majority of the respondents never realised their self-actualisation need at work, although all the other needs were satisfied.

As a consequence of all the above-mentioned, major changes are necessary in the SAPS and the contribution of women to policing should be identified, implemented and disseminated within the organisation, so that both males and females feel that their particular contribution are recognised and valued. Increased numbers of women must be introduced into the SAPS to meet transformation requirements. This specific recommendation, which is in the context of this thesis, recognises that gender differences do exist, but that this has not been recognised fully from an organisational perspective.

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**DOCTORATE
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

**GUIDELINES FOR A FOCUSED SEMI-STRUCTURED IN-DEPTH
INTERVIEW: A CRIMINOLOGICAL STUDY OF WOMEN IN POLICING**

Interview No: **Date:** **Time :** **Place :**

1. BIOGRAPHICAL DETAILS

Age

Home language

Marital Status: Married () Divorced () Estranged () Never married ()

Children: Ages

Rank

Length of service

Qualifications when you joined the police

Educational qualifications at present

Intention when joining police: long-term career, or only an interesting job (),
or none of these ().

Occupation before joining the police (if any).

2. CAREER PERFORMANCE

2.1 Initial job decision

1. Motive for joining - (influence of friends, family).
2. Family's reaction to decision
3. Training (how did you experience it).
4. What challenges did you have to meet?

2.2 Relationships with colleagues

1. How do you experience your work situation.
2. Acceptance by male colleagues.
3. Frustrations and barriers (feelings of resistance, sexual harassment).
4. Ever been a victim in the work situation?

5. Do you think there are equal work opportunities for male and female in the SAPS?
6. There are references about a 'cop culture' existing in the SAPS - if so - are both sexes part of it? Explain.

2.3 Career choice

1. Was it your choice to be where you are now working?
2. Role at home - does it ever affect your work situation and vice versa.
3. Achieving promotion (importance of).
4. Promotion possibilities? (Discuss).

3. CHANGES AND CONTRIBUTION OF WOMEN TO POLICING

3.1 Transformation and change

1. Do women have a role to play in the transformation within the police?
(from a male-oriented world).
2. Have women brought about any changes in policing? Discuss.
3. Discuss any other changes that have occurred in the SAPS since transformation.
4. Has there been any improvement in the circumstances of women since transformation?
5. Has the image of women in policing changed?
6. Have women been able to change their own circumstances?

3.2 CONTRIBUTION

1. Have policewomen made a difference to the quality of life in the communities?
2. What is necessary in order to ensure that women's voices are heard in the planning and delivery of services in the SAPS?
3. Do you have to work harder (as a woman) in order to achieve?
4. What contribution (if any) have women brought to policing?