

**Work-related violence: Experiences of shopping centre security guards**

By

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Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree of

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

In the subject

**PSYCHOLOGY**

At the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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31 JANUARY 2023

## DECLARATION

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Date

## DEDICATION

*This thesis is dedicated to my late parents, Joshua Simelane (my father) and Joyce Simelane (my mother). With their unconditional love, I grew up to be the person I am. I have no words to describe them. They gave me everything I needed so that I may reach my career goal*

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

I want to acknowledge and give my warmest thanks to my supervisor (Dr Emmanuel Tlou), who made this work possible. He provided guidance and advice for this thesis.

I would also like to give special thanks to my family as a whole for their continuous support and understanding when undertaking my research and writing my thesis.

Finally, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to all the participants in this study for sharing with me your experiences, you have made it possible for me to complete this study.

I appreciate your help and your time. May Lord bless them all.

## DEFINITIONS

<b>Term</b>	<b>Definition</b>
<b>Customer</b>	A person who buys a product from a shop (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, n.d.).
<b>Private security industry</b>	It is the industry that provides guarding, armed reaction, escorting, investigating and other security-related services to private individuals and businesses in the country (Building Security Services, 2020)
<b>Security guard</b>	Someone whose job is to guard buildings and protect goods from being stolen (Cambridge Dictionary Online Dictionary, n.d.).
<b>Shopping centre</b>	This is a specially built area containing a lot of different shops (Collins English Online dictionary, n.d.).
<b>Structural violence</b>	It is about social, economic and political systems that disadvantage groups in society. The systems include income inequality, racism, sexism and other means of social exclusion leading to vulnerabilities, such as poverty, stress, trauma, crime and incarceration (Center for Health Equity Research Chicago, 2019).
<b>Social structures</b>	It is the organized set of social institutions and patterns of institutionalized relations that together compose society, such as religion, education, media, law, politics and economy (Crossman, 2019).
<b>Violence</b>	Use of physical force to injure, abuse and destroy a person or property (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary, n.d.).
<b>Workplace Violence</b>	Refers to incidents where workers are abused, threatened and assaulted by people from within or outside their workplace (Oshwiki Networking Knowledge, 2015).

## ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ABBREVIATIONS</b>	<b>EXPLANATION</b>
<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>CCB</b>	Civil Cooperation Bureau
<b>CJCP</b>	Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention
<b>COSATU</b>	Congress of South African Trade Unions
<b>EAP</b>	Employee Assistance Program
<b>EFF</b>	Economic Freedom Fighters
<b>FUL</b>	Freedom Under Law
<b>GAD</b>	General Anxiety Disorder
<b>GBV</b>	Gender-Based Violence
<b>HSF</b>	Helen Suzman Foundation
<b>ICD</b>	Independent Complaints Directorate
<b>ICD</b>	Independent Complaints Directorate
<b>ISS</b>	Institute for Security Studies
<b>NEASA</b>	National Employers Association of South Africa
<b>NGO</b>	Non-Governmental Organization
<b>PSC</b>	Public Service Commission
<b>PSIRA</b>	Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority
<b>PTSD</b>	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
<b>SADAG</b>	South African Depression and Anxiety Group
<b>SAHRC</b>	South African Human Right Commission
<b>SAPS</b>	South African Police Service
<b>SASSA</b>	Security Association of South Africa
<b>SATAWU</b>	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union
<b>SCI</b>	Soul City Institute for Social Justice (SCI)
<b>SOB</b>	Security Officer Board
<b>UK</b>	United Kingdom
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>WHO</b>	World Health Organization

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## ABSTRACT

This study aimed to investigate the construct of work-related violence experienced by security guards employed at a shopping centre in Gauteng. The objectives of the study were: to identify the nature of the psychological problems experienced by security guards at the Gauteng shopping centre, to explore the working conditions that account for the difficulties experienced by security guards in the context of their work, to identify various forms of work-related violence manifesting in security work at the shopping centre; and to recommend psychological intervention strategies to address security guards' experiences of work-related violence. Galtung's (1969) proposition on structural violence was adopted as the conceptual framework to understand how the poor working conditions of security guards in the private security industry in South Africa could constitute structural violence. Qualitative research was employed to analyse participants' accounts of their experiences of work-related violence. A case study research design was employed to investigate the experiences of security guards at the shopping centre. Ten security guards who met the study's inclusion criteria in terms of the age cohort, work experience and residence in Gauteng participated in the study. Nine themes emerged when the data were analyzed. Findings indicated that difficult living circumstances related to structural violence inherent in South African society, sector-specific precarious work-related problems, and direct exposure to violence from the public and criminals characterised the work-related violence that the shopping centre security guards experienced. This study concludes that the working conditions of shopping centre security guards are a form of structural violence that adversely impacts their psychological well-being. The study successfully demonstrated how work-related violence is a psychological construct worthy of psychological research and proposes psychological interventions that could be implemented in the security industry. Proposals for further psychological research in the security industry are made.

**Keywords:** *Security guard, violence, structural violence, work-related violence, shopping centre and PSIRA*

## UITTREKSEL

Die doel van hierdie studie was om die konstruk van werkverwante geweld te ondersoek, soos ervaar deur sekuriteitswagte wat by 'n winkelsentrum in Gauteng in diens is. Die doelwitte van die studie was: om die aard van die sielkundige probleme te identifiseer wat sekuriteitswagte by die Gautengse winkelsentrum ervaar; om die werksomstandighede te ondersoek wat verantwoordelik is vir die probleme wat sekuriteitswagte in die konteks van hulle werk ervaar; om verskillende vorme van werkverwante geweld te identifiseer wat met sekuriteitswerk by die winkelsentrum verband hou; en om sielkundige ingrypingstrategieë aan te beveel om sekuriteitswagte se ervarings van werkverwante geweld aan te spreek. Galtung (1969) se voorstel oor strukturele geweld is gebruik as die konseptuele raamwerk om te verstaan hoe die swak werksomstandighede van sekuriteitswagte in die private sekuriteitsbedryf in Suid-Afrika op strukturele geweld kan neerkom. Kwalitatiewe navorsing is gebruik om deelnemers se verslae oor hulle ervarings van werkverwante geweld te analiseer. 'n Gevallestudie-navorsingsontwerp is gebruik om die ervarings van sekuriteitswagte by die winkelsentrum te ondersoek. Tien sekuriteitswagte wat aan die studie se insluitingskriteria voldoen het ten opsigte van ouderdomsgroep, werkservaring en verblyf in Gauteng, het aan die studie deelgeneem. Nege temas het na vore gekom toe die data ontleed is. Bevindinge het aangedui dat moeilike lewensomstandighede wat verband hou met strukturele geweld wat inherent is aan die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing, sektorspesifieke gevaarlike werkverwante probleme en direkte blootstelling aan geweld deur die publiek en misdadigers, kenmerke is van die werkverwante geweld wat deur sekuriteitswagte in die winkelsentrum ervaar word. Hierdie studie kom tot die gevolgtrekking dat die werksomstandighede van sekuriteitswagte in winkelsentrums 'n vorm van strukturele geweld is wat 'n nadelige invloed op hulle sielkundige welstand het. Die studie het suksesvol gedemonstreer hoe werkverwante geweld 'n sielkundige konstruk is wat beslis sielkundige navorsing waardig is, en dit stel sielkundige ingrypings voor wat in die sekuriteitsbedryf geïmplementeer kan word. Voorstelle vir verdere sielkundige navorsing in die sekuriteitsbedryf word gemaak.

**Sleutelwoorden:** Sekuriteitswag, geweld, strukturele geweld, werkverwante geweld, winkelsentrum en PSIRA

## CHAPTER 1

# The private security industry in South Africa: The need for psychological research

### 1.1 An outline of the study

During the 2020 Covid-19 lockdown in South Africa, the following report appeared in a Star Newspaper in South Africa:

*Security guards working as essential staff for a Joburg<sup>1</sup>-based company under Covid-19 regulations lamented the inhumane conditions they are subjected to after long night shifts. [...] security guards in Lonehill<sup>2</sup> claimed on Monday that they were sleeping on inflatable mattresses and boxes following long nights keeping clients of the company safe during the coronavirus pandemic. Narrating their ordeal, the guards said they used water buckets to bathe before going to their different place of work in the [...] suburb. The guards [...] also claim the [...] management has not provided them with food. The guards' ordeal allegedly began after the Joburg Metro Police department<sup>3</sup> arrested the security manager for loading 44 security officers into the back of a closed truck. The manager was arrested for contravening Covid-19 regulations. The guards claim the manager then took a decision to stop transporting them home and allegedly arranged accommodation for them at the "inhabitable" building in [...].*

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<sup>1</sup> Joburg is the largest city in South Africa.

<sup>2</sup> Lonehill is a suburb located in Gauteng, South Africa.

<sup>3</sup> Joburg Metro Police department is responsible for all By-Law Enforcement as well traffic offences in the Joburg city.

*A guard, who spoke to The Star anonymously, said they were allowed to go home but could not afford the transport costs. “We are allowed to take public transport home after our shifts, but it’s costly. We come from Diepsloot, Soweto and Alexandra. So, we have to take more than one taxi to get home. We know that the company provides transport, so we didn’t budget for transport money,” he said. Another security guard said the conditions were almost as bad as that of a crowded prison. “There’s only one toilet and there are more than 20 of us sleeping there. We do not have access to the whole building, and we are forced to use the corridor. It’s tough, we feel that we should be with our family during this time, and we aren’t provided with food,” he said (Tlou, 2020).*

The above newspaper article indicates that some South African security guards endure harsh working conditions under some private security companies. However, the private security industry is one of the fastest-growing industries in South Africa and is considered one of the leading creators of jobs. As unemployment rises in South Africa, the private security industry remains attractive, continuously contributing to employment provision (Conradie, as cited in Sefalafala, 2012). According to the Southern African Catholic Bishops’ Conference Parliamentary Liaison Office (2012), the private security industry employs more officers than the South African Police Service. It is estimated that the annual turnover for the security industry in South Africa is thirty billion rands. Despite this encouraging picture, security guards in this booming industry experience work-related challenges unique to the sector. According to Ngqambele (2020), some of the challenges faced by security guards in South Africa is poor training. The security guards find themselves without the necessary experience to face high-risk situations. They are not treated fairly, as many security companies look for scapegoats to dismiss guards unfairly. Mndebele (2020) points out that the plight of men and women working in South Africa’s private security sector is worsened by low pay, dangerous working conditions and manipulation by superiors. As much as private security industry in South Africa can be praised for creating jobs, security guards remain exploited in the security sector.



### 1.1.1 Private security sector in South Africa

Numerous companies in the South African security industry perform a variety of functions and services. Building Security Services (2020) reported that the private security industry provides guarding, monitoring, armed reaction, escorting, investigating and other security-related services. Although this is an American security service provider, their observation is still relevant in the South African context. South Africa has over 9000 registered security companies (Karen, 2020). The responsibilities of the security guards differ based on the grades that they achieve. Mantis Security (2018) classified the duties of South African security guards according to a grading system ranked from A to D. The primary function of Grade D security guards is access control; Grade C security guards are responsible for access control of higher risk areas and supervision of lower grade security officers. Grade B security guards are responsible for access control in high-risk areas where documentation and basic computer skills might be required. Grade A security guards would function in a site managerial role (Mantis Security, 2018). However, according to Omega Training Academy (2015), there is also Grade E, which is the entry-level for new trainee officers. They are introduced professionally in the private security industry and often do patrolling (patrolling on the client's private property).

The current study focused on security guards who provide security services at a shopping centre in South Africa's Gauteng province. Most security guards employed in the shopping centre are employed with Grade C certificates and work for different security companies contracted in the shopping centre. Some work for retail tenants such as Mr Price, Shoprite Checkers and Game store. Other security guards work for shopping centre management to protect shopping centre property. The duties of security guards at shopping centres include patrolling the shopping centre, monitoring suspicious activities and crowd control during peak retail holiday times, such as the festive season (United Security Incorporated, 2017). While the security guards at shopping centres play a significant role in protecting customers against crime, they are unhappy with working conditions and wages. As a result, there is now a call for security guards in South Africa to be insured.

### 1.1.2 Insourcing of the security guards in South Africa

According to Cabral et al. (2014, p. 366), insourcing is “the decision to reincorporate an outsourced activity within a company that had formerly been transferred to an external supplier”. It means the company will now use its own resources to accomplish a previously outsourced task. The exploitation of the security guards in South Africa, including shopping centre security guards, made some trade unions and political parties call for the ‘*insourcing*’ of the security guards. The Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) Treasury General, Omphile Maotwe (2021), stated that municipalities had turned a blind eye to the plight of thousands of security guards who worked under poor working conditions and were exploited by politically connected private companies. The security company is paid R14000.00 per security guard per month, and the security guard is only paid less than R4000.00 with no pension fund and medical aid benefits. The National Union of Public Service and Allied Workers (2022) points out that security guards experience severe exploitation from private security companies, and there are countless cases of unfair dismissals without any accountability. The union is calling for ‘*insourcing*’ of the security guards. Venture Security Management (2019) explain that directly employing a security guard means the security guard can be more fully immersed and embedded within the company and its culture. It can encourage deeper feelings of loyalty, and employers are more likely to regard the security guards as part of the team rather than outsiders.

Therefore, some people might believe that ‘*insourcing*’ the security guards can solve these working challenges facing security guards. Morales Group Company (2021) argues that ‘*insourcing*’ has its drawbacks, including increased costs, ‘*insourcing*’ is likely to be more expensive because of higher wages and improved working regulations. Also, ‘*insourcing*’ requires the training of employees, which can consume much time. Despite the advantages and disadvantages of ‘*insourcing*’, the conclusion one can draw from the widespread calling of ‘*insourcing*’ of the security guards by some of the trade unions and political parties is that people are aware that security guards in South Africa are exploited, and there is need to transform the private security industry. This study understood the work experiences of the security guards from a structural violence perspective. It means these challenges arise from

oppressive economic and social structures that affect security guards' chances of decent work.

### 1.1.3 The exposure of security guards on structural violence

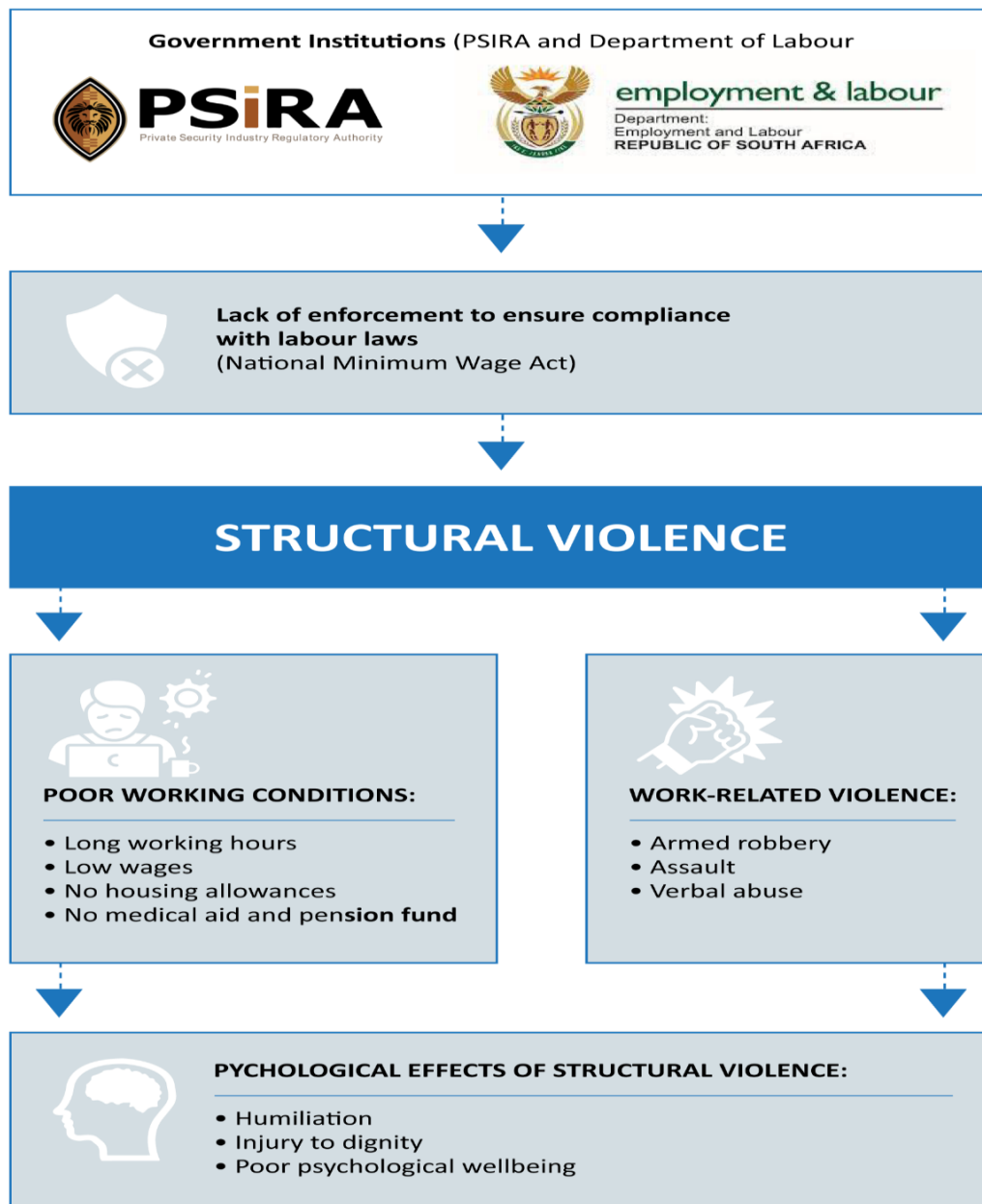
Webb (2019, p.53) defines the concept of structural violence as a “condition in which groups of persons are harmed by general and persisting situations not of their own choosing; from which most have no real way of escaping. Great harm, including death, and limits on actualization of potential are the result”. This can mean that problems faced by shopping centre security guards are not self-created but are the effects of inappropriate and ineffective socio-economic policies<sup>4</sup> aimed at improving the working conditions of the workers, including the security guards. Webb (2019) also states that victims of structural violence have no real way of escaping these structural violence conditions. This shows that as much as security guards can be aware of the shortcomings of the socio-economic policy to improve the working conditions of security guards. They might not have the courage to advocate change in this policy. Galtung (2007) argues that structural violence occurs so that victims become helpless. They have no control over the situation, give up on making changes, and accept their fate.

The security guards in the shopping centre might be displaying helplessness against structural violence as it is invisible and not caused by individuals but instead caused by social institutions that harm people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs. Structural violence can manifest in different ways in the work environment of the security guards. For example, according to Ngcobo (2016), the parking guards at the Norwood shopping centre are required to pay a daily fee of R45.00 for their spots in the parking lots. The shopping centre management does not consider that these parking guards are at the bottom end of the earning scale and that the R45.00 fee will reduce their take-home money meant to support their families. It is clear that Norwood shopping centre exploits the car guards by deducting the R45. 00 parking fee spot, causing the suffering of the car guards as they are left with nothing and struggle to meet their basic needs. Social structure, such as shopping centre management, can prevent this suffering of car guards; however, there is no willingness to do that. The car guards will die not with anyone firing a bullet but due to structural violence

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<sup>4</sup> Socio-economic policy is based on the need to eliminate economic and social inequalities in the society.

(Galtung, 2007). The following diagram demonstrates structural violence against security guards.



**Figure 1.1: The exposure of security guards on structural violence**

The above diagram begins with government institutions (PSiRA and the Department of Labour). The primary responsibility of PSiRA is to regulate the private security industry in South Africa and create a conducive working environment for security guards. According to

the South African Department of Employment and Labour (2019), the Department of Labour plays a significant role in reducing unemployment, poverty and inequality through a set of policies and programmes developed in consultation with social partners to eliminate inequality and discrimination in the workplace. Also, it is to ensure the protection of human rights.

The failure of the Department of Labour and PSIRA to enforce existing labour laws (employment equity act, national minimum wage act, occupational health and safety regulations) in the private security industry may have influenced structural violence against security guards. Structural violence manifests in the form of poor working conditions, such as long working hours, low wages, and lack of access to a housing allowance and medical aid. Further, structural violence can be witnessed as work-related violence in the shopping centre. The security guards are not well equipped and trained to deal with armed robbery, assault and verbal abuse. Structural violence can have psychological effects that include humiliation and injury to dignity. Shwebel (2009) argues that structural violence often results in deteriorated mental health and family disruption. Deteriorated mental health as a result of structural violence could have a negative impact on the performance of security guards in the workplace. Fisher (2019) points out that deteriorating mental health affects memory, concentration and cognition. These are all executive functions crucial in security work as they require high levels of decision-making and good judgement. Structural violence could negatively impact security officers' social functioning, such as family, religious activity, education, media, law, politics and economy (Crossman, 2019).

## **1.2 Problem statement**

Several studies have been conducted on the work-related experiences of security guards in South Africa. Sefalafala (2012) conducted a study that explored the nature of working conditions and lived experiences of private security guards in Johannesburg. This study focused not only on the working conditions of the security guards but also on the social experiences of the security guards outside the workplace. Another study conducted by Du Toit (2015) focused on the job-related challenges of security guards working at North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus. The study investigated the coping strategies of security

guards to overcome work-related challenges at North-West University. Although both Sefalafala (2012) and Du Toit (2015) conducted studies on the work-related experiences of the security guards in South Africa, the work experiences were not explained in the context of structural violence, which is seen as a research gap which the current study intended to fill. This study sought to investigate how political, social and economic systems influence the work-related experiences of the security guards at a shopping centre, and this was done in the context of structural violence.

### **1.3 Aim of the study**

The study aimed to investigate work-related experiences that security guards encountered at a shopping centre in Gauteng, endeavouring to present recommendations for psychological intervention to improve the mental health situation of security guards.

### **1.4 Objectives of the study**

There are four research objectives:

- To identify the nature of the psychological problems experienced by security guards at a Gauteng shopping centre.
- To explore the working conditions that influence difficulties experienced by security guards within their work environment.
- To identify various forms of work-related violence experiences against security guards in their work environment.
- To recommend psychological intervention strategies to address security guards' work-related problems at shopping centres.

### **1.5 Research questions**

The following research questions, derived from the research objectives, guided the study:

- What are the psychological experiences of the security guards at a Gauteng shopping centre?
- What working conditions influence challenges experienced by security guards in their work environment?
- How are working conditions of security guards expose them to work-related violence?
- What are the possible psychological intervention strategies to address security guards' work-related problems at the shopping centre?

## **1.6 Significance of the study**

This study allowed individuals to understand the difficulties of security guards within the retail environment, making the study unique and important. The Health and Safety Executive (2008) explain that retail security guards can be exposed to the unpredictable behaviour of shoplifters and drug users. Verbal abuse is also common in the retail environment. Also, the fundamental aspect of this study is to show that security guards are important for the public as they are meant to offer protection and minimize criminal activities such as theft. Therefore, safeguarding their mental wellbeing and providing adequate working conditions benefits the employer and the public. Finally, the Study findings provide important information about the working conditions of security guards in shopping centres, opening further research areas. This study may provide a foundation for future studies on security guards working at the shopping centre. They can use other research methods (surveys and focus groups) to obtain further views from security guards about working conditions at shopping centres.

## **1.7 Scope of the study**

The study aimed to investigate the work-related experiences that security guards encountered at a shopping centre in Gauteng. This study applied Galtung's (1969) structural violence proposition to understand the work experiences of the security guards at a shopping centre. This study will not cover security guards in other sectors, such as armed reactions, bodyguards and cash-in-transit security guards. The reason not to include the security guards

in other sectors was to make the study manageable and relevant to what this study intended to achieve.

### **1.8 Research Setting: A shopping centre in Gauteng**

Gauteng is one of the nine provinces of South Africa, and many people migrate to Gauteng as it holds better job opportunities. Statistics South Africa (2018) states that Gauteng province is South Africa's economic powerhouse. The province contributed just over a third to South Africa's economic output in 2016, as stated by provincial gross domestic product (GDP) figures. Gauteng province has created more job opportunities in the private security industry. PSIRA annual report (2020-2021) stated that about 2.5 million security guards are registered in South Africa, and 958 265 are employed in Gauteng province. Therefore, this could mean that most security guard jobs are created in Gauteng compared to other provinces. Also, this suggests that where there is high economic activity, we should expect a high need for security guards. In addition, Gauteng usually has the highest rate of crime, which of course, that requires security.

In 2018, most shopping centres across Gauteng experienced robberies. Menlyn, Buzz and the East Rand shopping centre were some of these centres. During these robberies, some suspects were killed, and some managed to escape (Sekhotho, 2018). According to the acting National Police Commissioner, Lesetja Mothiba, Gauteng province is the worst affected by shopping centre robberies. There are isolated incidents in other provinces, but Gauteng shopping centres have been robbed 11 times since August 2013 (Citizen, 2014). This shows that security guards at Gauteng shopping centres are more vulnerable to robberies.

### **1.9 Outline of the thesis**

A summary of the chapters' content is discussed to assist the reader in following the train of thought of the researcher. The study is brought together as follows:



### 1.9.1 Chapter 1: Outline of the study

This chapter presents the background and purpose of the study. The study investigated work-related experiences that security guards encountered at a shopping centre in Gauteng. The researcher introduces the problem statement, objectives of the study, research questions, scope of the study and research setting.

### 1.9.2 Chapter 2: Conceptual framework: Structural violence as an explanation for the security industry in South Africa

This study adopted a structural violence proposition to understand the work experiences of the security guards in the shopping centre. Galtung's (1969) six dimensions of violence and their implications in this study are discussed in Chapter 2.

### 1.9.3 Chapter 3: Review of workplace research in the security industry

Chapter 3 presents a literature review on the phenomenon of the private security industry in South Africa. Also, the manifestation of workplace violence and its impact on the employees, such as security guards.

### 1.9.4 Chapter 4: Research Methodology: Investigating the work experiences of security guards

Chapter 4 provides the methodology employed by the study. This chapter includes research design, data collection procedures and the analysis method. This section also addresses ethical guidelines and procedures used in the study.

### 1.9.5 Chapter 5: Findings and discussion: Work experiences of shopping centre security guards

Chapter 5 focuses on findings and discussion. The themes reflect how security guards perceive their work experiences. Themes are identified, such as reasons for becoming a security guard and job security.

### 1.9.6 Recommendations: Psychological interventions to improve the working conditions of security guards

The section provides a conclusion and a set of recommendations based on the research findings, and the limitations and strengths of the study are described.

## CHAPTER 2

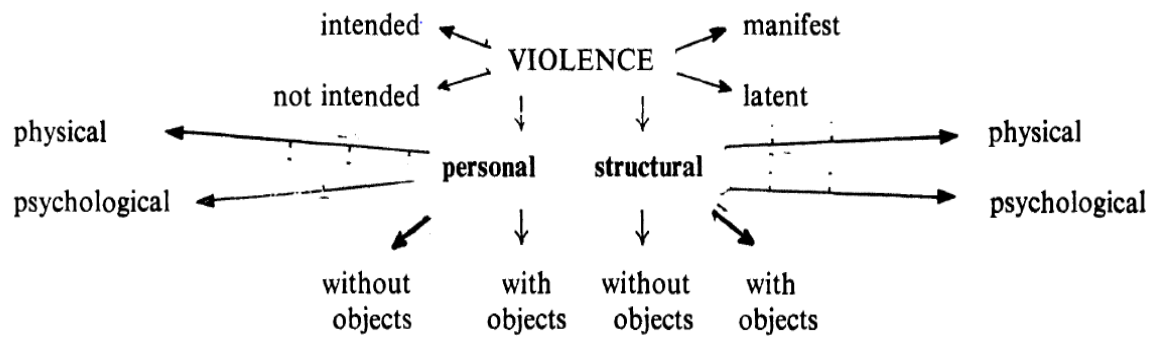
### Conceptual framework: Structural violence proposition as an explanation for the security industry in South Africa

#### 2.1 Introduction

The concept of structural violence was introduced in Chapter 1 of this study to explain the work experiences of the security guards at a shopping centre. The point that should be noted is that there is no theory of structural violence. Galtung's (1969) proposition of structural violence used in his 1969 article titled '*Violence, Peace and Peace Research*' was adopted as a framework to understand the violence and workplace experiences of the security guards at a shopping centre. According to Ricker (2022), structural violence occurs when a group is harmed by laws and other general structures of society. Structural violence can be used to maintain social inequalities and poverty, and the victims of structural violence may not identify the instigator of such violence. Based on the above description of structural violence. Clearly, violence does not only include physical violence; poverty can also be considered as violence (structural violence). Galtung (1969) argues that researchers should not only focus on the direct bodily implications of physical violence but also look at violence as a way of limiting people in their everyday lives. Therefore, Galtung (1969) defined violence into six dimensions.

#### 2.2 The phenomenon of violence

According to Galtung (1969), violence is classified into personal and structural. The following is Galtung's typology of violence:



**Figure 2.1: Graphic illustration of a typology of violence (Galtung, 1969, p.173)**

Galtung (1969) points out that there is no reason to assume that structural violence produces less suffering than personal violence. It is evident from the above typology that both personal and structural violence could have physical and psychological effects. A person (object) exposed to personal violence would see the violence and complain about it. On the other hand, a person exposed to structural violence may not see it and complain about it. Therefore, structural violence is silent, and the victim may not see that he was exposed to it (Galtung, 1969). Furthermore, Galtung (1969) further explained the concept of violence into six dimensions.

**2.2.1** Galtung (1969) described the following six dimensions of violence in his proposition of structural violence:

- **Physical and non-physical violence** (he identifies non-physical as psychological violence). According to this dimension, intimidations can be effective as actual attacks influencing someone's behaviour and actions. A criminal can take someone's car by threat rather than by actually hitting and taking the car. This outcome will be the same as hitting the victim because the car will be gone, and the person becomes a victim of car hijacking. Hence, Galtung (1969) talks about physical and non-physical violence.

### **Implications of physical and non-physical violence in the current study**

One of the objectives of this study was to identify various forms of work-related violence experienced by security guards in their work environment. Therefore, intimidation by customers is one of the work-related violence experiences by security guards. Sens Security Services (2022) explains that retail security officers are the first line of defence against all retail crime, including but not limited to shoplifting, abuse (Verbal and physical abuse) and fraud. This verbal and physical abuse of security guards can be explained within the dimension of physical and non-physical violence, regardless of physical or non-physical violence against security guards at a shopping centre. The shopping centre security guards become the victims of work-related violence, which can be seen as a failure of social institutions such as the Private Security Regulatory Body (PSIRA) to ensure that security guards are protected against work-related violence.

Neven (2013) quoted Dr Johan Burger, senior researcher at the Institute for Security Studies,<sup>5</sup> stating that the problem with PSIRA was in the effectiveness, implementation and enforcement of its regulations. According to the PSIRA Annual Report (2020), some of their weaknesses include an inability to build capacity rapidly, inadequate monitoring and evaluation of projects and plans, regulations for industry training and geographical footprint. Undoubtedly, these weaknesses, directly and indirectly, impact security guards' psychological or mental health. I believe that the lack of enforcement of the Private Security Industry Regulation Act (56 of 2001) will continue to expose security guards to labour exploitation as a form of structural violence.

- ***Negative and positive approach:*** This could be Galtung's (1969) way of speaking about negative and positive reinforcement. For instance, negative reinforcement is when punishment and positive reinforcement is the reward. The rewards for good policies can bring about the same result as punishment for bad policies. It means the government can implement good policies to create jobs. Some quarters of society will

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<sup>5</sup> The Institute for Security Studies (ISS) is a non-profit organisation that conducts fieldwork and quantitative research to understand national, regional and continental trends in conflict, politics, economics and development. The ISS also collaborates with government and civil society in South Africa to develop evidence-based policy that improves the performance of the criminal justice system and prevent crime.

praise (reward) the government for the good policies meant to create jobs. However, the same good policies can draw criticism (punishment) from other quarters of society. The punishment can be in the form of protests against such policies and lead to direct violence. Safer Spaces (2022) explains that Galtung (1969) distinguishes between direct violence, where the perpetrator can be identified, and indirect violence (structural violence), where there is obvious harm being done to people, but it is difficult to say who exactly is performing such violence. The aggrieved people can vandalize property because they are not happy with the policies implemented for job creation and can be identified and held accountable for such behaviour.

### **Implications of negative and positive approach in the current study**

The South African government established the Private Security Regulation Act (56 of 2001) to professionalise the private security industry in South Africa. However, security guards remain exposed to poor working conditions. It means security guards cannot reward and praise the Private Security Regulation Act (56 of 2001) because the act does not improve their working conditions. This will lead to the government's punishment in the form of protests against inhumane working conditions in the private security sector. People Dispatch (2020) reported that 3000 security guards embarked on an indefinite strike on 21 January 2020 to demand the payment of their wages, and the employer claimed they could not pay as the government department which has contracted them has not released funds. Therefore, this could be a sign of no confidence in the Private Security Regulation Act (56 of 2001) to professionalise the security industry and improve the working conditions of the security guards.

- ***Whether or not an object is hurt:*** According to Galtung (1969), there is no need for someone to be hurt to consider this as violence. For instance, when a person throws stones at other people. Those people might evade those stones and not be hurt. Still, there is a threat of physical violence which can instil the fear of violence in those people.

### **Implications of whether or not an object is hurt in the current study**

There is no need for security guards at a shopping centre to be hurt to consider their work experiences as violent. Exposure to poor working conditions, such as long hours and low wages is sufficient to be considered violence. The effects of that violence may include low productivity and absenteeism of security guards in the shopping centre. Ali and Ali (2013) point out that working conditions are important in organizations. If the employees have a negative perception of their working conditions, they are likely to be absent and have stress-related illnesses, and their productivity and commitment tend to be low. Therefore, this is enough to be considered violence in the context of security guards in the shopping centre.

- **Whether or not there is a subject (person) who acts to cause violence:** It may not be a specific actor that causes the harm, even though harm is caused. For instance, economic policies might well result in specific groups being disadvantaged (harmed) without having specific people orchestrating the disadvantage (harm). This means we could be aware that these economic policies disadvantage specific societal groups. However, the difficulty is that we might be unable to identify the people implementing the policies that disadvantage these groups.

### **Implications of the fourth dimension in the current study: Whether or not there is a subject (persons) that acts to cause violence**

The security guards at a shopping centre experience structural violence, whether or not we can identify the people that influence structural violence on security guards in the shopping centre. Structural violence can manifest in various forms, such as exposure of security guards to violent customers, and there is no workplace violence prevention program to protect the security guards against violence incidents in the shopping centre. We might not know the people responsible for implementing workplace violence prevention programs in shopping centres, but that does not mean the security guards do not experience violence in the shopping centre.

- ***Intended or unintended violence:*** Some violence can be intended, and others can happen even if not intended. It means someone can commit violence (firing a firearm at another person) and does that intending to kill or hurt that person. On the other hand, there is a possibility that a person can fire the firearm at another person, but that was not the intention to fire the firearm at that individual. The effects of not intended and unintended violence remain the same. The person is the victim of violence.

#### **Implications of intended or unintended violence in the current study**

The South African government may have implemented economic and social policies that disadvantage the security guards. However, this may not have been the intention of the government to implement the policies that harm the private security industry in South Africa. Although the policies that disadvantage security guards were not intentionally implemented by the government, the security guards will remain the victims of structural violence.

- ***Manifest and latent violence:*** According to Galtung (1969), there is manifest and latent violence. Manifest violence refers to open and recognizable violence. Latent violence, on the other hand, is not open and directly recognised. For example, killing a person with a knife and the blood coming out is regarded as manifest violence. The person that commits this violence can be identified and held accountable for such violence. The group of people complaining about experiencing prejudice in the community can be seen as latent violence and harmful to that group as it violates their right to dignity.

#### **Implications of manifest and latent violence in the current study**

The security guards in this study experience both manifest and latent violence. The security guards' experience manifests violence when violent customers threaten them with assault, and the violent customers can be identified in the shopping centre. The latent violence can be experienced by security guards at a shopping centre in the form of

not being valued for their work. However, they risk their lives to protect the customers against crime incidents in the shopping centre.

### **2.3 Proposition of structural violence**

Johan Galtung coined the term “Structural violence” in 1969 to refer to any harm enforced by social structures (Government and private institutions) that create environments for some people to experience impairment that can be avoided (Morake, 2019). There is no doubt that structural violence limits people’s access to decent work<sup>6</sup>. Not having access to decent work may create an environment where people can find it difficult to meet their basic needs and continue to be dehumanised (Morake, 2019). Labour laws exist in South Africa to ensure decent work for security guards. However, it seems there is no willingness from government institutions (Department of Labour and PSIRA) to enforce these labour laws in the private security industry. The enforcement of these labour laws in the private security industry will ensure that security guards receive fair wages, ensure job security, minimise labour unrest and promote better working conditions (Allardyce & Partners Attorneys, 2022). The argument can be made that the Department of Labour and PSIRA influence structural violence against security guards as they do not enforce the labour laws in the private security industry that will ensure security guards achieve decent work. Pulpstream (2021) points out that a lack of decent work can lead to unmotivated employees, poor productivity, and an increased risk of workplace incidents.

Furthermore, based on Galtung’s proposition of structural violence, there is no doubt that exploitation is an indicator of structural violence. The exploitation of the security guards has devastating effects on South Africa because they resort to violence to express their dissatisfaction with their working conditions. This was evident during the security guards’ protest in 2006, which left 60 people dead (Ajam et al., 2006). According to Heineken (2020), economic inequality influenced violent crime and protests in South Africa. This protest was a

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<sup>6</sup> Decent work refers to productive work for women and men in conditions of freedom, equity and security and human dignity. It pays a fair income and guarantees safe working conditions.



clear indication of the *“rebellion of the poor”*, as described by Heineken (2020). Like any other social problem, the structural violence experienced by security guards needs to be resolved to improve their lives. However, addressing structural violence experienced by security guards will be more difficult than the direct violence they encounter from customers and criminals in the shopping centres. Galtung (1969) stated that the effects of direct violence are visible and make it easier to identify and combat it. Galtung (1969) claims that structural violence is the worst kind of violence. It is caused by a set of physical and organisational structures and does not allow the satisfaction of basic needs. Structural violence, therefore, could be thought of as indirectly killing more people as it adversely affects their quality of life. The causes of structural violence sometimes are not visible and are, therefore, more difficult to handle. From the previous, it could be surmised that by occupying the lowest rung on the socio-economic ladder, security guards continue to be exposed to the adversity of structural violence. As much this study applied the structural violence proposition to make sense of the work experiences of the security guards in the shopping centre. Galtung’s (1969) proposition of structural violence was not immune to criticism, which is discussed in the following section.

### 2.3.1 Criticism of structural violence proposition

One of the main criticisms of Galtung’s structural violence proposition is that it provides broad and vague definitions of structural violence. It is vague as it includes many social ills such as poverty, hunger, subordination and social exclusion (Farmer, 2004). Therefore, it is not clear what is considered structural violence or not. For an ordinary person, violence is people getting beaten up and being tortured physically or visibly, not the way described by Galtung in the theory of structural violence (Schinkel, 2010).

Levine (2003) pointed out another weakness in Galtung’s proposition of structural violence. According to Levine (2003, p.126), the proposition is *“faceless”*. By this, he means the theory does not recognise individual human characteristics but carelessly categorises society into *“the poor”*, *“the rich”*, *“the haves”*, and the *“have-nots”*. Levine (2003) points out that Galtung’s proposition of structural violence emphasises external factors that impact human beings. Galtung (1969) does not consider internal factors such as personality. For example, people with different personalities may respond differently to exploitation. This is the point

that Galtung's theory does not advance when explaining structural violence and Levine (2003) views this as a weakness of the theory. However, Galtung (1978) argues that we must adopt a bilateral rather than a singular approach to violence. The violence in society must be understood in the context of cultural, structural and direct violence. The above concepts can be interlinked to allow a complete understanding of the origins of violence in the world (Galtung, 1999).

Despite Galtung's (1969) structural violence proposition criticism, I support the view of Galtung (1978) that we need to adopt a bilateral approach to violence. Clearly, governments and other institutions mostly recommend measures that deal with direct violence rather than structural violence. This could be influenced by the fact that direct violence is visible and could be easily managed. Nevertheless, the same institutions forget that structural violence could influence direct violence. The cases of direct violence in the private security industry may be well related to structural violence. One of the cases of direct violence in the private security industry was the 2006 security guard strike that brought chaos countrywide. According to Ajam et al. (2006), almost 7000 security guards embarked on industrial action for better pay and improved working conditions. The security guards clashed violently with the police, and shoppers were mugged in the shopping centres as the security guards failed to turn up for work (Ajam et al., 2006). Five security guards had to be hospitalized after police shot them with rubber bullets, and violence engulfed the Joburg CBD. Also, the striking security guards stoned the police and hit passers-by and cars with pangas and knob-kieries. A mob pulled an on-duty security guard from his vehicle and overturned the car, and set it alight (Ajam et al., 2006).

It is evident that structural violence could be behind this violent security guard strike because the labour laws were not enforced to ensure compliance in the private security industry. The security guards continued to be exploited despite these labour laws: The employment equity act, national minimum wage and occupational health and safety regulations. Therefore, the link between structural violence and direct violence cannot be underestimated, especially if social institutions are unwilling to improve people's lives. Hence, there is a need to adopt a bilateral approach, as suggested by Galtung (1969).

## **2.4 Conclusion**

The present chapter provides more details about the structural violence proposition. Galtung (1969) spells out six dimensions of violence that can be utilized to understand structural violence. In the first dimension (Physical and non-physical violence), threats can be effective as actual attacks on the individual. The second dimension (Negative and positive approach) explains that good policies can bring about the same results as punishment for ineffective policies. The third dimension (Whether or not an object is hurt) means that there is no need for someone to be actually hurt to consider this as violence. In the fourth dimension (Whether or not there is a subject (person) who acts to cause violence), we might not possibly identify the person who committed violence, although the violence took place and the person is hurt by the violent incident. The fifth dimension (intended or unintended) relates to unintended violence, where the person will still experience the effects of that violence. In the sixth dimension (manifest and latent violence), the violence can be recognised (manifest) and can also not be directly recognised (latent). All the above six dimensions of violence outlined by Galtung (1969) impacted this study. They helped the researcher to make sense of the work experiences of the security guards at the shopping centre. Also, it helped the researcher understand the manifestation of structural violence in the South African private security industry.

## CHAPTER 3

### Review of workplace research in the security industry

#### 3.1 Introduction

As stated in Chapter 1 of this study, the purpose of this study was to investigate the work-related experiences of security guards at a shopping centre. However, locating this research within the context of existing literature was also necessary. Therefore, Chapter 3 presents literature and research on work-related violence and the nature of the private security industry in South Africa. The literature in Chapter 3 contributed to understanding how workplace violence manifests and impacts employees' psychological well-being, also, how the private security industry is structured and regulated in South Africa. The work-related challenges of the South African security guards were located in the framework of Galtung's (1969) proposition of structural violence to create a context for this research.

#### 3.2 Psychological research on workplace violence

As the research reviewed in this chapter will show, people working in the security industry report experiences of violence in the course of their work. For this reason, it is imperative to explain the concept of *workplace violence*. Schat and Kelloway (2005, p.191) provide a broad conceptualisation of work-related violence. They define work-related violence as "behaviour by an individual or individuals within or outside an organization that is intended to physically or psychologically harm a worker or workers and occurs in a work-related context". According to this definition, workplace violence can occur in various ways. A co-worker can initiate violence by expressing hate speech against another colleague based on race, religion or sexual orientation. A person outside the organisation can be violent towards the employees in that organisation. Workplace violence can occur in the form of physical or psychological violence, which can take place in a way that dehumanises the other's wellbeing.

Workplace violence can take place in different forms. According to Mout (2003), workplace violence can be divided into two major categories. The first category includes a high incidence of convenience and liquor store robberies and violence towards taxi drivers, law enforcement officers, security guards and correctional institution officers. The second category is workplace violence in offices, warehouses and factories (Mout, 2003). There are differences between the first and second categories of workplace violence. Employees in the first category deal directly with the consumers and are more exposed to violence initiated by outsiders. Therefore, employers in this category are more concerned with violence initiated by an outsider (Mout, 2003). The second category concerns businesses that do not engage directly with the public and are primarily concerned with in-house-directed acts of violence. This type of violence in the workplace is viewed as a threat from the inside versus the outside (Mout, 2003). It does not matter whether the perpetrators of violence are in or outside the company; workplace violence negatively impacts the well-being of affected employees.

Exposure to workplace violence may lead to both physical and psychological health problems. The physical consequences of workplace violence may include minor injuries, such as bruising and wounds, and it can lead to death (Piquero et al., 2013). Further, Piquero et al. (2013) explain that psychological consequences of workplace violence include anxiety, fear, increased irritability, reduced self-confidence, stress reactions and post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). It means the victims of workplace violence may fear being assaulted more than once by the perpetrators of violence. Koonin and Green (2007) found that the most difficult and disabling aspect of workplace violence is that the victim is often seen as the problem, not the perpetrator, and the victim is placed in a position where they could end up taking responsibility for the violence they experienced. Wyatt (2001, p.1) identified the levels of stress that can make the victim of workplace violence gradually become weaker:

- Inability to protest the violence and protect oneself from the actions of other(s);
- Being blamed and feeling guilty for reacting;
- Having to live in denial of the abuse happening; and
- The sense of guilt for having a reaction, which disrupts and decreases functioning.

The above description of workplace violence highlights that workplace violence is a problem affecting all workers. For instance, workplace violence was explored in this study in how it affects security guards at shopping centres. The violence against the security guards needs to be understood within a broader context of the country's long history of violence to resolve the political differences. The following section explores the history of violence in South Africa and its effects in post-apartheid South Africa.

### **3.3 The history of violence in South Africa as a contextual precursor to the security industry**

Violence in South Africa has received attention in popular media and academic literature. In a website column titled 'Voices 360: diverse perspectives and authentic voices', Gumede (2018) highlighted the nature of violence in the South African context. The following is an excerpt from Gumede's column about violence in South Africa:

There is a terrifying epidemic of all types of violence in South Africa, whether in homes, on the road or in parliament. Everyday disputes between strangers are frequently turning deadly. Domestic violence has spiralled. Violence against women and children has risen. Gang violence has risen to new heights. Race-related violence has spiked. Xenophobic violence in townships flares up regularly.

*Violence within supposedly "safe" institutions, such as schools, churches and universities, have risen dramatically. There has been a rise in self-harm also, with South Africa now having one of the highest levels of suicides. So everyday has violence become that many South Africans have become used to it, until occasionally a violent incident so brutal shocked them again. South African society, as we know, was built on violence. This means the DNA of South Africa is violent.*

*Colonialism, slavery and apartheid were the original violence. The apartheid state, institutions and laws were violent. Many of South Africa's liberation movements used counter-violence to respond to apartheid violence. Violent solutions to conflict have been part of South Africa's white colonial and apartheid culture, black counter-colonial and counter-apartheid culture, and black traditional systems.*

*South Africa has been unable to overcome this deep-seated culture of violence in the country's cultural DNA. There has been a persistence of political ideologies that hero-worship violence. The use of violent language, slogans and anthems in the public discourse is politically fashionable. As a case in point violence, and violent rhetoric and slogans continue to be celebrated as "radical" in the democratic era. The violence of the "fees must fall" movement is incredibly in democratic South Africa, celebrated as heroic. Similarly, violence by trade union members on strike is treated as above board because they fight for "justice". (Gumede, 2018, p.1).*

It is evident from Gumede's (2018) article that violence is a problem of significant proportions in South Africa. This description of violence in South Africa resonates with Galtung's proposition of structural violence in Gumede's (2018) acknowledgement that colonialism, slavery and apartheid were the original violence in South Africa. As we consider the views of Gumede (2018) on violence in South Africa, it is clear that he is arguing that violence in South Africa could be traced back to colonialism. Although Gumede (2018) does not label the violence he describes in his article as structural, it resonates with Galtung's (1969) proposition of structural violence as colonialism and slavery could be understood within a broader context of structural violence. In the South African context, which forms the backdrop of Gumede's (2018) article, black South Africans are the primary victims of that structural violence. According to Forde et al. (2021), historical structural economic violence has been maintained in South Africa after the formal end of apartheid. It means that despite post-apartheid South Africa, black workers were still subjected to poor working conditions and paid less than their white colleagues. News 24 (2019) reported that whites in South Africa earn three times more

than blacks on average, which happened two decades after the demise of apartheid. Black South Africans are subjected to the worst form of structural violence arising from the lack of addressing structural inequalities during the apartheid era. The failure to address structural inequalities has led to direct violence (producing hurt, to the point of killing) in South Africa. Heinecken (2020) explains that underlying direct violence is structured violence entrenched in unequal power relations embedded within society. People that do not have access to basic services may engage in violent acts to express their dissatisfaction. This was evident when South African security guards embarked on industrial action in 2006 to demand better wages and working conditions. The industrial action left innocent people dead and injured. Direct violence in South Africa also signals a culture of violence. Some South Africans may view violence as a way to resolve social and political differences.

According to Simpson (1993), the legacy of apartheid has left a culture of violence in South Africa, which implies that violence in South Africa has become normal rather than deviant. For instance, South Africa experienced July 2021 unrest (*Zuma Unrest*) because of Former South African President Jacob Zuma's incarceration on 8 July 2021. The violence and destruction spread from Tongaat and Nkandla to Mooi River, right up to Hillbrow and back to Durban and the south coast of KwaZulu-Natal. The protest started as '*Free Jacob Zuma*' turned into violence, and thousands of desperate South Africans joined the protest to grab what they could from violated shopping centres and warehouses. The looting of shopping centres and warehouses could be influenced by structural poverty, unemployment and an economy crippled by COVID-19 (Hunter et al., 2021).

Looters told the eyewitness news Journalist Kaveel Singh, "*You must get the fuck out now. I will cut your face open and leave it in pieces all over this road for your family to find*" (Hunter et al., 2021, p. 125). Further, the private security industry in South Africa has witnessed an increasing number of security guards killed in the line of duty. Mabena (2022) points out that violent crime spirals out of control, and security guards, the first line of defence for many South Africans, have also come under increasing attack, with up to 300 security guards killed in the line of duty annually. In my view, the security guards in South Africa have become the victims of a culture of violence that can be attributed to inequality and poverty. In addition,



it is also caused by the lack of government to implement pro-poor policies. As a result, people resort to violence to express their frustrations and security guards become the casualties of such violence. According to Netcare (2018), people exposed to violence may experience confusion, fear, hopelessness, shame and low self-esteem. This means violence against security guards does not only cause physical harm but can also cause psychological harm. All this may have happened because of the culture of violence and structural violence. Nelson Mandela also supported the history of violence in South Africa during the Rivonia Trial in 1964. The Nelson Mandela Foundation (2020) published Nelson Mandela's statement from the dock at the opening of the defence case in the Rivonia Trial, Pretoria Supreme Court, on 20 April 1964. Part of the statement indicates that violence in South Africa was seen as a way to resolve disputes between the oppressed and the apartheid government. Nelson Mandela said the following:

Having said this. I must deal immediately and at some length with the question of violence. Some of the things so far told to the Court are true, and some are untrue. I do not, however, deny that I planned sabotage. I did not plan it in a spirit of recklessness, nor because I have any love of violence. I planned it as a result of calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of tyranny, exploitation, and oppression of my people by the whites (Nelson Mandela, 20 April 1964).

Based on the above speech by Nelson Mandela, it is clear that blacks were compelled to use violence to protect themselves against oppression. The Apartheid Museum (2022) reported that between 1959 and 1960, violence broke out in South African cities. In March 1960, police fired upon a crowd protesting against the passed laws in Sharpeville, killing at least 69 people and injuring many others. The people of Sharpeville may not have planned this protest and violence in a spirit of recklessness but as a result of a calm and sober assessment of the political situation that had arisen after many years of exploitation and oppression of black people (Mandela, 1964).

The conceptualization of violence in South Africa was necessary to provide the context of violence in the private security industry. For instance, it is clear that some South Africans, especially blacks, are subjected to structural violence, such as poverty and unemployment. Some of them have resorted to violent crime to improve their living conditions. Security guards become the victims of such violent crimes. It is reported that 300 security guards are killed in the line of duty annually in South Africa (Mabena, 2022). The same security guards also embarked on industrial actions to demand better working conditions, and non-striking security guards were killed. Almost all these cases of violence in the private security industry can be attributed to structural violence and a culture of violence in South Africa. After discussing violence in the private security industry, it is also necessary to explain how it is structured in South Africa.

### **3.4 The history of the private security industry in South Africa**

Irish (1999) explained that the current private security industry in South Africa could be traced to the late 1970s and early 1980s. According to Berg and Gabi (2011), the 1970s and 1980s in South Africa were characterised by states of emergency, political turmoil and violent uprisings, with state resources heavily spent on maintaining the apartheid system. The African National Congress (ANC) was making the townships ungovernable at the time (Waldmeir, 1998). Therefore, the police did not have time to protect citizens against crime. Instead, police engaged in political duties and addressed political unrest. This means, from the late 1970s, the South African police force began to withdraw from a conventional policing role to maintain the security of the illegitimate and repressive state and political control (Berg & Gabi, 2011). The private security industry had to step in to fill the gap left by the police as they focused their attention on political law enforcement. As stated by the South African Security Association Representative (2002), private security companies were recruited to secure national key points, that is, sites of strategic importance for national security, such as fuel plants and military bases. As the police neglected regular policing duties, a market was created for the private security industry.

International oil companies preferred to outsource security functions to private security companies rather than their employees (South African Security Representative, 2002).

However, the private security industry was not exempt from political attacks during the apartheid era, which continued in post-apartheid South Africa (Irish, 1999). For example, the Civil Cooperation Bureau (CCB) was a government-sponsored death squad. Its members were civilians and operated within the borders of the country. Some plans of CCB included a plot to assassinate Abdullah Omar, who was Nelson Mandela's lawyer. They also wanted to send a baboon foetus to Archbishop Tutu's home as a warning to end his outspoken anti-apartheid activities (Ottaway, 1990). The loss of confidence in private security in South Africa, especially by liberating fighters such as Joe Nhlanhla, was influenced by activities carried out by death squads.

According to Irish (1999), it has been alleged that the apartheid government and private security companies collaborated, and the government facilitated formal and informal cooperation mechanisms between companies and state security structures. Abrahamsen and Williams (2011) claimed that the post-apartheid era welcomed private security with some suspicion. For example, police and politicians questioned the commitment of security companies to combating crime. They made the connection between commercial success and fear of crime. This means they know that private security companies also play an important role in the fight against crime. However, they do not rule out that private security is profit-driven (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011). In addition, the fact that most private security companies are owned by white people, and use black people to guard white wealth, is perceived as somewhat problematic (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011). It may be argued that private security is a vehicle used to oppress black people and is an industry dominated by white ownership (Abrahamsen & Williams, 2011). Hough (2007) stated that, in 1995, the Deputy Minister of Intelligence Services, Joe Nhlanhla, expressed concern that "third force elements see private security industry as a haven from where to continue their third force activities of distribution" (p. 4). The private security industry did not only become a political game for politicians in South Africa but was also used in other African countries in peace operations.

George (2010) explained that private military and security companies were involved in peace operations in Africa. The United Nations (UN) have employed private military and security

companies to provide several services (George, 2010). In 2006, the UN spent millions of dollars on aviation support and armed guards, including weapons and ammunition, in the Democratic Republic of Congo (George, 2010). It is clear that security companies are involved in politics because these peace operations are political. Private security companies need to assist in restoring peace in those countries that experience political violence. However, the deployment of private security for peace operations indicates that the government decided to outsource the responsibility of restoring peace in the country. There is a greater chance that the private security companies could be used by a third force, which might compromise peacekeeping operations. According to George (2010), accountability is compromised when firms are beholden to a third party. Institutional ties to Western governments responsible for the agendas and payment of the private security companies might influence political decisions in those African countries. This might have influenced the views of politicians in South Africa about the role of private security companies. Against this backdrop of discontent about the credibility of the security industry, a regulatory framework had to be established to legislate the private security industry.

I believe that the tensions between the private security industry and the government have adverse effects on security guards who depend on the security sector to make a living and financially support their families. It is possible that the existence of this tension may have also contributed to a negative public perception of the security guards. This might also make them vulnerable to workplace violence, especially the security guards working at shopping centres.

### **3.5 Statutory regulation of the security industry**

It is evident that private security worked alongside the government to strengthen the country's security during the apartheid era. The conference held in 1987 titled 'Security - A National Strategy' discussed the possibility of the security industry playing a role in the governance of security in apartheid South Africa (Berg & Gabi, 2011). As much as the government used private security, it was essential for them to regulate the industry. Perhaps this could have been influenced by a fear that private security could be used to encourage resistance against the apartheid system. The first legislation regulating the private security

industry was passed in October 1987 and named the Security Officers' Act (92 of 1987). This legislation was established to create the Security Officers' Board (Berg & Gabi, 2011). The Security Officers Board (SOB) consisted of ten members, six of whom were representatives from the industry (employer and employee representatives). The other representatives included the South African police and appointees by the Minister of Law and Order, now called the Minister of Police (Carrier, 1999). The SOB ensures that the security companies, employers and employees are registered with it (with certificates issued to that effect). It would decide who could qualify to be registered or not (Republic of South Africa, 1987). However, the Security Officers Act (92 of 182) also had some limitations. For instance, it excluded a large tranche of the industry, such as house security which resulted in the amendment of the Security Officers Act of 1992, 1996, and 1997 and the creation of the new legislation of 2001 (Berg & Gabi, 2011).

Berg (2003) pointed out that the Private Security Industry Regulation Act (56 of 2001) addressed the shortcomings of the Security Officers Act (92 of 1987). For example, the 2001 legislation included previously excluded sectors, such as locksmiths, private investigators, security training providers, manufacturers, and distributors of monitoring devices (Private Security Regulation Act, 56 of 2001). The 2001 Act provided for the establishment of PSIRA (which is discussed in the second section) and a Council (consisting of a maximum of five persons) to govern and control the PSIRA (Private Security Regulation Act, 56 of 2001). There is a difference between the SOB established under the Security Officers Act (92 of 1987) and the Council established under the Private Security Industry Regulation Act (56 of 2001). The SOB allowed employers and employees to serve on it, but the 2001 Act does not allow the employers of the security companies to be part of the Council. This exclusion of private security companies from the Council and PSIRA was recognised as a means by which the regulator could be impartial (Private Security Company Operational Director, 2002).

Furthermore, the 2001 Act provides for a hierarchical system of accountability. The PSIRA is directly accountable to the Council, which is directly accountable to the Minister of Police (Private Security Regulation Act, 56 of 2001). The PSIRA and Council must submit annual reports on activities and finances to the Minister of Police and parliament (Private Security Regulation Act, 56 of 2001).

In addition, this Act requires that all security service providers and guards be registered to offer security services. The Act 2001 makes clear who is included and excluded from registration. The Act requires that only South African citizens or those with permanent residence can register to perform a security service (Private Security Regulation Act, 56 of 2001). In terms of Section 21 (i) of the Private Security Regulation Act (56 of 2001):

An application for registration must be accompanied by clear and complete set of fingerprints and the fingerprints are submitted to the SAPS, which is responsible for screening of applications for previous convictions. Persons registering must be over 18 years and must be 'mentally sound'. Also, must adhere to relevant training requirements and not be in possession of a criminal record for at least ten years or of an improper conduct record for *at least five years* (p. 23).

The mandate of the PSIRA was well established under the Private Security Regulation Act (56 of 2001). The PSIRA is intended to legitimise and professionalise the private security industry to contribute to the good of society, particularly concerning safety and security in the country (Private Security Regulation Act, 56 of 2001). Collins (1990) distinguishes between the Anglo-Saxon and Continental modes of professionalism. The Continental mode is when the state is the actor in promoting professional development. The Anglo-Saxon mode is when the self-employed practitioner can control work and conditions. Sefalafala and Webster (2013) pointed out that "through PSIRA, the state aims to inculcate professionalism within the private security industry and consciously shape and control the practices of both employers and employees in the industry" (p. 79). The PSIRA plays a regulatory role in who may enter the security industry by rejecting, suspending, or withdrawing registration. It is also involved in protecting the rights of those who are exploitable, such as security guards (Private Security Regulation Act, 56 of 2001). The PSIRA protects and assists security officers and other employees against practices and consequences of exploitation and abuse (Private Security Industry Regulation Act, 56 of 2001). The PSIRA polices the private security industry by doing audits and inspections at the various security companies to ensure compliance with

registration, seeing whether the guards employed in the company are registered, trained and paid correctly in terms of the 2001 Act and other relevant legislation (PSIRA Inspector, 2006). According to the 2001 Act, PSIRA inspectors can make arrests and elicit the necessary information during inspections, including accessing all documents and data related to employees, wages, shifts, firearms training and client contracts.

The 2001 Act also allows the PSIRA inspectors to impose fines, penalties and interdicts to prevent continued operation. It may also open charge sheets if it is found that a private security company or employees have violated any provision of the legislation (Private Security Regulation Act, 56 of 2001). Moreover, the PSIRA can instigate criminal proceedings against those not adhering to the legislation. The private security companies are responsible for registration with the PSIRA, keeping them informed of name and employee changes, and complying with legislation in every way (Private Security Industry Regulation Act, 56 of 2001). The PSIRA is responsible for regulating the private security industry. The consumers must ensure that they only hire registered security companies with registered security guards possessing accredited training certificates and who receive minimum wages in line with Department of Labour provisions (Private Security Regulation Act, 56 of 2001). Consumers are expected to request this information and ensure that private security companies are above board and equipped for the job at hand (Private Security Regulation Act, 56 of 2001).

Seldon (2013) reported that Jonny Reid, the Chief Executive Officer of the Security Association of South Africa (SASSA), stated that there is nothing wrong with PSIRA legislation as it stands, and no amount of thinking will resolve the real problems. No matter what laws are in place, they are constantly flouted because the enforcement is not there (Seldon, 2013). Reid's assertion alludes to the fact that the challenge is not with legislation but with the implementation thereof. When regulation is not in place, various interpretations of the law will often favour employers and not employees. Therefore, it may be deduced that processes must be implemented to ensure regulation and that security officers' rights are not infringed. In addition, according to Minnaar (2005), the legislation does not specify the set up of an oversight monitoring body, and the focus is on the inspectorate and complaints line, which deal more with working conditions. There is no formal body to serve the South African private

security industry, such as the Independent Complaints Directorate (ICD), that monitors the behaviour and sanctions misconduct by the South African Police Service (Minnaar, 2005). That means even though the Act addresses security brutality, the sanctions implemented against the perpetrators will not be enforceable because of the limitations of the Act (Minnaar, 2005). The PSIRA cannot investigate security brutality effectively and ensure the successful prosecution of perpetrators because they are not trained to do that, unlike the ICD, which has well-trained investigators to investigate police brutality and other crimes committed by the police (Minnaar, 2005).

Currently, there is no ongoing vetting and registration of private security employees and companies by the PSIRA. Once an employee is registered, they are registered for 'for life' (Minnaar & Pillay, 2007). It will be difficult for the PSIRA to identify whether a registered security guard has a criminal record while being registered with PSIRA and cannot be deregistered. The PSIRA also provides statistical information in the annual report about the number of enquiries and complaints received at the Head office, KwaZulu-Natal and Mthatha during the period under review. However, there is no differentiation between complaints received and resolved (PSIRA Annual Report, 2010).

According to Sefalafala and Webster (2013), the security industry is seen as an inferior occupation where security guards feel stigmatised and lack social recognition. Security Guard Training HQ (n.d.) states that the minimum requirement to be a security guard in South Africa requires basic security qualification of Grade E and School Grade 9. It is clear that most of the information about rendering security services is not taught in the private security industry compared to a person that enrolled for Diploma in security services. For instance, the faculty of law at the University of South Africa (UNISA) offers Advanced Diploma in Security Management. Some modules in the curriculum include Criminal Justice Research Methodology, Advanced Security Risk Management and Strategic Planning (University of South Africa, 2020). This could justify the argument raised by Sefalafala and Webster (2013) that the security industry is seen as an inferior occupation because of poor training offered in the private security industry in South Africa, and the security guards are not well trained to provide security services. Therefore, security guards become vulnerable to work-related



violence and are not skilled in defending themselves against it. Perhaps there is a need for security guards to receive the same training as police officers to increase their status in society as 'professionals'.

### **3.6 Security guard training**

One of the PSIRA's functions is to ensure that the security guards are qualified and receive training. According to Minnaar (2004), there seems to be a low standard of training and requirements for recruitment in the private security industry as a whole. Sifile (2018) reported that one cash-in-transit guard attributed the killing of security guards during robberies to poor training. The guard was quoted as follows:

*I had to undergo a three-week course in advanced gun handling and driving, including doing other tactical training. But that training is not utilized anymore, and companies just hire anybody with basic security training certificate to work in the cash-in-transit industry. Some of them have never fired a gun. How are they expected to be effective during a violent robbery? (Sifile, 2018).*

The poor training received by security guards highlights another weakness of the PSIRA's effectiveness in providing industry oversight. However, most importantly, it exposes the security guards to violence and psychological health vulnerabilities. One could argue whether three weeks of training is sufficient for a security guard to be employed by cash-in-transit security companies to handle large amounts of money and a high risk of being exposed to robbery. PSIRA seems to fail to ensure high-level training, including, among other things, granting and withdrawing the accreditation of non-compliant security training institutions, monitoring, auditing of quality of training and verifying the authenticity of training certificates (Private Security Industry Regulation Act, 56 of 2001). Furthermore, private security companies provide a significant source of employment for several previously disadvantaged groups without secondary school education. According to the Private Security Training Centre Manager (2007), this has implications for the quality-of-service provision due to lack of

education. The standard E to C courses are all a week each, meaning a person who wants to enrol for Grades C to E would take three weeks to complete the courses (Private Security Training Centre Manager, 2007). It is clear, therefore, that the standard of training within the security industry cannot equip incumbents sufficiently for the demands of the work. They get a module to read, write an exam, get a certificate and can then apply for security guard jobs (Private Security Company Co-founder, 2002).

Training security guards is essential to ensure they are in a better position to protect themselves when facing criminals. However, based on the above information about security guard training, they do not get adequate training compared to police officers, although security guards in South Africa outnumber the South African police force. We must consider that police and security guards have a common goal to prevent crime. However, private security officers do not have the same authority as the police regarding handling suspects.

### **3.7 The police and security guards**

The former South African Police Minister, Nathi Mthethwa, pointed out that “the private security industry could complement the police’s crime-fighting duties and have a crucial role to play in helping South African Police Service (SAPS) make South Africa safe” (South African News Agency, 2011; p. 1). The private security industry is not only about generating revenue but is also invested in assisting in the fight against crime, thus ensuring that perpetrators are convicted for their crimes. Seed (2004) explained that crimes such as shoplifting predominately involve interactions between private security staff and police. For example, a security guard will catch a perpetrator and call the police to make an arrest. Private security officers detect offenders, and police respond to investigate the allegations, determine if an offence has been committed, and if so, initiate a criminal prosecution (Seed, 2004).

The police and private security work together most of the time. For example, Jones and Newburn (1998) found that some functions undertaken by the police were also undertaken by private security. These functions include dealing with the disorder, utilising legal powers and apprehending suspects (Rigakos, 2002). In terms of the educational level of private

security officers, Parfomak (2004) stated that the pay and academic achievement of security officers are still at the lower end of the labour market despite the high-risk position they find themselves in. However, the relationship between police and private security needs some improvement to ensure it is more effective in fighting crime. Halla and Hwang (2006) point out that we need to understand how police officers and security personnel perceive their working relationship and develop various ways of improving it. There is hope that the relationship between police and security guards will grow as they understand that they have an important role in fighting crime. Their uniforms symbolise the need to serve and protect people against crime.

### **3.8 Uniform and security guards**

It is essential to understand the importance of wearing a uniform in organisations. Joseph (1986, p.66) stated in his book, *Uniforms and Non-uniforms*, "Uniforms serve to identify group members, suppress individuality, certify legitimacy, order priorities of group and status demand for the individual". People can identify the type of work you do with your uniform. Uniforms serve as expressions of authority (Rubinstein, 1995). Organisations want to convey to the public that their members are well regulated and there are rules which guide their behaviour, including wearing a uniform all the time. Uniformed members will show assertive behaviour to prove they control a situation, especially in public. The presence of a uniform may also serve as a situational authoritarian cue, thus potentially increasing the probability of aggressive behaviour (Bensimon, 2015).

When customers see uniformed officers patrolling in public spaces, they are confident they will be protected against bad behaviour. Innes (2011) believes that the visible, uniformed officers reassure observers that formal guardianship is in place. This helps allay feelings of anxiety and fosters a sense of safety and security. However, wearing the uniform in public spaces is also limited. Uniformed patrol officers can also increase anxieties since their presence can sometimes indicate crimes have been or are likely to be committed in the area (Innes, 2004).

The functions of uniformed private security officers in the public space are very broad. They include confiscating alcohol and cigarettes from young people, stopping vehicles for emission testing, requiring the removal of abandoned vehicles and requesting the name and address of persons acting in an anti-social manner (Rowland & Coupe, 2014). The functions performed by uniformed private security officers are directives from management, and they are expected to comply with these directives. Rowland and Coupe (2014) claim that private security officers are specifically employed by the management of privately run shopping malls to protect premises against theft and to help to prevent disorder and incivilities.

### **3.9 Women and men in the 'guard' role**

South African women not only participate in the struggle to achieve democracy but also for gender equality and access to the economic sector. The struggle for gender equality and economic justice for women has a long history in South Africa (Groenmeyer, 2011). Men previously dominated security; however, it is now starting to attract women. Erickson et al. (2000) argue that the security industry has seen an influx of women in recent decades. Various factors contribute to the increase of women in the security industry.

The abolition of apartheid laws and the introduction of more democratically inclusive legislation contributed to the increasing opportunities for women in the labour market (Van der Westhuizen et al., 2007). Second, other possible factors which encourage women to enter the security industry are unemployment and the need to work (Erickson, 1993). However, according to De Sausa (2016), the private security industry in South Africa is characterised by its masculinity, given the potential of violence in the sector; however, females are also employed as security guards. The female security guards are often in positions that are low in status and largely unskilled. Female security guards often face discrimination as they are generally assigned to positions which viewed as suitable for their gender (De Sausa, 2016). They are also more likely to be dismissed by their employers under the guise of operational requirements, and one of the reasons provided is that the employer's client wants more men as security guards because the client believes that more crime is happening with women security guards, for instance, they experience sexual assault (De sausa, 2016).

However, these views reflect a more sexist attitude toward the sexual division of labour. There are more equal views concerning women's fitness when it comes to jobs that require high levels of management and physical strength (Pile, 2005). It is a stereotype that society has believed about women's lack of ability to be in leadership roles. We have women doing better in these positions compared to men who are in the same positions. Pile (2005) also found that all companies, big and small, recognise the value women bring to their companies, and some have proven to run more successfully with women at the helm. This reinforces the point that women are now doing exceptionally well in leadership positions, including in the security industry. Gender stereotypes play out within the private security industry, and guards are deployed to various sites according to gender.

In addition, the racial issue cannot be ignored when examining gender differences in the workplace. Racial differences can negatively impact the workplace if not handled well by employers. For instance, black men and women are employed more often than white men and women in the security industry. According to Groenmeyer (2011), affirmative action policies encourage women to enter employment that was formerly not available to them. These opportunities largely benefitted white women because they had better educational access to management or better professional qualifications (Groenmeyer, 2011). The majority of black women find jobs that pay less, and they are vulnerable to exploitation. Research shows that, despite formal equality, racial discrimination continues as white women earn more than their black counterparts (Van der Westhuizen et al., 2007).

The above literature about differences between female and male security guards highlights the point that female security guards are victims of structural violence in a patriarchal system. According to Nosh (2020), patriarchy is a system of political, social and economic relations structured around the inequality of society defined between men and women. It means women are excluded from full participation in political and economic life. It is clear that female security guards may not be allowed in the private security industry in South Africa to take positions of such value in the private security sector. Since this violence is considered structural violence against female security guards, this violence is not visible and cannot be

easily avoided compared with direct violence against female security guards. For example, when a husband beats his wife, there is a clear case of personal violence, but when the wife is not allowed to study and work, there is structural violence. Therefore, whether the patriarchal system is regarded as intended or unintended violence against women could be debated and will depend on the context in which this violence occurs.

The literature reviewed on the private security industry in South Africa highlights that security guards are regarded as a marginalised group in South Africa. They are exposed to poor working conditions. They are also exposed to workplace violence, such as robbery and assault. Despite the exposure to poor working conditions and violence, they must report to work to support their families financially. In addition, the literature has shown some of the effects of workplace violence, including depression and suicide. All the issues facing security guards indicate that, even though the government regulates the industry, there is a need to improve it and assist the security guards in dealing with workplace violence.

### **3.10 Conclusion**

Chapter 3 describes the literature search on the private security industry in South Africa. This study is unique in the South African context because it is the first known psychological research investigating security guards' work experiences at Gauteng province shopping centres. The study highlights that security guards are exposed to poor working conditions and work-related violence. The next chapter focused on the methodology adopted to conduct this study.

## **CHAPTER 4**

### **Research Methodology: Investigating the work experiences of security guards**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

As this study concerns the lived experiences of security guards at a Gauteng shopping centre, the fourth chapter explains the research methods employed to gather and analyse data for the study.

#### **4.2 Background of the study**

As outlined in the first chapter of this thesis, the private security industry is a significant contributor to employment in South Africa. For instance, private security employed more security guards than the police service (Southern African Catholic Bishop's Conference Parliamentary Liaison Office, 2012). Although the private security industry creates job opportunities, especially for black people, security guards are reportedly exposed to poor working conditions and long hours (Sefalafala & Webster, 2013). The focus of this study was to understand the psychology of security officers' challenges and propose appropriate interventions. In Chapter 1 of this thesis, the research problem highlighted that several studies had been conducted on the work-related experiences of security guards in South Africa. For example, Sefalafala (2012) conducted a study to understand the security guards' working conditions and their social experiences outside the workplace. One of the findings in Sefalafala's (2012) study was that security guards remain highly insecure about stability and security at work. This means, despite having employment contracts in place, employers could decide to retrench security guards arbitrarily and without regard for employment laws. In addition, Du Toit (2015) conducted a study investigating the coping strategies of security guards to overcome the challenges they experienced in the workplace. For example, security guards working at the Potchefstroom University campus revealed that they are expected to

smile and greet students and visitors at access gates. However, they also experience verbal abuse from students; the challenge is coping with it. In Du Toit's (2015) study, security guards experienced verbal abuse in the tertiary environment. In the current study, they experienced it in the retail environment, such as shopping centres. However, the studies of Sefalafala (2012) and DuToit (2015) did not explain these experiences in the context of structural violence, which was seen as a research gap the current study intended to fill. In an attempt to expand this field of knowledge, this study adopts a more nuanced language of structural violence to understand how political and economic systems influence the work-related experiences of security guards at shopping centres, particularly the psychological and social effects.

### **4.3. Research paradigm**

According to Kuhn (1962), a paradigm is a way of thinking and the lens through which a researcher sees the world. In this study, a paradigm is a perspective in which the researcher views the problems facing security guards in South Africa, especially those providing security services at shopping centres. There are different types of paradigms, such as critical paradigm (Power and inequality), Positivism (Objectivity and deductive logic), Interpretivism (Research on human beings) and social constructivism (Truth as socially constructed and everchanging). For this study interpretivism was the most appropriate paradigm to address the research problem.

#### **4.3.1 Interpretative paradigm**

Guba and Lincoln (1989) point out that the interpretivist paradigm aimed to understand the subjective world of human experience. That means this paradigm allows the researcher to understand how the participants perceive their challenges and interpret what the participant thinks or makes of the context. The emphasis is on understanding the individual and their interpretation of the world around them (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998). This paradigm adopted the following concepts:



- **Subjectivist epistemology:** The researcher makes meaning of their data through their thinking and cognitive processing, informed by their interactions with participants (Punch, 2005). According to this paradigm, the inference made about the work experiences of the security guards will be informed by collecting data on security guards.
  
- **Relativist ontology:** The situation studied could have multiple realities, which can be explored and interpreted by human interactions between the researcher and participants (Chalmers et al., 2005). There is a possibility that the phenomenon under investigation could have other underlying factors that the researcher could explore. This can mean that beside the common knowledge that security guards earn less. They could be other information that is not known about the security guards. Interpretativism can assist the researcher to uncover that unknown information about the security guards.
  
- **Naturalist methodology:** The researcher utilises data gathered through interviews, discourses, text messages and reflective sessions, with the researcher acting as a participant-observer (Carr & Kemmis, 1986). The person who implements an interpretative paradigm must keep in mind that the data collected arises from a natural setting rather than an experimental one.
  
- **Balance axiology:** Assumes that the research outcome will reflect the researcher's values, trying to present a balanced report of the findings (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017). This means that this paradigm required the researcher to have balanced reporting of the findings. For instance, it is not advisable to focus only on the positive results of the investigated problem and ignore the study's negative outcomes.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) and Morgan (2007) identified the following characteristics of the interpretivist paradigm:

- The admission that the social world cannot be understood from the standpoint of an individual.
- The belief is that realities are multiple and socially constructed.
- The acceptance that context is vital for knowledge and knowing.
- The need to understand the individual rather than universal laws.
- The belief is that causes and effects are mutually interdependent.

Interpretivism was adopted in this study because it is based on the naturalistic approach to data collection, such as interviews. The interviews made it possible to establish rapport with the shopping centre security guards as they became comfortable sharing sensitive information regarding their working conditions. I have managed to make follow-up questions and probe for additional information. According to O' Donoghue (2006), the interpretivist paradigm holds the idea that society and people cannot be separated. This means that security guards at a shopping centre cannot be understood separately from the society in which they exist. In this study, interpretivism influenced the view that structural violence faced by security guards in the shopping centre could be influenced by poor economic policies implemented by the South African government. In addition, interpretivists believe that reality is subjective as it depends on how individuals perceive their personal experiences and respond to the world around them (du Plooy- Cilliers et al., 2014). This means one cannot understand security guards' reality without considering their experiences. It was important to understand the work experiences of the security guards at the shopping centre to understand how they cope with stressors such as workplace violence. Therefore, the above factors were considered in this study when interpretivism was applied. It should also be noted that the interpretative approach usually is associated with qualitative research methodology, and the following discussion focused mainly on the qualitative research approach.

#### **4.4 Research approach: Qualitative research approach**

This study employed qualitative research methodology. According to Denzil and Lincoln (1994), qualitative research is defined as follows:

Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. Qualitative research consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the self. At this level, qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world. This means that qualitative researchers study things in the natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them (p. 3).

It is clear from the above definition that qualitative research involves natural settings in an attempt to make sense of the experiences of the people under investigation and how they give meaning to their experiences. Therefore, this researcher also went to the natural setting of the security guards to understand their work experiences at the shopping centre and what meaning they give to their challenges in the shopping centre. The following are the characteristics of the qualitative research approach.

#### 4.4.1 Characteristics of qualitative research

- **Natural setting:** Qualitative researchers often collect data in the field at the site where participants experience the issue or problem under study (Creswell, 2013). Creswell (2013) explains that a qualitative researcher is expected to enter the community as part of a research study and allow the participants to share their experiences. Qualitative researchers do not bring individuals into a laboratory or send out instruments for individuals to complete, as is the case with quantitative research. They gather up-close information by actively talking directly to people and seeing them behave within their context (Creswell, 2013). In this study, the shopping centre and residential places at which the participants were posted served as natural settings at which security guards' experiences could be studied. The security guards in the shopping centre were exposed to poor working conditions and this had impact on their significance others (families at home). Therefore, it was necessary to allow

participants to share their experiences about the two natural settings (shopping centre and families at home).

- **Researcher as a key instrument:** Qualitative researchers collect data by examining documents, observing behaviour and interviewing participants (Creswell, 2013). The qualitative research approach requires the researcher to take responsibility for the research and not delegate it to someone else. They may use an instrument, but it must be designed by the researcher using open-ended questions, which should not rely on questionnaires. This requires the researcher to reveal information on the reflexivity of the study. The following is my reflexivity as a researcher in this study:
  - **Reflexivity:** According to Haynes (2012), reflexivity is when the researchers become aware of their roles during the research process and how that can influence the research outcomes. Being a registered Research psychologist and PhD student in this study could influence the study's outcomes. For instance, the security guards in this study are considered as having low education level (Grades 7, 8 and 9), and they might have thought I would like to hear during the interviews how they intend to improve their academic standards in order to match the one of a researcher. However, it was stated during the interviews that the security industry plays a major role in society, especially concerning crime prevention, and I am not conducting this study to pass negative judgment about their school level and security industry; however, I am interested to understand their challenges in the private security sector. Reflexivity also means that a researcher should consider how the pre-existing understanding of the research topic may influence the study's outcomes. Watt (2007) points out that a qualitative researcher needs to acknowledge that prior experiences, assumptions and beliefs will influence the research process.

There is no doubt that before I undertook this investigation into the work experiences of the security guards at a shopping centre, I had prior knowledge as a customer about some of the working conditions of the security guards in the shopping centres. The security guard profession is considered a low status occupation and the guarding

industry is characterised by insecure employment, low wages and long working hours. Therefore, I ensured that my prior knowledge about the working conditions of the security guards did not interfere with the participant's responses. Once the data is coded, the researcher is expected to show reflexivity. It means examining your own judgements, practices and belief systems that might influence how themes can be identified to support your own beliefs about the research topic (Delve, n.d). I had to ensure that themes were identified about the experiences of the security guards. I did so without hand-picking codes that supported the existing literature and my knowledge. Nevertheless, I also included the codes that disagree with existing literature on security guards.

- **Multiple methods:** Qualitative researchers gather multiple forms of data, such as interviews, observations and documents, rather than relying on a single data source (Creswell, 2013). They review all the data, make sense of it and organise themes that cut across all the data sources (Creswell, 2013). This study did not use observation and document analysis for data collection. The interview was the only method that was used to collect the data. The interview was useful in capturing the work experiences of the security guards at the shopping centre.

This study conformed with all the above characteristics (natural setting, researcher as a key instrument, reflexivity and interview). Firstly, I took responsibility for this research and did not delegate it to anyone. I approached the security guards working at a shopping centre and asked them to participate in the study. Secondly, the research data was collected in the field, allowing the security guards to share their experiences of their working conditions. Thirdly, interviews were used to collect research data, as one of the methods of data collection when qualitative research is adopted. Finally, I ensured that I did not influence the participants' responses during the interviews. It means I have ensured that my values as the researcher did not influence how participants must respond to interview questions.

#### 4.4.2 Procedural requirements of qualitative research designs

According to Creswell (2013), qualitative research is for the researcher who is willing to do the following:

- Commit to extensive time in the field. It means the investigator spends many hours in the field and collects comprehensive data. The researcher may require more hours in the field to gain access and build trust in the community.
- Engage in the complex, time-consuming data analysis process by sorting through large amounts of data and reducing them to a few themes or categories. Qualitative data analysis could be challenging as a database consists of complex texts and images.
- Write long passages because the evidence must substantiate claims, and the writer needs to show multiple perspectives. The incorporation of quotes to provide participants' views also prolongs the study.

A qualitative approach was followed in this study. It was deemed useful to gather detailed information about the work experiences of security guards deployed at the Gauteng shopping centre where the research was conducted. Mack et al. (2005) maintain that the strength of qualitative research is its ability to provide complex textual descriptions of how people experience a given research issue. It provides information about the rich, in-depth aspects of an issue, often contradictory behaviour, beliefs, opinions, emotions and relationships of individuals (Mack et al., 2005). This means the opinions of the security guards about their working conditions and improvements they would like to see in their working conditions at the shopping centre were heard.

Further, a qualitative research approach was deemed most appropriate to understand better the structural violence faced by shopping centre security guards in their daily work routine at the shopping centre. In addition, qualitative research seeks to understand a given research problem or topic from the perspective of the local population it involves (Mack et al., 2005). I have considered the security guards as local people who understand the challenges they face at the shopping centre as they interact daily with customers. Therefore, I attempted to

listen to them as they related their challenges to me. Qualitative research consists of various designs such as narrative, phenomenology, grounded theory and case study. However, this study adopted a case study design because it was relevant to the purpose of this study.

#### **4.5 Research design: Case study design**

Creswell (2013) points out that case study research is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a real-life (a case) or multiple (cases) over time. This includes in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information such as observations, interviews and audio-visual material, documents and reports. Case study research allows various ways of collecting data, and the researcher could deal with single or multiple cases at a specific time (Creswell, 2013). The types of case studies include single-instrument case studies, collective case studies and intrinsic case studies (Creswell, 2013). This study adopted a single case study. According to Yin (2018), a single case study usually focuses on one group or event. Although a single case study focuses on a particular group, it does not mean transferability cannot be applied when the findings are reported. According to Guba (1981), transferability is about determining the degree to which the findings of a particular inquiry may be applied in other contexts or with other subjects. For instance, the poor working conditions experienced by security guards at a Gauteng shopping centre could apply to those working at a Polokwane shopping centre. The findings and recommendations on a single or small number could influence future research and policies. However, this should not be confused with the generalisation of findings. Qualitative research studies cannot generalise according to quantitative standards because qualitative research findings often relate to a single or small number of environments or individuals (Flyvbjerg, 2006; Maxwell, 1992). Creswell (2013) identified the following characteristics of case studies:

- **Identifying a specific case:** Case study research begins with identifying a specific case. In adopting a case study design, the researcher must identify what case to investigate. In this thesis, I wanted to understand the work experiences of security guards at a shopping centre; therefore, the occupational category of a security guard was the case of research interest. In addition, the case study could be based on an individual, small

group, organisation or partnership. It could also include a community, a relationship, a decision process and a specific project (Creswell, 2013).

- **The intent:** The purpose of conducting a case study is also important. That means the case study can be composed to illustrate a unique case that has an unusual interest in and of itself and needs to be described and detailed. In this thesis, the purpose of conducting the case study on security guards at a Gauteng shopping centre was to understand the working conditions of the security guards
- **Triangulation:** The case study needs to be conducted so that the issue is well investigated and data about the phenomenon is well reported. In order to accomplish this, the researcher collects many forms of qualitative data, such as interviews, observations, documents and audio-visual materials (Creswell, 2013). This study used interviews to collect data on the working conditions of the security guards at a shopping centre.
- **Data analysis:** the research would be in a natural setting to collect the data. It means the participants would be interviewed about the research topic. Then data transcription will take place, and the researcher will identify the themes based on the data collected. The researcher gives the meaning of the findings and reports them.

#### 4.5.1 Critique of case study research

Creswell (2013) explained that a qualitative case study requires a researcher to identify the case. The challenge is that the case selected may be broad in scope; the researcher must narrow down the case, which could be difficult. Further, the researcher must consider whether to study single or multiple cases, and the study of more than one case dilutes the overall analysis. It means that the more cases in an individual study, the less depth in any single case (Creswell, 2013). In addition, deciding the boundaries (boundaries mean the scope and nature of the case) might be challenging. For example, how the case might be constrained in terms of time, events and processes (Creswell, 2013). The case is identified, but its scope is not clear. It means there is an issue of what can be included and excluded as part of the case.



Creswell (2013) argues that some case studies may not have a clear beginning and ending point, and the researcher must set boundaries surrounding the case.

The case study remained suitable for this study despite some of its shortcomings. The case study has allowed the researcher to investigate the participants' experiences in a specific context in detail (investigating the experiences of the shopping centre security guards). It means the case study allowed the researcher to investigate the work experiences of the shopping centre security guards in far more detail than possible if there were many shopping centre security guards. Further, the case study design provided various data collection methods, such as observations, document analysis and interviews. The researcher can decide which data collection method can be suitable to investigate the experiences of the shopping centre security guards. In this case, an interview emerged as the best data collection method to capture the work experiences of the security guards. The case study also challenged the researcher to establish the purpose of using the case study design and no other research designs, such as narrative design. Therefore, upon assessing other research designs, the researcher resolved that the case study design was best to answer the research questions on the work experiences of the security guards in the shopping centre.

## **4.6 Research procedure**

The following section focuses on the research methods used in this study. The research methods include the process of selecting the sample, interviewing participants and data analysis.

### **4.6.1 Sampling**

The participants were security guards deployed at a shopping centre in Gauteng. A purposive sampling technique was used to select the participants. Purposive sampling was deemed suitable as it involves selecting individuals or groups who are especially knowledgeable about or experienced in a phenomenon of interest (Creswell & Clark, 2011). However, it was also necessary to establish the inclusion and exclusion criteria for this study because some of the prospective participants may have attributes that will make it difficult to accomplish the

purpose of the study. According to Yale University (2022), inclusion criteria are characteristics the prospective subjects must have to be included in the study. I have listed three inclusion criteria for the purpose of this study. Exclusion criteria are those characteristics that disqualify prospective subjects from inclusion in the study (Yale University, 2022). I have also listed three exclusion criteria for this study. Identifying inclusion and exclusion criteria increases the likelihood of producing reliable results and will assist the researcher in avoiding any confusion in the study. The following were the inclusion and exclusion criteria in this study:

#### ***Inclusion criteria***

- Working for more than two years as a security guard at the shopping centre;
- Residing in Gauteng Province; and
- Aged between 25 and 45.

#### ***Exclusion criteria***

- A security guard not working at the shopping centre used as a data-gathering site for this study;
- Residing outside Gauteng; and
- Outside the stipulated age range of 25–45.

The sample consisted of ten security guards, five males and five females. They were recruited in the Maponya shopping centre and Hadfield shopping centre (Gauteng province). All the participants were black (a member of any darker-skinned peoples of South Africa), between 29 and 43 years of age and based (resident) in Gauteng Province. Although they are all deployed at the shopping centre used as the research site, they perform different functions. For example, some were placed at the shop entrance to control the customers who entered the shops, and others patrolled the entire shopping centre. Even though they were deployed in one shopping centre, they worked for different security companies. Some worked for the Fidelity security company, and others worked for Servest.

### ***Participants' biographical data***

The biographical data of the participants are presented in Table 4.1. Each participant was assigned a number to protect their identity as part of the ethical consideration of confidentiality and privacy.

Table 4.1: Biographical data of participants

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Years in service</b>	<b>Residing in Gauteng</b>
Participant 1	43	3 years	Yes
Participant 2	33	3 years	Yes
Participant 3	30	2 years	Yes
Participant 4	31	2 years	Yes
Participant 5	33	3 years	Yes
Participant 6	34	5 years	Yes
Participant 7	36	5 years	Yes
Participant 8	38	5 years	Yes
Participant 9	36	5 years	Yes
Participant 10	40	5 years	Yes

### **4.7. Data collection method: Interview**

The interviews were conducted with the security guards working at the shopping centre. Unstructured interviews were used in this study to allow free-flowing conversations between the researcher and the participants. Also, it allowed the researcher to pose different questions to the participants without diverting them to a research topic. However, preliminary questions were formulated as the starting point, and other questions were

developed during the interview. Preliminary questions included *What made you become a security guard? How do you feel about your work?* Punch (1998) says unstructured interviews help understand people's complex behaviour without imposing any prior categorisation, which might limit the field of enquiry. This could mean that when the researcher interviews participants, they have preliminary questions but develop further questions during the interview. This allows the researcher to ask relevant questions raised by the participants and clarify any aspects not considered by the researcher.

Some of the participants preferred to be interviewed when they were off duty and interviewed at their own residents as they were uncomfortable being interviewed at the workplace. This could lead to their victimization and termination of their employment. However, some of them were interviewed at shopping centre during lunch time. The interviews took one week, and two participants were interviewed per day. Each interview took approximately 45 minutes, and the participants agreed to sign an informed consent before the interviews to indicate their willingness to participate in the study. It was also important for me to build rapport before and during the interviews with the participants to make them feel comfortable during the interviews.

Given (2008) explains that rapport is the degree of comfort in the interaction between the researcher and research participants. For example, on the day of the interviews, I made sure that I wore casual clothes (Jeans and a T-Shirt) to feel relaxed, which also helped my participants feel the same. I would start general conversations that have nothing to do with my research; if it is the male participant, I will start a conversation about football. On the other hand, if it is the female participant, I will start the conversation about child marriages and the gap of gender pay inequality in sports. The aim is to make them feel comfortable about being interviewed. Rapport was also built during the interviews. For instance, I indicated that the study was being conducted to obtain a PhD from the Department of Psychology of the University of South Africa (UNISA) and assured them of confidentiality (their names will not be displayed in the findings). The participants were reminded that their participation was voluntary and that they could withdraw from the study without suffering any consequences if they were no longer comfortable (See informed consent form in Appendix: A).

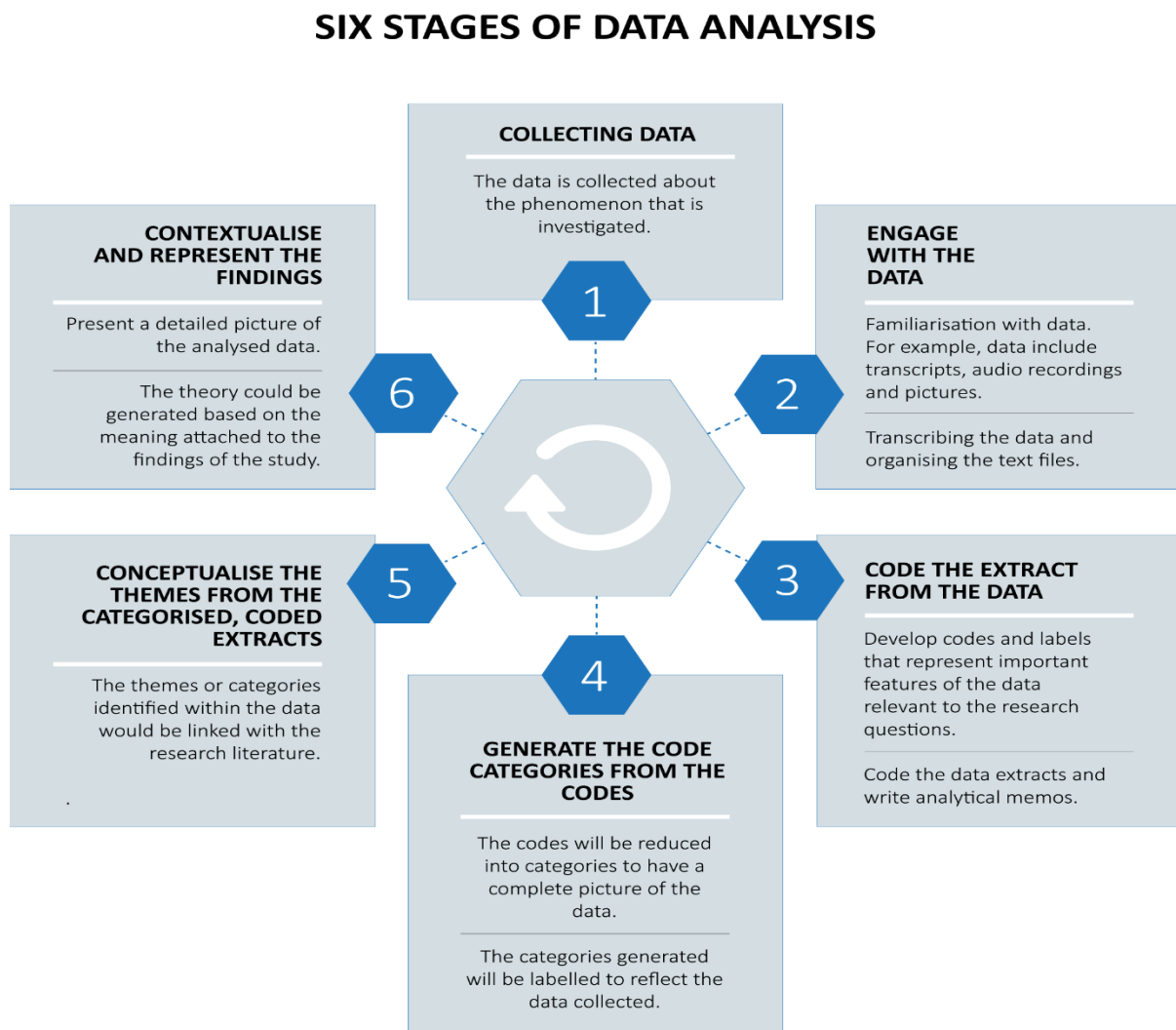
The interviews were conducted in the language that participants preferred. In this case, English and Zulu. The questions were asked clearly, and I patiently waited for them to respond. During the interviews, a voice recorder was used to focus on the participants without any distractions caused by taking notes. According to Hermanowicz (2002), researchers can use various inexpensive tape recorders to record respondents' words with greater accuracy than can be achieved through obstructive and disruptive note-taking. The use of a voice recorder thus prevented distractions during the interviews. The voice recorder was employed with the written permission of the participants. Finally, the voice-recorder was useful during data analysis because I listened to the interviews when I needed clarity in my transcripts.

#### **4.8. Data analysis**

This study employed thematic analysis to analyse the research data on shopping centres' security guards. According to Braun and Clarke (2006, p.79), thematic analysis is “a mental for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns and themes within data”. The fundamental issue highlighted by Braun and Clarke (2006) about thematic analysis is that it is flexible. For example, thematic analysis allows the researchers to focus on the data in many ways. When the researcher has the data, he can decide whether to focus on analysing meaning across the entire data set or examine one particular aspect of a phenomenon in depth. The obvious meanings in the data can be reported, or the latent meanings, assumptions and ideas that lie behind what is explicitly stated can be interrogated (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

According to Ibrahim (2012), a thematic analysis could be appropriate in the following situations. Firstly, good qualitative research needs to be able to draw interpretations and be consistent with the collected data. Thematic analysis can assist with an interpretation consistent with the data collected. Secondly, the flexibility of the thematic analysis is suitable for both inductive and deductive methodology (Frith & Gleeson, 2004; Hayes, 1997). An inductive approach requires that most collected data will start with precise content, then move to broader generalization, and finally to theories. This ensures that the themes are

effectively linked to the data (Patton, 1990). Thirdly, a thematic analysis would be appropriate when the study aims to understand the current practices of an individual (Ibrahim, 2012). For example, Coronavirus (Covid-19) is a pandemic that is affecting most people in the world. The thematic analysis could be useful for a better understanding of the effects of Covid-19 on people. Finally, thematic analysis allows data to be coded and categorised into themes. Thematic analysis will ensure that data is displayed and classified according to its similarities and differences (Miles & Huberman, 1994). Figure 4.2 below presents the six-stage data analysis process used in this thesis



**Figure 4.1: Schematic representation of the research process**

### **Step 1: *Collect the data***

Braun and Clarke (2006) explain that when data analysis takes place, the first thing is to collect the data about the phenomenon to be investigated. In this study, the interview questions were formulated, and appointments with participants were made to interview them. They were interviewed about their work experiences at a shopping centre. Each interview lasted approximately 45 minutes, and the voice recorder was used to record the interviews.

### **Step 2: *Engage with data***

The second step is becoming familiar with the data by reading and re-reading transcripts, listening to audio recordings and noting any initial observations (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I transcribed some of the interviews on my own by uploading them on my laptop, listening to them, and transcribing them in my notebook. However, I decided to use the services of Sindi Dladla (transcriber) to transcribe some of the interviews. Printed copies of the transcribed interviews were made to familiarise myself with the data. The interview transcriptions were read more than three times on different occasions, returning to the interview recordings in case I missed some of the information while transcribing the interviews. Therefore, the whole exercise was to engage with the data.

### **Step 3: *Code the extracts from the data***

According to Merriam (2009), this step requires the researcher to identify data units that are potentially meaningful segments to reveal information relevant to the research questions. It was important for me to group similar types of data from the interview transcriptions before the themes could be generated, and this exercise was performed to ensure that the data was valid and relevant to my research topic. The coding was done manually instead of using Atlas.ti.<sup>7</sup> I did not have access to Atlas.ti. According to Crosley (2020), there are different qualitative research data coding types. This includes deductive and inductive coding. For example, deductive coding is when a researcher begins with pre-established codes and applies them to the data (interview transcriptions).

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<sup>7</sup> Atlas-ti is a qualitative research tool that can be used for coding and analyzing transcripts and field notes.

On the other hand, inductive coding is when a researcher sets codes based on the data itself (codes emerge from data). In this study, deductive coding was applied. For instance, codes were withdrawn based on research questions. This is demonstrated in the following example:

I had the following question:

*How long was your security training?*

As a result of this research question, I had a code set that includes codes such as “two weeks”, “Grade C certificate”, and “firearm training”.

The deductive coding allowed me to quickly identify relevant data as the research questions were used as a starting point for the codes.

**Step 4: Generate the code and categories from the codes**

Creswell (2013) explained that the codes should be classified into categories when the coding process is completed. Miles et al. (2014) state that categories must be generated to condense the data. The codes generated in the research data of this study were organized and grouped into categories. They were grouped based on their similarities or because they shared the same characteristics. The process of classifying the codes was also done manually, and software (Atlas.ti) was not used to categorise the codes. I designed Table 4.2 to group together codes that share the same characteristics.

**Table 4.2:** Classification of codes

<b>Heading</b>	<b>Codes</b>
<b>Training</b>	Grade C certificate, Two weeks and firearm training
<b>Workplace violence</b>	Assaulting, Hijacking and robbery

**Step 5: Conceptualise the themes from the categorised code extracts**



Miles et al. (2014) stated that step 5 is about developing themes. The themes are features of participants' accounts characterising particular experiences, and the researcher sees them as relevant to the research question (University of Huddersfield, 2022). In this study, the identified themes characterized the experiences of the security guards at a shopping centre and answered the research questions outlined in Chapter 1. The codes extracted from this study's data were combined to form themes. This is demonstrated in the following Table 4.3.

**Table 4.3:** illustration of themes identification

<b>Theme: Reason for becoming a security guard</b>	<b>Theme: Types of crime occurring at shopping centres</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some of the security guards were compelled by living circumstances to become security guards, and security guard training took two weeks and registered with PSIRA.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The security guard at the shopping centre is exposed to robbery, car hijacking and shoplifting.</li> </ul>

It was also important for me to review and revise themes to ensure that each theme has enough data and is different from other themes. At some point, I considered merging themes with insufficient data to back them up.

**Step 6: Contextualise and represent the findings**

The last step of data analysis requires the presentation of a detailed picture of the data analysed (Creswell, 2013). In addition, Merriam (2009) states that the data must be interpreted to make meaning and develop a model of interrelationships to build a framework. Step 6 of qualitative data analysis is when I tell the story about the data. This story included the codes and themes identified in the data. The quotes from the data were used to help back my arguments. Therefore, the data analysis went beyond just describing the data and also included making arguments informed by data.

## 4.9 Ethical compliance

This study followed the processes of applying for ethical clearance at the University of South Africa (UNISA). UNISA requires an application to be made for ethical clearance after a research proposal is completed. The ethical clearance allows the student to collect data about the phenomenon to be investigated. The ethical clearance application form is completed, and the student must attach a research proposal and informed consent form. The research ethics committee will then assess the application form and provide feedback on whether ethical clearance is granted or not. Ethical clearance aims to ensure that participants are protected against harm that may arise during data collection. This study considered the following ethics of research:

- ***The right to privacy, confidentiality and anonymity was ensured***

I respected the participants' privacy and concentrated on establishing rapport, being open and honest, and clarifying any issues that arose during the research. All data and information were treated as confidential, and participants were assured of anonymity verbally and in writing. For example, the names of the participants were not used. Instead, the participants were labelled as 'participant', and each participant was assigned a number.

- ***Informed consent***

Informed consent is one of the principles of research ethics. In this study, the participants were informed that participation was voluntary, and complete information about what it means for them to participate in the study was provided. This was done verbally and discussed in the informed consent form.

- ***The right to equality, justice, human dignity and protection from harm***

All the participants were treated equally. No participant was discriminated against based on race, gender, or socioeconomic status. I refrained from making value judgements. The research study was planned in such a way as to avoid harm or exploitation of the participants. The participants had the right to withdraw from the study if they experienced discomfort. During the interviews, I had to be vigilant of potential indications of distress, such as when

the participant was visibly upset and declined to answer numerous questions. In this case, I would be forced to stop the recording and ask if the participant still wants to continue the interview or needs a break. If the participant continues to be distressed during the interview, I would have to provide the participants with a list of contacts (counselling services). Also, I could also decide to accompany the participant to the counsellor and make sure that he/she arrives safely at home.

- ***The right to freedom of choice, expression and access to information***

Participation in the research study was voluntary, and the participants were informed that they could withdraw from or terminate participation at any stage without fear of prejudice. The participants were informed of the purpose of the research, methods and procedures, the means used to record data, the duration of interviews, the nature of their participation, and the possible disadvantages and benefits associated with participation in the study. Informed consent was obtained from all the participants.

- ***Scientific considerations as an ethical imperative***

Efforts will be made to remain as neutral as possible, considering that complete objectivity is not attainable in a study like this. It is critical to note that the participants' voices and views will be privileged and reported truthfully and respectfully. The research study was conducted with honesty and integrity, and no part of the data will be manipulated. Conclusions are justified, and findings are reported fully. The inputs of the participants are acknowledged.

#### **4.10 Principles Employed to Ensure Data Quality**

In qualitative designs, validity and reliability are described by strategies to ensure trustworthiness. The criteria for ensuring trustworthiness include credibility, applicability, dependability, confirmability, and authenticity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

- ***Credibility:*** To ensure credibility in my study, I built trust by honouring anonymity, honesty, and openness. This included establishing rapport by spending time with the participants before the interview and allowing new data to emerge until the point of saturation. As I interviewed ten security guards, I needed to consider data saturation.

If data saturation was not reached, I could get other participants to participate in the study. This was unnecessary, as data saturation was reached, and more participants were not required.

- **Transferability:** The participants' demographics are described in-depth, and verbatim quotations from the interviews are provided. The biographical information of each participant is provided in Chapter 4.
- **Dependability:** All aspects of the research are fully described, namely the methodology, the characteristics of the sample, the data-collection process, and the data analysis. Data quality checks and peer reviews also form part of the process. Detailed information on the research methodology employed is provided.
- **Confirmability:** Measures were taken to minimise researcher bias. There was no personal relationship with the participants or conflict that might influence bias. Therefore, the participants were free to express themselves about their work experience as security guards at a shopping centre.

#### **4.11 Conclusion**

Chapter 1 provided the background of the study; Chapter 2 outlined the structural violence proposition adopted in this thesis, and Chapter 3 focused on the literature review conducted on security guards. Chapter 4 provides an in-depth description of the research methodology used in the study. I further explained how I engaged the data and formulated themes and the analysis process. This chapter was meant to show how the study was conducted, answer the research question, and ensure that the study's objectives were realised. The next chapter will present detailed analyses of the data corpus collected according to the procedures outlined.

## CHAPTER 5

### Findings and discussion: Work experiences of shopping centre security guards

#### 5.1 Introduction

This fifth chapter, which presents an analysis of findings and discusses the implications thereof, emerges against the backdrop of the four preceding chapters. The first chapter of this thesis provided the outline of the study. Chapter 2 described the theoretical framework applied to this study on the work experiences of the security guards at a Gauteng shopping centre. Chapter 3 analysed the academic literature necessary to create a clear understanding of the research problem identified in this study. Following the description of the methodological process, the current chapter discusses the study's key findings. The key themes that emerged in the collected data are discussed concerning the purpose of the study. Throughout the discussion, the findings are discussed in the context of relevant literature on issues that impact people working in the security industry in the South African context. Verbatim quotes by the participants are included in the analyses to clarify emerging themes. Some of those verbatim quotes are written in Zulu language<sup>8</sup> and translated in English.

#### 5.2 Presentation of themes

Chapter 4 of this thesis describes the process of identifying themes. First, information about the phenomenon under investigation, namely the work experiences of the security guards at a shopping centre, was collected. Second, as Braun and Clarke (2006) proposed, I familiarised myself with the data by re-reading the transcripts and listening to audio recordings. Thirdly, as the transcriptions contain more information about the research topic, it is necessary to identify the data sections relevant to the research study. Fourthly, Creswell (2013) explained that the coding process allows the researcher to identify themes and classify them into

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<sup>8</sup> Zulu language is the language of the Zulu people who primarily inhabit the province of KwaZulu-Natal of South Africa.

categories. For example, themes on the work experiences of the security guards at the shopping centre were identified and arranged based on the study's objectives.

Chapter 1 of this study outlined the objectives of the study and research questions. At this phase of the thesis, it is necessary to restate the objectives and research questions for ease of reference for the reader. As stated in the first chapter, the objectives of this study were to:

- identify the nature of psychological challenges experienced by security guards at a Gauteng shopping centre;
- explore the working conditions that influence challenges experienced by security guards within their work environment;
- identify various forms of work-related violence experiences against security guards in their work environment; and
- Recommend psychological intervention strategies to address security guards' work-related problems at the shopping centre.

The research questions derived from the research objective were outlined as follows:

- What are the psychological experiences of the security guards at a Gauteng shopping centre?
- What working conditions influence challenges experienced by security guards in their work environment?
- How does work-related violence manifest in security guards' work context?
- What are the possible psychological intervention strategies to address security guards' work-related problems at the shopping centre?

Therefore, all the above information aims to ensure that people understand the findings and discussion on the work experiences of the security guards at a shopping centre. The themes that emerged from the interviews with participants are illustrated in Table 5.1.

**Table 5:1:** Themes identified in the study

<b>Themes</b>
<b>Theme 1:</b> Reasons for becoming a security guard
<b>Theme 2:</b> Job security
<b>Theme 3:</b> Security guards feeling underestimated
<b>Theme 4:</b> Duties of the retail security guards
<b>Theme 5:</b> Long working hours, poor working conditions and low wages
<b>Theme 6:</b> Trade union and PSIRA
<b>Theme 7:</b> Affected retail shops and types of crimes occurring at shopping centre
<b>Theme 8:</b> Customer is always right and fear of violence
<b>Theme 9:</b> From challenges to possibilities

#### 5.2.1. Theme 1: Reasons for becoming a security guard

The private security industry in South Africa employs more people than SAPS (Catholic Bishops' Conference Parliamentary Liaison Office, 2012). During the interview, one of the questions I posed to the security guards was, "What made you decide to join the private security industry?" They provided various reasons that I discuss in the current theme.

It was evident from the interviews that some of the participants did not want to join the private security industry. However, they were compelled by difficult living circumstances, such as supporting a large family. One female security guard said, "*I am the breadwinner, and I have kids. This is my first job as a security guard.*"

*I have Grade C and CCV camera certificate" (Participant 7).*

Security work was the only job available for Participant 7 to secure an income to support her children. The following quotes express the intensity of the situations security guards found themselves in, which drove them to seek employment in the private security industry:

*I did not complete matric, and I decided to do the security course. I was aware that I cannot get [any other] job. I have [a] wife and three kids (children). I needed to do something (thus, to work) to support them (Participant 8).*

*I am from Limpopo (Venda) and [I] don't have matric. I have [a] security certificate. The situation was bad, and I decided to do security (Participant 3).*

*I saw the opportunity to get work if I become the security guard. I did the security training course and I was employed with Grade C (Participant 2).*

Some participants also indicated that they had other qualifications that could have allowed them to work in sectors other than security. One participant held a boilermaker's certificate and could not get employed because he did not have working experience as a boilermaker. Therefore, he decided to become a security guard. In addition, some of the security guards cited a lack of funding to continue with tertiary studies as one of the contributing factors that led to them joining the private security industry.

*I have arrived here in Atteridgeville in 1999, and I stayed with my sister. I did not have money to continue with my studies. I decided to do security, and I worked for many security companies (Participant 10).*

There were also allusions to the ease of access to security work. Some participants highlighted that some security companies did not conduct background checks of employment applicants, which was an advantage for a participant with a criminal record. For him, the private security industry was the only hope of getting employed in South Africa. This is articulated in the excerpt below:



*I was arrested, and I could not further my studies. Then I decided to do security. This was the only job I could get after prison. The security companies employ the people with criminal records (Participant 6).*

According to the participants, the entry requirements to security work were less stringent than in other occupations. The security training could take one or two weeks, after which trainees would be registered with the Private Security Industry Regulation Authority (PSIRA). They only required a Grade C certificate (completing Grade C security training allows the security guard to access control of a higher-risk area and supervise low-grade security guards) and a PSIRA number to be employed as a security guard at a shopping centre. Although some of them had firearm competence, this was not required. They worked for various security companies such as Fidelity, Rosa and Servest.

### 5.2.2 Theme 1 discussion

It appears from the participants' perspective that the private security industry is their only hope for economic survival, given the high unemployment rate in South Africa. Arora and Ricci (2005) mentioned that, since the end of apartheid in South Africa, the unemployment rate has remained high, and significant social and economic policy changes are required to remedy the situation. South Africans expected improvements after the end of apartheid, such as more job opportunities; instead, post-apartheid South Africa brought a high unemployment rate, which, in some cases, compelled people to seek employment in the security industry. According to the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference Parliamentary Liaison Office (2012), the private security industry is the biggest employer compared to the South African Police Service. According to Business Tech (2020), the PSIRA published its annual report for 2019/2020 showing there were 2 495 899 registered security guards across the country at the time of reporting. This is an increase of almost 100 000 registered security guards compared to 2019 (Business Tech, 2020). Most registered security guards are male (1 682 840). However, female security guards have steadily increased, reaching a new high of 813 059 in 2020 (Business Tech, 2020). This increase could be attributed to the fact that the requirements to become a security guard are not difficult, attracting many people to the private security industry. For instance, an individual wanting a

job in the private security industry undergoes one week of security training, receives a PSIRA number and is employed by private security companies. The easy recruitment and training of security guards are not immune to criticism from other scholars. Minnaar (2004), for example, argues that the private security industry in South Africa provides low standards of training for its security guards, which could be a contributing factor in the killing of security guards during robberies. I believe that the killing of security guards during criminal incidents could persist until advanced training of the security guards becomes a priority for the government. The PSIRA ensures that security guards employed in private security companies are registered and trained (PSIRA Inspector, 2006).

In addition, it is a concern the security industry does not vet the applicants they receive. This is evident as Participant 6 mentioned he has a criminal record which was not taken into account, yet PSIRA is the regulatory body that is supposed to ensure that employees do not have a criminal record. This could increase concerns about the safety of the industry's clients being compromised. Help Side (2019) explains that employees with criminal records have a real risk of relapse and could pose a danger in the workplace. It means companies are prepared to take full responsibility for any consequences due to a decision to employ ex-offenders. On the other hand, it is clear that the private security industry also opened the doors for unemployed South African women and provided opportunities for women. As far back as 2000, Erickson et al. (2000) noted that the security industry had an influx of women in its ranks. This is worth mentioning as, for a long time, men dominated the security space. The abolition of apartheid laws and the introduction of more democratically inclusive legislation increased opportunities for women in the labour market, including the private security industry (Van der Westhuizen et al., 2007).

The social and economic factors that push black women and men to join the private security industry in South Africa need to be placed in the context of Galtung's third dimension of violence (Whether or not an object is hurt). These women and men do not need to be hurt to consider themselves victims of violence. The exposure to poverty and unemployment is sufficient enough to view them as victims of violence. That means they are exposed to structural violence, forcing them to become security guards. Participant 3 indicated that the

situation was bad and decided to do security. However, as they joined the private security industry, that was not the end of their misery and structural violence. They remain the victims of structural violence even within the work environment. This was unpacked in themes such as Theme 2 (job security) and Theme 5 (long working hours, poor working conditions and low wages).

The lesson drawn from Theme 1 is that unemployment and the fact that some people could not further their studies compelled them to join the private security industry. For instance, Participant 10 did not continue his studies because of financial problems. Participant 6 was arrested and could not further his studies. Therefore, the private security industry was their last hope to be employed and financially support their families. In addition, this theme also highlighted that black South African women are confronted not only by gender-based violence (GBV) but also by structural violence marked by unequal opportunities between men and women. As a result, some of them decided to join the private security industry to earn a living. The following theme will demonstrate that, as much as they are attracted to the private security industry, there is no guarantee that they may work for a longer period in the private security industry.

### 5.2.3 Theme 2: job security

The security companies are contracted to provide security services for both private and government institutions. As a researcher, I wanted to understand whether the employment of security guards was dependent on a contract between the security company and the client. One of the questions I asked the participants was: “Does the employment of the security guards depend on an existing contractual agreement between the security companies and clients?” The responses of the participants influenced Theme 2 (job security).

The security guards revealed there is no guarantee that a person could finish their employment contract in the private security industry. They constantly fear losing their jobs and income. Participants cited examples of their colleagues who signed permanent contracts with employers but later had their employment terminated arbitrarily. They also mentioned how job security was rated to customers’ satisfaction with the individual security guard’s

quality of work in the retail sector. They highlighted how customers have the power to complain to management about a security guard's services and how such complaints had a bearing on whether guards would be retained or dismissed. Management often removes the security guard as requested by the customer without any investigation to verify the customer's complaint. Often guards would not be aware of the duration of their employment contracts, thus creating a precarious employment situation. In desperation, the security guards sign the contract and assume work as required. The participants highlighted the lack of transparency regarding work contracts in the private security sector. For example, the security guard would be told that they are offered the contract but would not have access to it to understand its conditions. This lack of understanding of the contractual processes and what is entailed in the contract leaves security guards feeling insecure about their work and living with the perpetual fear of losing their jobs. The stress associated with work contract problems in the private security industry is epitomised by the quotations below:

*Most of the security companies do not give you the copy of your contract. We are not even allowed to read the contract. They just want you to sign. Therefore, some of [the] things that are part of the contract you will get them during the hearing. They say you agreed about this, and you have signed. The benefits that you have do not appear in the contract, and you have signed the contract. There is nothing we can do. We just sign because we want to work (Participant 9).*

*Yes, I have signed the contract. If the contract at the site you have been assigned ends, they will take you to another site (Participant 1).*

*Some people resign because they do not get the permanent posts. For example, you can be deployed to any shopping mall to relieve the person. They can send you to Centurion today and tomorrow you can go to Rosslyn. They will tell you that there is no site available for you. You can only relieve the people. The fact that you travel to different shopping malls becomes a problem when it comes to money (Participant 10).*

#### 5.2.4 Theme 2 discussion

These findings highlight the problem of the precarious employment conditions faced by security guards concerning their employment contracts. While the private security industry creates jobs for these participants to secure an income and financial support for their families, they point to the challenges of job security as they can lose their employment at any time. It may be argued that the contractual problems experienced by security guards might be avoided if the security companies comply with labour laws that regulate the conditions of employment and minimum wages in the private security sector. Undoubtedly, the people who pay the price of this non-compliance with labour laws are the security guards, particularly the black people who dominate the private security industry. This is the evident structural violence manifested in the form of fear of being retrenched at any given time when the employer feels there is a need. This structural violence also created secrecy around employment contracts in the private security industry. Participant 9 declared that their security company does not allow them a copy of the employment contract. They have no idea what is contained in the contract. The Department of Labour (2015) clarifies that security companies are responsible for providing any documents that form part of an employment contract. However, this is not the case, as reported by security guards in this study. The fact that security companies do not provide security guards with copies of their employment contracts is unlawful, a reality that seems to elude the attention of the authorities.

The frustration experienced by security concerning employment contracts in the private security industry indicates that black South Africans continue to be marginalised. Inequality, poverty and deprivation are a part of black South African life (Gradin, 2012). The challenges with employment contracts in the private security industry will increase the unemployment rate in South Africa, especially among black people who are dependent on it for employment. Omarjee (2021) states that the South African unemployment rate hit a record of 34.4% in the 2<sup>nd</sup> quarter of 2021. Unemployment continues to burden the youth of South Africa. Nearly two-thirds (64.4%) of those aged 15-22 are unemployed. Those aged 25 to 34 are unemployed. The above statistics on unemployment in South Africa support the view of

Moeletsi Mbeki and Nobantu Mbeki in their book, *A Manifesto for Social Change: How to Save South Africa*. Mbeki and Mbeki (2016) express the following view about the challenges confronting South Africa after the dawn of democracy:

*More than two decades later, the country appears to be retreating further and further from this vision. Almost all the hallmarks that were associated with the old, repressive, white minority regime seem to remain in place: A brutal police force that has gunned down demonstrators for demanding a better life; growing inequality, especially amongst blacks and rampant infectious diseases decimating hundreds of thousands of black lives. The list seems endless. Old South Africa lives on. And now the situation has reached boiling point (Mbeki & Mbeki, 2016, p. 2).*

Mbeki and Mbeki's words could mean that, after post-apartheid South Africa, black people have not yet enjoyed the fruits of democracy. This reminds me of the song by Letta Mbuli (1994), *'Not yet Uhuru'*. According to Soul City Institute for Social Justice (2019), this is an original quote by Kenyan Freedom Fighter Oginga Odinga. *Uhuru* is a Swahili word meaning freedom and therefore means that Africans across the mother continent have not truly been emancipated since independence. Ironically, marginalised black South Africans continue to vote every five years, but living conditions do not improve. Mbeki and Mbeki (2016) point out that the underclass or unemployed in South Africa forms the largest voting block in South Africa's electoral system, and almost 70% of them vote for African National Congress (ANC). They are compensated in various ways by several welfare programmes (Mbeki & Mbeki, 2016). Therefore, based on the proposition by Galtung (1969), this means that the underclass will continue to be exposed to structural violence, such as poverty and a high unemployment rate, as voting after five years does not bear any fruit. The psychological effects of structural violence will continue to be felt by unemployed black South Africans. Hammad (2020) explains that the psychological effects of structural violence may include poor psychological well-being and quality of life. They may feel humiliated and experience injuries to dignity.

The security guards feel insecure about their jobs in the private security industry. This could mean that some security guards might be experiencing anxiety, as they are overwhelmed by fear of losing their positions at any time. According to Participant 10, security companies also get tenders<sup>9</sup> and this may affect their employment. The employment will depend whether the tender will be renewed by client.

*I have worked for three security companies since I have started to work as a security guard. The security company also receive the tender. It means they can terminate company contract and hire another company. The security guards working for the company will be affected (Participant 10).*

This can mean that when the contract between security company and clients ends. Participant 10 may be deployed to another shopping centre or the security company may decide to end the contract of the security guards. Chou (2014) argues that the fear of job loss refers to the felt threat, stress, and perceived powerlessness due to the possibility of leaving the current job and not being hired in the labour market. Therefore, based on the above finding, this might suggest that some security guards were aware that employment contracts could be terminated at any time, and they were powerless as they could not prevent employment termination. The fear of losing a job has effects such as being less satisfied with work, less commitment to the organisation and having a strong intention to leave (Probst, 2000). The security guards may show less commitment to their companies because of contractual problems and fear of losing their jobs. However, leaving the security industry is the last thing they could do, as the sector employs many people in South Africa, which was highlighted in Chapter 1 of this thesis. However, uncertainty about employment contracts in the private security industry will remain a thorny issue among security guards.

Galtung's fifth dimension of violence speaks to intended or unintended violence. This could mean the lack of security companies to ensure that security guards are employed permanently instead of giving them contracts. Security companies might do this intentionally

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<sup>9</sup> Tender is defined as the invitation to submit a bid for a project.

as it benefits their companies and is cost-effective. On the other hand, it might not be done intentionally because security companies signed contracts with shopping centres and sometimes the contract is not renewed. They cannot continue to render security services, and they might be compelled to retrench the security guards. Galtung (1969) stated that whether the violence by security companies is intended or unintended, what remains is that the security guards are victims of structural violence because of job insecurity. The failure of the security companies to deal with the issue of job security in the private security industry in South Africa can have dire consequences for the country. This can lead to direct violence whereby security guards can engage in industrial action demanding better working conditions and permanent jobs. Mafata (2022) points out that security guards at Gauteng hospitals demand permanent employment. The union members say they are exploited and lack job security under private security companies. The escalation of such protests could repeat what transpired in 2006. In 2006, the private security sector faced a strike in Johannesburg that turned violent and led to 60 deaths (Ajam et al., 2006).

The above two themes (the reason for becoming a security guard and job security) indicate that, as much as the private security industry creates job opportunities in South Africa, all is not well in the sector as the security guards experience job insecurity because employment contracts are not always renewed, and they can be dismissed without valid reasons. Theme 1 highlights that social inequality (a measure of structural violence) motivates some people to join the private security sector to earn a living. Therefore, considering all these stressors facing security guards, I am also interested in understanding how the South African public perceives them.

#### 5.2.5 Theme 3: Security guards feel underestimated when performing their duties at work

The police and security guards have a common purpose in South Africa; they are expected to prevent crime. However, police officers are treated with more respect than security guards. Police officers' uniforms and badges may well be worth the investment over a security guard (Nzacksi Security Services, 2022). I asked the participants how the public felt about their work. The security guards provided different views, and the responses influenced Theme 3 (Security guards feel underestimated when performing their duties at work).



The research participants acknowledged that some members of the public undermine the security guards because they do not respect their work. According to the security guards, the word security means “You are nothing to people” (Participant 2). For example, Participant 9 stated, “Some of the customers ask you for directions without acknowledging or greeting you”. The security guards pointed to how customers often perceive them as uneducated; therefore, they cannot tell them (customers) anything. Below is a reflection of how security guards feel unrecognised by customers:

*The customers take us as nothing and do not recognise us (Participant 2).*

*Some of the customers have negative attitude and this makes you feel bad as a security guard (Participant 6).*

The security guards appear unhappy with how the clients perceive them despite ensuring that people are safe. They protect the customers’ cars at most parking lots, which assists people in having peace of mind while they do their business. They asserted that the negative attitude towards the security guards dehumanises them:

*We are like toilets of everyone as security guards. They undermine us, and we assist them. Some of them do not even greet us (Participant 1).*

*Even in parliament, you will not hear them talk about the security guards. That means this job is not serious (Participant 9).*

### 5.2.6 Theme 3 discussion

The lack of recognition of the security guards can be placed in the first dimension of violence (Physical and non-physical violence). The failure of the public to recognise the security guards, despite security guards playing a major role in preventing crime in our communities, may be viewed as the cause for concern for security guards. This may not have caused physical harm to security guards. However, it had psychological effects on their well-being. Hence, Galtung (1969) regards this as psychological violence. It means the outcomes of this violence will be

felt the same as physical violence by security guards in the shopping centre. In addition, it appears that security guards do not wear their uniform with pride, as they are reduced to “toilets”. The looting of shops in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng was the final nail in the coffin for security guards at the shopping centre. There is no way that the security guards can redeem their dignity after this looting. It sustains the view that security guards are undermined, and people do not see their work seriously, as stated by Participants 1 and 9. Mitchley (2021) stated that thousands of looters descended on the Mamelodi shopping centre and outnumbered police and security guards who helplessly watched as shops were looted. The widespread looting and destruction of property occurred in KwaZulu-Natal, Johannesburg, and Ekurhuleni and spilt over to Tshwane (Mitchley, 2021). Security guards could not do anything, even in the presence of police. According to Hunter et al. (2021), a security guard, Sphela Ndawonde, lay dead on Hanau Street in Jeppestown, and there was a view that Sphela had been shot and killed in a frenzied firefight between police and looters who had forced their way into a bottle store and cleared the shelves. The 24-year-old security guard was likely one of the first to fall during the unrest (Hunter et al., 2021). Defence Minister Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula decried inaction by private security companies to deal with the looters. It is the responsibility of private security companies to protect private properties and businesses (Makinana, 2021). Perhaps the lack of response by security guards during the looting of shops may be attributed to them being the victims of structural violence that may have led to the looting of shops. Sisulu (2022) explained that the July 2021 looting was a massive warning shot. South Africa cannot afford second and third warnings. When we talk about reconciliation, we do not hear economic reconciliation. Mbeki and Mbeki (2016) pointed out that the situation has reached a boiling point.

*This is why South Africa has arrived at the crossroads that the French arrived at in 1789, the Americans in 1860 and the Chinese in 1978. The great majority of South Africans today expect economic changes that go beyond social welfare programmes. They want to control their own lives; they want to provide for their families through their own efforts and not through largesse of the state or philanthropists (Mbeki & Mbeki, 2016, p. 7).*

It means black unemployed South Africans are now fighting against what they may perceive as structural violence by looting the shops. The dehumanising working conditions of the security guards and the lack of respect from the public will linger on as long as structural violence persists in South Africa. Prenzler (2004) explains that private security is viewed as a second-rate service compared to the police. This could mean that people have more respect for the police than for security guards. However, what is peculiar about this view is that both police and security guards prevent crime, yet the police are regarded as superior to security guards. There could be many reasons for this. The police are highly trained and have the authority to use a weapon, while security guards do not.

Moreover, the unfavourable perceptions of security guards and the negative impact on their self-esteem, as reported above, can be surmised to have a psychological effect on security guards. Better Health Channel (2014) states that low self-esteem in the work context could lead to negative feelings such as sadness, depression, anxiety, anger and guilt. Brennan (2020) explains that low self-esteem is when someone lacks confidence and feels incompetent, unloved and inadequate. From participants' narratives, there are indications that security guards could suffer from low self-esteem. For instance, one of the security guards (Participant 1) viewed himself as a toilet to everyone. In addition, Participant 9 stated the following statement as an indication that some security guards could be showing signs of low self-esteem and feeling undermined.

*The customer will not greet you. Customer will just say, "Where is this place?". I have Been punished because I am the security guard. People do not care about you. They do not care about the security guards. People see the security guards as not educated (Participant 9).*

Theme 3 demonstrates how South African citizens overlook the contribution of the security guards in the fight against crime. The lesson learnt from this theme is that security guards do not enjoy the same status as police. One of the contributing factors could be that security guards do not receive advanced training as police do. Theme 1 states that security guards

undergo one- or two-weeks training. Nonetheless, despite all the factors, such as being disrespected by clients, security guards continue to perform their duties at shopping centres.

#### 5.2.7 Theme 4: Duties of the retail security guards

Security guards are found in many places, including hotels, banks and shopping centres. One of the things that came to my mind when interviewing the security guards stationed at shopping centres was, “What duties do you perform when arriving at the shopping centre?” This question led to Theme 4, the duties of the retail security guards.

The research participants listed their duties and what they did when they arrived at the shopping centre. When they arrive at the shopping centre, they must check all the shops' doors to ensure workers have closed them properly. They patrol the whole shopping centre, going to every floor of the centre. The security guards must ensure that the customers do not make noise inside the shopping centre and are also not allowed to run inside the centre. The various roles of guards are articulated in the excerpt below:

*Nginokusebenza parking. Ngigada izimoto zama customers. Sinokuba nama theft ezimoto. Izigebengu ziphula amafasitela wezimoto and batshontshe ama laptop. Ngiyenza sure ezinjengalezo aziyenzeki. [Sometimes I work at parking. I look after the cars. We normally experience theft of the cars at parking and they steal the laptops. [Therefore] I have the responsibility to protect the cars of the customers]*  
(Participant 9).

*I must protect the interest of the client and the company. The work that we do is customer-related* (Participant 6).

*We observe the movement of the people entering the mall* (Participant 10).

The security guards mentioned that they do not work in one place at the shopping centre but are expected to rotate. They highlighted that loitering is not allowed; this is monitored by a clocking system that requires them to clock in every 30 minutes. Sometimes the supervisor can request the person to work at the basement parking and check whether the fire extinguishers are functional. This rotational routine allows them to know and be familiar with various parts of their workplace, which in turn assists them in noticing when there is something suspicious. For example, when patrolling the car park, a guard may notice a car parked for over twenty-four hours, thereby raising suspicion. Such incidences are reported to ensure no criminal activity is linked to them. However, Female security guards are treated the same as their male colleagues. However, they are not allowed to perform some of the tasks because of their safety. For instance, they are not allowed to work at underground parking bays for safety reasons. Such spaces are usually crime spots for car hijacking, and women security guards may be at risk if posted in such spaces alone. The following is demonstrated in the following quotes:

*Women not allowed to work night shift because of home responsibilities*  
(Participant 2).

*Women also work the same hours. Female security guards work at receptions. They are not normally allowed to patrol the shopping centre. Unless they many of them in that shift. Some will be allowed to patrol the shopping centre. They are not allowed to work night shift. They are allowed to take maternity leave* (Participant 8).

*Some shopping malls do not allow want women at parking bays. They believe is not safe for women* (Participant 9).

This points to the gendered complexities of the work. Female security guards are also not permitted to work the night shift or at receiving (receiving is the process of inspecting all incoming goods, marking them with tags and recording them as having been received). Depending on the shopping centre, receiving may be dangerous for female colleagues.

Security guards are placed at the doors of the shops to inspect the customer's receipts and bags to prevent shoplifting.

*My job is to prevent stock loss and make sure the stock has been paid*  
(Participant 7).

The security guards explained that the only resources they have when performing their duties at the shopping centre include a radio, panic button and pepper spray. The PSIRA has a policy that security guards at shopping centres are not allowed to carry firearms as it exposes them to risk. Some guards see this as a setback as many shopping centres experience robberies, and not having a firearm puts their lives at risk. As can be seen by Participant 9's reflection below:

*Noma ngabe ubhekeno nesigebengu. Awunasibhamu. Uzobuyela back ngoba awunasibhamu. Kukekwenzeka lana eBrooklyn bathi uma unesibhamu sakho usisebenzise. Bakunikeza I allowance yesibhamu. But uma sekufika lenkinga njenge armed robbery abasayingeni. Mawuya e court uyohamba uwedwa and abasayingeni. [Even when you can try to approach the criminals, you don't have the firearm. [So] you must move back. There was a time whereby the Brooklyn shopping mall gave the security guards to use their personal firearms and they give you allowance. [However] when you use the firearm during the armed robbery, they do not care about you, and you will go to court alone]*  
(Participant 9).

The private security companies installed surveillance cameras to assist in identifying the criminals in the shopping centre.

*Suivellance cameras help us to catch customers, especially if we don't notice them*  
(Participant 5).

The security guards also work together to combat crime inside the shopping centre despite being assigned to various workstations and working for different security companies. However, sometimes, they fight with each other because they speak different languages, and they undermine each other based on language and ethnicity. The security guards must wear uniforms and name tags daily so that customers can recognise them as security guards. The branch manager prepares the working roster for the security guards, which tells them how many days they need to work in a specific month.

#### 5.2.8 Theme 4 discussion

It appears that the work of retail security guards is demanding and involves various functions. They are tasked to protect the customers entering the shopping centre. Blockaide (2018) explains that a human security presence can greatly increase safety and public confidence. If the public space is expecting an unusually large crowd, security guards make sure that steps have been taken to ensure the safety of everyone, despite the large numbers. Therefore, the shopping centre is seen as a public space where customer safety must always be guaranteed, and the security guards fulfil that task. However, research participants also mentioned one of the shortcomings: not being allowed to carry a firearm despite working in a retail environment where armed robberies often occur. In Theme 3, Mitchley (2021) stated that shops were looted in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng. The looters outnumbered the security guards and continued to loot the shops. This emphasises the shortcomings of not allowing the security guards at shopping centres to carry firearms. The security guards might have protected the shops against looting if they were armed. Some security companies provide their guards with firearms, but it is not easy to do that. Business Tech (2019) reports that the Minister of Police, Bheki Cele, gazetted changes in how South African security companies can use and track firearms. The changes state that any security company intending to use firearms to render security services must inform the authority, in writing, of their intention to possess and use firearms for security services. They must provide copies of the firearm licence issued to the company in terms of the Firearms Control Act and full particulars of the security guards issued with firearms, ammunition and other weapons (Business Tech, 2019).

The private security companies sought ways to minimise criminal activities without the use of firearms. One of these ways was to install surveillance cameras as a backup for the security guards. According to Ifsec Global (2021), surveillance systems play an important role in improving the safety and security of clients. Many countries now use public video surveillance as a primary tool to monitor population movement and prevent crime and terrorism, both in the private and public sectors. However, there are shortcomings associated with installing surveillance cameras in public spaces. For instance, customers who become aware of surveillance cameras in the shopping centre might be worried about the possibility of being exposed to crime (Williams & Ahmed, 2009).

Some of the security companies may not allow female security guards to work night shifts because believe female security guards are expected to perform home responsibilities. This clearly indicates structural violence against women in the private security industry. Sinha et al. (2017) point out that structural violence is a demon against women that devours society. It means an evil spirit intended to restrict female security guards from performing certain functions in the shopping centre, such as patrolling parking bays. Ridgeway (1997) found that some employers tend to allocate work based on gender, meaning they evaluate the work and decide who will be suitable to do the work. While this may be perceived as good and useful, there is also a danger of sexist employment tendencies. It is, therefore, critical to be vigilant of the reasons given for gender-specific work duties. Female security guards will remain disempowered in the private security sector. They will not be free from structural violence until there is equal work allocation between male and female security guards. Therefore, structural violence equalities are harmful to female security guards and may contribute to the security guards' poor psychological well-being.

Furthermore, it is well documented that, on 9 August 1956, thousands of South African women from all backgrounds and cultures, including Indians, Coloureds, Whites, and Blacks staged a march on the Union Buildings of Pretoria to protest against the abusive laws (South African History Online, 2015). A petition was handed to the secretary of the Prime Minister, JG Strijdom. Some of the demands included in the petition were to end women and young girls being humiliated and degraded at the hands of pass-searching policemen and to allow



women to move freely from one place to another (Becker, 2000). Therefore, against this backdrop, I believe the 1956 march did not bear enough fruit for women in South Africa. Women in South Africa continue to be exposed to unfair discrimination in the workplace. This is evident as female security guards are not allowed to perform some duties because they are perceived as dangerous. It seems that female security guards are humiliated and degraded by private security companies as they cannot perform some of their duties because of their gender. As a result, one may conclude that structural violence has also manifested in gender inequality in the workplace, and women bear the brunt of such structural violence.

The issue of tribalism came out in our conversation with security guards. They tend to undermine each other based on ethnicity, which could affect their work performance. Freiberg and Freiberg (2008) reported that people who promote tribalism in the workplace see their co-workers who belong to the same ethnic group as them as special and alienate other workers. This is despite working for the same organisation and relying on each other to get things done. This indicates that not only do customers create difficulties faced by the security guards, but challenges could also result from co-workers not getting along. Tribalism in the workplace can have a negative impact; it distracts people from their jobs and severely weakens the organisation (Freiberg & Freiberg, 2008). Therefore, the security guards who are victims of tribalism cannot perform their duties effectively.

Further, tribalism in the workplace can also be associated with 'workplace mobbing' whereby both superiors and co-workers gang up to remove the person by unjustified accusations (Davenport et al., 2002). For example, if a colleague speaks a language different from the majority of people in the workplace, the others can gang up against them to get the person fired or the individual deciding to resign. Infighting is a challenge as it may negatively impact productivity and prevent people from performing their duties properly.

Tribalism between security guards at a shopping centre can be viewed in the context of social identity. Social psychologist Henri Tajfel introduced the concept of social identity. This concept of social identity was introduced in the 1970s to explain intergroup behaviour (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). It means that some people associate with others with similar characteristics and avoid interaction with those different from them (Chandra, 2006). The private security

industry employs many black South Africans from various ethnic groups who speak different languages. The proposition of social identity could mean that security guards who speak the same language (Zulu) may exclude those who speak a different language (Venda). There is no doubt that social identity influences the behaviour of people. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), someone belonging to a group, such as family and social class, may have pride and self-esteem. Therefore, given the difficulties and structural violence experienced by security guards, the sense of belonging in a group could be a coping strategy to deal with structural violence. As much as social identity may positively affect individuals, it could also have detrimental effects on social cohesion. For instance, it can perpetuate differences between groups. The members of an in-group will seek negative aspects in an out-group, which will improve their self-image. (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The effects of social identity can also be viewed from a structural violence perspective. The security guards experience exclusion in the workplace because of their identity and ethnicity. They are exposed to structural violence in the form of discrimination and prejudice in the workplace. The failure of private security companies to deal with discrimination in the workplace may reach a boiling point and lead to direct violence and put the safety of people at risk.

The main points highlighted by Themes 3 and 4 reflect that security guards at shopping centres endure structural violence daily as they perform their duties. Security guards complain about client abuse, and female security guards are unfairly discriminated against during work allocation. The above work experiences of the security guards go against the Bill of Rights in South Africa. The South African Human Rights Commission (2018) explains that everyone is equal and must be treated equally in South Africa. Therefore, no one must be discriminated against based on race, gender, sex, language and culture. Nevertheless, these are not the only stressors facing security guards, and some of them are discussed in the next section.

#### 5.2.9 Theme 5: Long working hours, poor working conditions and low wages

The security guards went through their duties during the interview. However, I needed to understand their working hours and feelings about working conditions. Therefore, I crafted

Theme 5 (long hours, poor working conditions and low wages). This theme is divided into three sections, each consisting of the findings and a discussion about those findings.

### ***Long working hours***

The security guards work 12 hours a day, above the average hours of what most people work. The guards perceived this as a form of exploitation. These strenuous working conditions are problematic as they affect other aspects of their lives; for example, some guards indicated they could not attend to family responsibilities due to being expected to be at work most of the time. One of the participants revealed in the interview that she did not have time for her child, whom she could only pick up from crèche around 9:00 pm, earning the ire of the caregiver. She then decided to send the child to Limpopo to be taken care of by her mother. The sacrifice and decision to take a child to be raised by its grandmother is one that many women have to make in the quest for a better life. Below are reflections of some of the participants regarding working long hours:

*I work five days and off two days. I normally work 12 hours a day, and there is overtime sometimes (Participant 2).*

*I work 8 hours, and there is no overtime. On Sundays, I work 7 hours. I work in terms of the shop hours. The retail has too much work, and we get tired, and you stand the whole day (Participant 5).*

*According to PSIRA, we need to work 17 days as normal days. If we exceed the 17 days, [then] this becomes the overtime. But here we work 22 days as normal days. We are not compensated for extra days (Participant 9).*

*I do not get time to be with my kids. I get one day off. I am at work by 9:00 am and knock off around 7:00 pm. I get home around 8:30 pm. On Saturday, Sunday and Holiday, I am at work. The working hours are bad (Participant 7).*

*I am not feeling happy about the working hours. The money does not link with the working hours. I just work as there is nothing I can do (Participant 8).*

### **Poor working conditions**

The security guards in this study described the working conditions in the security industry as bad. For example, they are not permitted to answer their cell phones while on duty, regardless of who is calling, even their children. They must stand the whole day, except during lunch breaks. Even though most security guards rely on public transport, there was no provision for when they finish late, and public transportation is no longer readily available. Having to arrange private transport means incurring additional costs. In addition, the security guards at shopping centres are not allowed to spend time talking with the customers unless necessary, and the conversation is linked to their role as guards. In addition, the guards pointed out that the private security companies did not support security guards when they appeared in court as witnesses to testify against criminals. For example, there was no support when a security guard was called as a witness against a shoplifter. Instead, they get penalised and marked as absent from work (which means no pay for that day) regardless of the court appearance pertaining to their work role.

The security guards view private security companies as companies that do not care about the well-being of their employees. The participants reported that the security company has a problem when they request sick leave. During the interview, one participant said that the employer does not pay them sick leave, despite bringing a note from the medical doctor to confirm that they were ill. When they do pay for sick leave, it is delayed by two months or more. Additionally, the security guards pointed to a lack of compassion from employers, such as not receiving any visits during hospitalisations caused by injuries while on duty.

The participants also mentioned the high level of criticism they encounter at work and lack of appreciation when they do their job well. Instead, security guards always risk getting a warning if a customer or shop owner complains about them. They are under perpetual

surveillance, which implies a high level of mistrust of them as people. The poor working conditions are reflected in the excerpts below:

*They are aware that you got the injury at work, but they will want to see the proof from the medical doctor that you are really having the injury. Sometimes when you tell them that you will be late at work, they will still question you and criticise you. Therefore, what is the use of telling them that you will be late at work, and they still criticise you for being late (Participant 9).*

*Sometimes when we answer the cell phones, we hide ourselves. They should not see you. They think when we use the cell phones, we communicate with criminals (Participant 8).*

*They tell us in the parade that those people are giving us a piece of bread. Therefore, we cannot allow you to use the cell phones because they are paying us (Participant 10).*

*I do feel to quit sometimes and go back to school if my parents had money (Participant 3).*

*Some of my colleagues left because of standing long, poor salary and bad treatment (Participant 5).*

*We do not have powers in this job. You cannot make your own decisions (Participant 7).*

### **Low wages**

The participants indicated that the low salary they receive is a significant source of stress. They further elaborated that this minimum wage does not allow them to advance their lives

and acquire assets such as a house. They indicated that they continue to borrow money from friends and neighbours as they struggle to survive with their below-minimum-wage salary.

*I am not happy with the salary. I get R3800.00 per month. I stand the whole day. I have no other benefits (Participant 2).*

*They also do not pay the hour of the lunch. The salary is bad for the hours we are working (Participant 7).*

*I work 12 hours and stand the whole day. I get paid on the 30th of each month. But after two weeks I do not have money. We earn like domestic workers (Participant 6).*

*They want you to work overtime. But when they must pay you is the problem. They want to pay as normal hour. They pay 19.72 per hour and every year during September there is increase of 7%. [But] there is no difference even if they give you the increase (Participant 9).*

*They deduct UIF and Provident fund. But no medical aid and the housing allowance. If you work overtime. They do not want your salary to exceed R7000.00. Your money must be at least R6000.00 or R5000.00. It will be a serious case if you earn R7000.00, and the manager must explain how it happened (Participant 10).*

*They pay R19.00 rand per hour and that is for 12 hours a day. Even if you work overtime, you will still get R19.00 per hour. We do not have housing allowance and medical aid. We only have UIF and Provident fund (Participant 8).*

Some security guards have debts because of the pressure to pay school fees for their children. Although other security companies offer loans to assist the security guards in meeting their

monthly expenses, they still charge high-interest rates similar to the banks. Hence, this does not ease the financial burden of security guards.

#### 5.2.10 Theme 5 Discussion: Long working hours, poor working conditions and low wages

##### Long working hours

As can be seen, the problem of long working hours is one of the main stressors facing the security guards. The challenge of long hours for security guards is noted in the literature; for example, Webster et al. (2011) found that security guards work long hours, including a 12-hour day or night shift and a 48-hour week, excluding overtime. The security guards also stand for 12 hours without sitting down, which could lead to health problems. Research by Sefalafala and Webster (2013) revealed that long working hours have physical implications for security guards. That means security guards are vulnerable to ill health because of standing the whole day. This challenge does not seem to be taken seriously by the private security industry in South Africa. Irish (1999) points out that private security is profit-driven, favouring the wealthy. As a result, the well-being of their employees is not a priority.

The security guards are expected to tolerate long working hours as part of their job description. I believe that long working hours in the private security industry is another form of structural violence. This structural violence is not only a threat to the psychological well-being of the security guards but could also adversely impact their families and lead to other family problems. The literature shows that security guards struggle to balance family and work. Sefalafala and Webster (2013) explained that security guards are stressed and frustrated because they have little time to spend with their families due to work commitments. In addition, it appears that security guards tend to miss important events, namely funerals, family gatherings and parent meetings at schools, as they do not get enough time off from work. The security guards will continue to battle with long working hours as they do not have control over the working roster. The branch manager or supervisor prepares the working roster without considering the needs of the security guards. Glass and Camarigg (1992) argue that job characteristics such as autonomy and control over scheduling are important predictors of job-family compatibility. This includes no control over schedule and no time for family, as is the case with the security guards in this current study.

It is also important to engage the notion of gender regarding working conditions and their implications. Male and female security guards are treated the same regarding working hours, except that female guards are often not allowed to do night shifts. Thus, this study's findings regarding working hours across genders contradict the view by Becker and Moen (1999), who found that women were likelier to work fewer hours than their male colleagues. It is because women are expected to perform household functions such as caring for the children. The persistence of the security companies to compel the security guards to work long hours indicates that the South African security guards work under difficult conditions, and their rights are constantly violated. De Carvalho (2007) argues that there is widespread non-compliance with labour laws and disregard for workers' fundamental rights in the private security industry, which is characterised by poor working conditions.

### ***Poor working conditions***

The South African government has tried to improve the working conditions of security guards. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (75/1997) Sectoral Determination 6: Private Security Sector of South Africa was implemented by the Department of Labour. The purpose of this is to guide the conditions of employment for the private security sector, namely, the hours of work and other working conditions (Department of Labour, 2015). However, the above findings indicate that, despite efforts made by the government to advance the working conditions of the security guards, they are still subjected to poor working conditions. The evidence of this is when they struggle to take sick leave and get paid for it.

In addition, it seems that employers are not concerned about the safety of the security guards, as they do not provide transport for them when they leave work late at night. Mahlokwane (2018) reports that South Africa has more security guards than police officers. However, security company bosses exploit, abuse, and victimise most security guards. Participant 3 clarified that she wanted to resign and return to school. The resignations in the private security industry can be linked to poor working conditions. Nalla and Cobbina (2016) argue that the high turnover in the private security industry relates to factors associated with job satisfaction. For instance, inadequate training, poor pay, shift-work schedules, boredom



and a lack of basic amenities at work are among the factors that cause low job satisfaction. It is clear that security guards are exposed to the worst poor working conditions, and their plight is hardly addressed, despite their crucial roles in ensuring safety at work and at home.

Another factor raised by the participants is trust, specifically when using cell phones during working hours. The security guards in this research study revealed that they are not allowed to use cell phones at work because employers think they communicate with criminals. This can be considered mistrust between employer and employee and may be perceived as another basis for high turnover in the security industry. Nevertheless, mistrust is also a contributing factor for security guards to feel demotivated at work. Bailey et al. (2011) found that employees will be more engaged when they feel valued and trusted by their employers. Engaged employees are more likely to stay with an organisation. Engaged employees can be regarded as committed to the organisation because they feel trusted by employers.

I could not imagine that, in 27 years of democracy, black South African workers continue to be exposed to structural violence manifested as poor working conditions. The current working settings in the private security industry reflect a broader history of structural violence and a highly unequal society. In pre-apartheid South Africa, the government introduced laws that protected white labour. For instance, certain jobs were reserved for white people and others for black people. White people's jobs were typically better paid (South African History Online, 2019). It is clear that South Africa still experiences the legacy of apartheid. This is supported by the above findings whereby the black security guards are not trusted by their employers, who suspect them of crimes committed at shopping centres. If the structural violence experienced by security guards is not addressed by government and private security companies, it may lead to physical violence experienced in 2006. The industrial security guard left many people dead and injured.

### ***Low wages***

Even though security guards provide an essential service, namely combating crime, protecting property and ensuring that South Africans feel safe, their rewards do not reflect this. This finding supports research by Sefalafala and Webster (2013), who found that most security

companies pay security guards wages far below the minimum requirements. The security companies are well informed about the minimum wage for security guards based on the security grades. However, they do not comply with carrying on making a profit. The Department of Labour (2015) highlights that the minimum wage for Grade A is R4571.00, Grade B is R4096.00, and Grade C is R3545.00. Most companies do not seem to align with labour law, as seen in the participants' reflections.

In addition, the frustration of earning less may have influenced Participant 6 to compare the security guards with domestic workers in South Africa.

*I get paid on the 30<sup>th</sup> of each month. But after two weeks I do not have money. We earn like domestic workers (Participant 6).*

Interestingly, security guards sometimes feel less paid than domestic workers. One can argue that both security guards and domestic workers are victims of structural violence since they struggle to meet their basic needs because of exploitation and being paid less. Some employers are flouting laws meant to ensure that security guards and domestic workers are paid minimum wages. According to Business Tech (2022), data published by Cleaning Services Sweep South in 2021 shows a continued trend of domestic workers not earning enough to cover their most basic needs. The more worrying finding from the survey is that one in five domestic workers (21%) earn less than R1500.00 a month, and two-thirds earn below 2021's minimum wage (Business Tech, 2022). As much as security guards are underpaid like domestic workers, it is unlikely to get a security guard that earns less than R2000.00 as this happens to some domestic workers. I believe that the comparison made by Participant 6, saying security guards earn as domestic workers, arises from frustration as they struggle to meet their basic needs because of low wages in the private security industry.

Irish (1999) points out that, historically, security guards in the private security industry have been badly paid and often work long hours. This challenge does not seem to be going away, as there is no proper monitoring of security companies. The security guards' experiences show a broken system with legislation and policies that do not seem to filter down to proper

implementation. The struggle of the security guards is not isolated and does not only affect them personally, but because many of them are breadwinners, it also means families and communities are affected. The multidimensional challenges discussed in this section draw attention to the interconnectedness of people's well-being and job satisfaction with their work conditions.

Galtung (1969) made clear in the second dimension of violence (Negative and positive approach) that the rewards for good policies can bring about the same result as punishment for bad policies. In the South African context, some people in other sectors of the economy (Agriculture, mining, retail and tourism) may praise the employment regulations implemented by the South African government. However, in the private security sector, the same employment regulations could lead to widespread criticism by security guards as they are considered punishment. It is because security guards continue to work long hours, are exposed to poor working conditions and receive low wages. Security guards revealed in this study that they do not have medical aid, which will allow them to access better healthcare services. They do not have a housing allowance to help them find homes for their children. I am not sure whether it is a coincidence that most of these security guards who earn poor wages that keep them trapped in poverty are black.

It means poverty among black South Africans did not end on 27 April 1994. They continue to live in poverty in post-democratic South Africa. Chutel (2017) points out that any progress made to liberate South Africa's black majority since apartheid ended two decades ago has been undone in just five short years. There is more than half of the country now living in poverty. I believe that poverty will not end in black communities as long we still have sectors, such as the private security industry with an estimated annual turnover of thirty billion, that pay security guards low salaries (Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference Parliamentary Liaison, 2012). It means the private security industry sustains itself by making a profit at the expense of the security guards who work hard to bring money into the private security industry. Johnson (2020) stated that, based on Karl Marx's labour theory of value and exploitation under capitalism, the exploitation of workers was inevitable because of how the capitalist system is structured. Hence, scholars such as Karl Marx advocated socialism to

overcome the exploitation of workers, such as the security guards in the private security industry. Perhaps it is fair to ask whether institutions that exercise power, such as the government and PSIRA, may have allowed these private security companies to exploit the security guards with impunity. Mpofu-Walsh (2021) explains that the role of private security companies in South Africa has extended beyond private policing, expanding their services into the investigation, financial services, surveillance and technology. In South Africa, G4S operates private prisons and has also faced allegations of inmate torture (Mpofu-Walsh, 2021). The above findings emphasise that apartheid did not die, as stated by Mpofu-Walsh (2021); it was privatised in various forms in post-apartheid South Africa. This justifies the structural violence that haunts black South Africans in democratic South Africa. The question remains: what will it take for PSIRA and trade unions to transform the private security industry in South Africa? Trade unions may not have the power to change the private security sector as they are not a statutory regulatory body; however, they could advocate change in the private security sector.

#### 5.2.11 Theme 6: Trade union and PSIRA

The trade unions in South Africa play a significant role in helping employees with labour problems in the workplace. It was necessary to understand whether security guards belong to trade unions and whether they assist with grievances concerning poor working conditions in the workplace. Also, to understand, from their perspective, the role of the PSIRA and how it assists the security guards to improve their working conditions in the private security sector. The engagement with security guards on trade unions and the PSIRA led to Theme 6, which is classified into two sections, and each section consists of a discussion.

##### ***Trade union***

The security guards have shown that, in all the problems they face, namely working conditions, low salaries and contractual problems, they do not see how the trade unions in South Africa can help them. One of the participants who had lost confidence in trade unions explained that, although he is a union member, he decided to use his lawyer whenever he has problems at work. He perceives the trade union as a sell-out that does not help them but oppresses the security guards.

*I just complain to the company if I have the problem. I am not the member of the union (Participant 3).*

*I have not seen even one representative of the ... union. They never introduced themselves to us. When we have problems, they do not show up. Sometimes the union will send the message that we must admit that we are guilty to prevent the hearing (Participant 9).*

Furthermore, the security guards mentioned that they had colleagues fired by the security companies, and trade unions did not represent them. Although they pay subscription fees monthly, they believe the security companies manipulate the trade unions, rendering them useless in the workplace. Participants pointed out that some trade unions are affiliated with security companies, and they are forced to join them. The company does not allow them to cancel the trade union since it is affiliated with it. An unauthorised deduction of trade union fees is demonstrated in the following statement:

*I did not join the union and fill the form. But the union membership fee was deducted from my salary (Participant 6).*

### **The PSIRA**

The participants also alluded to the fact that the PSIRA did not help them with the challenges they face in the private security industry, even though it regulates the industry in South Africa. They mentioned that the PSIRA only deducts money every month and does not ensure that the security guards are well paid. For instance, they deduct R7.00 per month, which is unclear why, when the guards do not see benefits. The security guards indicated that the PSIRA often makes surprise visits at shopping centres to do routine checks on whether the security guards are registered with them. They came with machines that they used to take fingerprints to ascertain whether the guards were registered. However, the PSIRA did not seem concerned about the working conditions, only with registration. The following statements illustrate the perceptions of the security guards about the PSIRA:

*The company pays us with Grade D, and we are hired with Grade C. The government does nothing for us (Participant 7).*

*PSIRA is looting us. I am not sure how much they deduct currently. We are also expected to renew our certificates with PSIRA. This exclude the money that they deduct every month. You also pay for the certificate renewal (Participant 9).*

*Sometimes even when PSIRA inspectors take our grievances. They do not come back and give us the feedback. They will come next time when they want information. This is the only thing they can tell you (Participant 8).*

*I do not know how PSIRA help us. However, when you apply for the job, they want PSIRA number. They deduct money every month. You do not understand this is for what (Participant 5).*

*I am registered with PSIRA. The PSIRA assists with registration. Also, PSIRA does not deal with exploitation of individual. I will go to CCMA to make the complain about the employer (Participant 1).*

#### 5.2.12 Theme 6 discussion: Trade union and PSIRA

##### ***Trade union***

The above excerpts indicate the challenges linked to being a member of a union that does not protect the rights of its members. Such challenges may be linked to the issues discussed in the preceding section, where people receive low salaries and work in an uncondusive environment. Without the protection of the unions to lobby for workers' rights, such challenges will persist. According to Gall (1997), the politics of both the African National Congress (ANC) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) are formed by common nationalist-reformist politics established by 20 union officials who became ANC MPs

and others working in the government. Therefore, it might be argued that it is difficult for trade unions to stand for the interests of the workers while having a relationship with the ANC, the ruling party in South Africa. There is a possibility that some of those union officials find it difficult to criticise the economic policies that disadvantage the working class because they were part of those decisions with the government. Hence, distancing themselves from such economic policies to please the workers might lead to contradictions between the ANC (government) and trade unions. This does not help the working class in South Africa, especially the security guards. The workers believe that there is a need for more radical and independent trade unions to protect and advance the interests of workers (Von Holdt, 1991). Some workers believe things can improve if the trade unions break away from the alliance with the ANC and focus on workers' problems.

It is critical to note that trade unions in South Africa have also politicised the private security industry. The South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATAWU) warned the security sector employers that their attempts to “take us back to the dark days of apartheid where the industry was commanded by hit squads, former police and soldiers will not be tolerated” (IOL News, 2018, p. 1). Although the private security sector created more job opportunities in South Africa, SATAWU still does not trust the industry and reminds them of the evils of the past that they conducted. Irish (1999) argued that former officers of the apartheid state own the South African private security companies. The political statement made by SATAWU concerning private security companies in South Africa might have been influenced by the role of the Executive Outcomes company that operated in South Africa. Eben Barlow established executive Outcomes in 1989. The company concluded contracts with the South African government to provide military training for the army. It also concluded contracts with the Angolan state-run oil company (Sonangol) to protect its oil wells (Barlow, 2007). This private security company influenced the formation of many private military companies that operate in Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere in the world (Barlow, 2007). However, Executive Outcomes was not immune to the controversy that dented its image. The South African government was also concerned about its role in South Africa. The United Nations (UN) resolved to investigate the role of Executive Outcomes in Sierra Leone, where acts of terrorism were committed. The South African government also wanted to determine

whether Executive Outcomes was involved in the mercenary activities that perpetuated and reinforced the apartheid regime (Barlow, 2007). Therefore, the role of private security companies in South Africa will be politicised to justify the reasons for not improving the working conditions of the security guards.

Furthermore, it is also clear that some security companies do not comply with the basic guide to trade unions published by the South African Department of Labour. For instance, they deduct union fees from employees without their permission. They do not allow the employees to terminate their union membership when they feel it no longer represents their interests. This opposes the basic guide of trade unions, which states: “the workers who are members of a registered trade union may give their employer written permission to deduct trade union subscriptions or levies from their wages” and “the workers may cancel this deduction by giving their employer and trade union one month’s written notice.” (Department of Labour, 2015, p. 1). The above guidelines make clear that workers, including security guards, should be consulted when union subscription fees are deducted. They should also enjoy the right to terminate the union membership at any stage with one month's written notice. Something that makes things worse is that all these unfair labour practices regarding the deduction of union fees happen on the lookout of the PSIRA. Therefore, one could ask whether the PSIRA still exists to regulate the private security industry in South Africa.

### ***The PSIRA***

What can be noted in the above quotations is that security guards do not understand the responsibility of PSIRA as established under Section 2 of the Private Security Industry Act (Act 56 of 2001). They are not informed about the role of PSIRA and the way PSIRA benefits them as security guards. According to Berg and Gabi (2011), the Private Security Industry Regulation Act of 2001 gave the PSIRA the mandate to protect and assist the security guards against the practices and consequences of exploitation. The act clearly states that PSIRA must protect the security guards against any exploitation. In addition, it seems that the security guards have lost confidence in PSIRA to help them with their problems. One of the national political parties, the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), which has promised to fight for the rights of those on the margins of society, made a statement through one of its members, Isaac Sibanda,



that they intend to deliver a memorandum to PSIRA. They say there is not enough regulation being executed by the PSIRA and many inspectors take bribes from dodgy security colleges and companies to turn a blind eye to policy contraventions (Mahlokwane, 2018).

The PSIRA Annual Report (2010) shows one of the limitations of the PSIRA in fulfilling its mandate. According to this report, the PSIRA has capacity constraints on conducting thorough and effective inspections of security companies and their employees. Moreover, some critics believe that the PSIRA does not perform its duties well, negatively impacting private security services. For instance, currently, the PSIRA does not have a system of ongoing vetting to register private security employees and companies. Once an employee is registered, they are registered for life (Minnaar & Pillay, 2007). As a result, private security companies have guards who get criminal records while registered with PSIRA, and it cannot detect that as they only vet once. They do not make follow-ups to check whether registered security guards did not obtain criminal records after registration.

According to Jonny Reid, cited in Neven (2013), there is nothing wrong with the PSIRA regulation as it stands. This means that the PSIRA has the power to transform the private security industry and ensure that the security guards are not exploited. The problem with PSIRA, as stated by Reid, is that the PSIRA cannot enforce the legislation. It is clear that PSIRA is aware of the powers provided by the Private Security Industry Regulation Act of 2001; however, they do not seem to be utilising this power to the benefit of the security officers who are forced to register with them and whom they have to oversee and, in many ways, protect. For example, the PSIRA has the power to impose fines, penalties and interdicts to prevent operation and may also open charge sheets if it is found that a private security employer or employee has violated any provision of the legislation (Berg & Gabi, 2011). In support of the above argument, Dr Johan Burger, the senior researcher at the Institute for Security Studies, also cited in Neven (2013), points out that the difficulty with the private security industry in South Africa is a weakness in the enforcement of the regulations that govern it.

Since the security guards have lost confidence in trade unions and the PSIRA to help them with their work challenges, it could indicate that they have accepted that structural violence is part of their lives, and there is no hope to liberate them from it. It is time for the South African government to adopt a bilateral approach to violence in the private security industry, as suggested by Galtung (1978). This will mean that the South African government will devise measures that deal with direct violence, such as the murder of security guards, mainly at shopping centres or implement measures that focus on structural violence. For instance, the government needs to encourage trade unions and private security companies to fight against structural violence in the private security industry (structural violence includes long working hours, poor working conditions and low wages). The failure to curb structural violence could be detrimental to security guards and lead to direct violence. This was evident when security guards in South Africa embarked on a three-month strike, and 60 people were killed (Department of Labour, 2006). This could have been avoided if trade unions, PSIRA and other government institutions effectively implemented strategies to assist security guards in dealing with structural violence in the workplace.

#### 5.2.13 Theme 7: Affected retail shops and types of crimes occurring at shopping centres

It is documented in this study that shopping centres in South Africa experience robberies and many security guards are killed in the line of duty. I felt the need for security guards to explain which retail shops are more likely to be targeted by criminals and the types of crimes committed at shopping centres. As a result of the discussion about crimes committed at shopping centres, I decided to name Theme 7 Affected retail shops and types of crimes occurring at shopping centres.

The security guards believe cell phone shops and jewellery stores are vulnerable to armed robbery. The well-known cell phone retail shops include MTN, Vodacom, Cell C and Telkom. They also mentioned that criminals target shops such as Sportscene and Science Step as they sell expensive brands such as Adidas and Nike. According to the participants, the criminals could attack three shops a week. They revealed that retail shops could not detect if someone had a firearm, making it easy for criminals to enter shops with guns.

During the interviews, the participants described in detail how criminals rob retail shops.

*The criminals get inside the Telkom shop. They just take the staff inside the office. Then [they] take the cell phones. They did not shoot anyone. The cameras saw those people as customers, and therefore was easy for them to rob the shop. They locked the shop, and they say no one is going outside. They even lock the customers inside (Participant 8).*

*They robbed the jewellery shop at .... shopping mall. They were four men that entered the shopping mall in the morning around 9:00 am. They entered the shopping mall as contractors. They were wearing the work suit. They were acting as people that are in the shopping mall to do some work. They robbed the jewellery shop. They take out firearms and shoot the window of the shop, and left with the necklaces, watch and Rolex (Participant 8).*

*I was the security guard at Shoprite Checkers in .... when they robbed G4S cash transit truck. I was working at the back entrance of the Shoprite Checkers when G4S Truck came to collect the money. I was having a panic button, radio and some keys. The two criminals approach me with firearm. The criminals were speaking different languages. They told me that they would not do anything with me. They just want me to be quiet. They took the radio, panic button and keys. They put me inside the toilet. When the G4S security person came out with money. They pointed him with the firearm and take the money. The company took me for polygraph test because I was the suspect. I could not sleep for two weeks after the incident (Participant 10).*

*The jewellery shop was robbed for the second time. The men that came used the motorbike, and I saw them with eyes. They were acting as the people that will play the music at shopping mall. They had the bag that*

*carry the guitar. We noticed that inside the guitar bag, there is firearm, and they attacked the jewellery shop. The same jewellery shop that was attacked two weeks back (Participant 8).*

The above excerpts highlight some of the life-threatening experiences that security guards working in shopping centres face. According to the participants, some security guards die on duty, and others sustain injuries during the robberies. For example, in his interview, one of the participants mentioned that he lost a supervisor because of the armed robbery. They robbed an NWJ jewellery store at one of the shopping centres. The security guard managed to run away, but the supervisor tried to confront the robbers, and they shot and killed him. The participant indicated that he tried to identify these people but failed and became traumatised by the incident.

Another participant stated that his supervisor got injured during a robbery at a shopping centre in the central business district of Pretoria. A jewellery store was robbed, and they shot the supervisor with two bullets. He spent three weeks in the hospital. He was transferred to another shopping centre upon his return from the hospital. They also demoted him from supervisor to guard. The participants indicated that they deal with various crimes when working at shopping centres. The following are some of the crimes they deal with:

*We deal with shoplifting most of the time at shopping malls. For example, someone [would] steal wine at Pick n Pay. I called the backup, and we arrested him. Then we called the police. The shoplifting happens most on Fridays and Saturdays (Participant 10).*

*The criminals also target the ATM. The people that target ATM are very smart. They can request to assist you, and some of the people agree to be assisted by them. As they are busy assisting them, they are going to change those cards. They target the customers, especially weekend. They know the weekend is quiet. They also target them on the 25 and month-end. It is not easy to identify those criminals as they dress nice clothes.*

*They are surviving by doing card swilling (ATM to swallow your card). The customers know well that they must ask the assistance from the security guards at ATM, but they do not ask the assistance (Participant 10).*

*The car theft also take place at shopping mall (Participant 1).*

#### 5.2.14 Theme 7 discussion

The above findings illustrate some of the crimes that happen at shopping centres. The former acting national commissioner of the South African Police Services, Lesetja Mothiba, indicated that Gauteng province is worst affected by shopping centre robbery (Citizen, 2014). The security guards interviewed in this study reported that they were not allowed to carry firearms and could not prevent armed robberies. This reality contrasts with a report in The Star (2018) that security guards in Kenya won a court battle to carry firearms. They believe this is good for them as the country is grappling with armed robberies, and they cannot stop an armed robber with a *rungu* (a baton made of rubber carried as a defensive weapon by security guards). This has exposed them to more danger than armed soldiers in Somalia. It is clear that a rethink is required to ensure that security guards are equipped enough to deal with the dangers that confront them in the line of duty.

Participant 8 explained in the interview how they usually respond when there is armed robbery:

*Thina senza lento abayifunayo. Akumelanga silwe nabo. Mele sibhale iskhathi okwenzeke lento. Sizokwazi ukutshela amaphoyisa. [We do what they say. We do not have to fight with them. We just have to record the time when this incident happened and report it to police.]*

Training the security guards to deal with robberies is also crucial as it is essential to their jobs. In a recent radio interview, Gareth Newham, Head of Justice and Violence Prevention at the Institute for Security Studies, said that security companies need to provide training for guards

on how they can protect themselves when incidents like this occur and stress that there should not be any situation where guards put their lives in danger (Ramphela, 2018). Even though security guards' lives are in danger because of poor training, they are still considered suspects when robberies occur.

Police brutality and ill-treatment of security guards who are perceived as suspects after a crime at a shopping centre is something that seems to happen, as evidenced by experiences shared by the participants. One participant in this study revealed that police took him for a polygraph test after a cash-in-transit robbery at a Shoprite Checkers in one of the shopping centres. They believed he might know about the robbery. Perceiving security guards as suspects were corroborated by a Coin security guard interviewed by the Mail and Guardian newspaper (2006) after being tortured by police who suspected him of being involved in a cash heist. The security guards reported exposure to workplace violence as torture by the police.

It is a reality that some security guards experience psychological effects as they are continually exposed to torture and various crimes such as armed robbery. According to Gerberich et al. (2004), workplace violence can lead to psychological problems that impact employees' productivity. It may therefore be argued that some of the security guards exposed to workplace violence without proper support may struggle to be productive when remaining in an environment that does not acknowledge or support them. Some participants indicated that they are exposed to danger daily, either the possibility of violence or the experience thereof. This has psychological implications for the well-being of the guards. These psychological effects of workplace violence may include anxiety, depressive reactions and sleepiness (Marchand et al., 2003). Perhaps the security guards who come to work drunk, as stated by Participant 8, indicate that they are trying to cope with poor working conditions and violence at work.

*Some they drink on duty. They come to work drunk. Some will be absent at work because they were drunk. They will fire them (Participant 8).*

Gruenberg et al. (1999) mentioned that workplace violence victims often consume alcohol, which can be a form of avoidance and an emotion-focused coping mechanism for managing stress. Furthermore, Workplace violence possibly also brings other organisational challenges, one of which could be absenteeism. The participants revealed that some of their colleagues were absent without a valid reason. Mantell and Albrecht (1994) explained that workplace violence would more likely influence an employee's commitment to the organisation in various ways. For instance, it could lead to absenteeism in coping with violence-related stress (Kristensen, 1991). Hence, security companies are responsible for ensuring that the security guards are always protected against any form of violence. They should be protected against workplace violence and compensated for injuries sustained by violence, such as armed robberies.

According to the Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases Amendment Act (61 of 1997), if the employee incurs an incident at work that results in injury or death, the employee or their next of kin has the right to be compensated based on this law (Department of Labour, 1997). However, in this study, the security guards said they were not compensated for injuries sustained while on duty. For example, the supervisor who was shot at one of the shopping centres was not compensated but was demoted from supervisor to guard. Participant 10 stated that he was traumatised after the cash-in-transit robbery at Shoprite Checkers and could not sleep for two weeks after the incident. Professional Security Magazines Online (2020) explains that four in ten security guards in the United Kingdom (UK) have post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD).

This trauma could have been influenced by verbal and physical abuse from clients. According to Khiron Clinics (2020), untreated trauma can adversely affect many areas of someone's life. Trauma affects how we relate to ourselves and those around us and even our ability to carry out daily tasks (Khiron Clinics, 2020). The most important thing is the support that employees receive after the trauma. In this case, Participant 10 was not compensated by his employer but was seen as a suspect in the cash-in-transit robbery. Most private security companies do not comply with the law providing for security guards to be compensated for the injuries they sustain at work. The private security industry is seriously threatened by non-compliance by

fly-by-night security companies, who use various means of avoiding statutory costs and exploiting the labour force (Thorburn Security Solutions, 2018). It is worth noting that some private security companies decided not to comply with the law, despite knowing that security guards place their lives at risk.

The security guards in this study emphasised that they deal with shoplifting (when someone steals from a shop while pretending to be a customer) more often than other crimes. The security guards will arrest the shoplifter and could appear in court. Shoplifting has become a problem in South Africa. Destiny Magazine (2015) reported that South Africa is one of the top five countries hardest hit by shoplifting. The shoplifters tend to target small items that are easily removable such as stationery and front-of-counter items. Shoplifting incidents increase during retail hours, especially on weekends and afternoons, as the store workers are generally less focused on petty theft and shoplifting (Bizconnect Standard Bank, 2018). However, security guards work together with the police to deal with shoplifting. The working relationship between police and security guards in dealing with shoplifting is reflected in the following quotes:

*We work well with the police. However, they take a shoplifter, and tomorrow is out (Participant 1).*

*The police do respond sometimes. You will wait, and the police do not come. If I have an arrest, I phone them, and they give me reference number. If they don't come until the shop close, we allow the perpetrator to go (Participant 3).*

*We work well with ..... police station when you phone them, they come fast. They also update us with cases that we refer to them (Participant 9.)*

There is no doubt that security guards and the police have a common purpose of preventing crime in society. We have reached an era where security guards outnumber the police, and they perform functions that used to be performed solely by the police. Ruddell et al. (2010)



explain that the number of security guards has increased more than the police, and their roles have become more police-like. For instance, American security guards are often armed, patrol neighbourhoods in marked vehicles and wear uniforms almost indistinguishable from sworn police officers (Ruddell et al., 2010). This means that when people are no longer happy with the police, they are more likely to hire private security companies to protect them and their interests. South Africa is seen as a country with the highest rates of crime. Also, the highly restrictive gun laws make it difficult to own a firearm for self-defence legally. Hence, many South Africans rely on private security companies. The private security industry in South Africa employs around half a million people, which is more than double the size of the South African Police Service (Freire, 2018).

According to the sixth dimension of violence (Manifest and latent violence), workplace violence (robbery and assault) experienced by security guards in the shopping centre can be regarded as manifest violence because it is open and recognizable. It means customers who assault security guards can be identified by the public. However, the unwillingness of shopping centre management to protect the security guards against workplace violence might not be recognized by everyone. Therefore, Galtung (1969) view this as latent violence, meaning is not open and directly recognised. This could be regarded as a tsunami of structural violence that faces the security guards. A tsunami is a series of waves in a water body caused by displacing a large volume of water, generally in an ocean or large lakes. Between 1998-2017, tsunamis caused more than 250 000 deaths globally. It means structural violence against security guards is out of control. More security guards die in the line of duty, and some are tortured as they are suspected of working with criminals. Also, verbal abuse from clients has normalised at shopping centres because private security employers do not rein in clients who abuse security guards without reasonable justification.

#### 5.2.15 Theme 8: Customer is always right and fear of violence

The literature in this study has shown that security guards are exposed to work-related violence. I needed to probe the security guards about the kind of workplace violence they experience at shopping centres and how they feel about this violence. Therefore, based on

the conversation about workplace violence, I made Theme 8 (verbal abuse and fear of violence). The above theme is classified into two sections.

### ***The customer is always right***

The security guards deployed at shopping centres mentioned that they face arrogant customers daily who believe “the customer is always right”. For example, customers become difficult when they are told that no pets are allowed inside the shopping centre, and some customers do not want to be searched by the security guards. Although they know well that searching customers is part of the security guard’s daily functions, they are threatened by customers. Store management does nothing to protect the security guards against customers who resist being searched. Instead, the store management criticises them in front of customers, which is embarrassing for them. The following statements demonstrate the challenges faced by security guards when searching customers:

*Omunye ubhuti wangithuka ngithi ngiyamusesha, and inhliziyoyami yaba buhlungu. [One man insulted me when I wanted to search him, and I was aggrieved] (Participant 2).*

*Ngiyikhastoma lana, and uzongenzani? [I am the customer here, and what will you do to me?] (Participant 1).*

*Ngizokuthola Mawushayisa awuhambi ngemoto and angeke ulale lana. [I will get you when you leave work, you do not use the car, and you will not sleep here] (Participant 3).*

*The customers threatened us. The customer tells you that at Sandton, they do not check slips, but here you want slips. There is no support from the company if the customer is against you. Even if you are right. You must ask forgiveness to the customer (Participant 3).*

*The customers are not happy when we search them. Unless you search them, and you get something. If you do not get something, you will be in*

*trouble with the customer. I feel bad to search the customer. But also, the company gives us procedures, and when we follow them, they criticise us (Participant 3).*

*I do get across the difficult customers. The way they talk is not good. I do not like searching customers, and the person that you search is not happy about that. I search with force (Participant 4).*

*Sometimes the customer is violent next to the management. The manager will not do anything. I do not report violent customers. We are not allowed to fight with customers, and you must keep quiet. The customer is always right (Participant 4).*

*When I started to work at ..... mall one black customer asked me one of the shops and I was new at the shopping mall. I told the customer that I will try to get the information about the shop. He said I am the useless security guard, and this has affected me badly. But we are not allowed to fight with customers (Participant 9).*

### ***Fear of violence***

The fear of violence was one of the effects mentioned by the security guards in the interviews. The security guards believe that the fear of violence is one of the contributing factors for some of them to consider resigning and looking for another job. Customers often threaten them with violence, and they feel unsafe and fear that their lives are in danger. The following statements demonstrate this:

*Ngizokuthola Mawushayisa. [I will get you when you knock off]*  
(Participant 3)

*The police get the statement from us of what happened. But I am scared these people can attack me after work. They will wait for me (Participant 4).*

*Sometimes you have the fear of meeting the perpetrator after work (Participant 5).*

#### **5.2.16 Theme 8 Discussion: Customer is always right and fear of violence**

##### ***The customer is always right***

As demonstrated in the literature review, verbal abuse is one of the forms of workplace violence. The participants in this research study explained that they often experienced verbal abuse from customers when they inspected their bags when they left the shop. Knowler (2014) found that the bag check assumes that the customer has stolen, and this assumption by retailers makes the customers feel that their right to dignity is violated. Perhaps this becomes one of the reasons that customers resort to violence when being searched by security guards. Attorney Michael Abrahams, as cited in News24 (2018), argued that searching a bag when the customer enters the store is understandable, but searching customers at the store's exit, in terms of law, is not allowed. However, it is common practice in South Africa that retail stores conduct customer searches when clients enter or leave stores. The security guards said they dislike searching customers, but the company forces them to do so.

*The law of the company is difficult. For example, in the training, they say we must greet the customer, and we should not search them. However, the shops want us to search the customers (Participant 5).*

There seems to be a communication breakdown between the security guards, shop management and security companies. There are no clear guidelines about what is expected of security guards when customers enter and leave the shops. This could have a negative impact on business and the way the security guards perform their functions. Spaho (2013)

believes effective communication is required to maintain human relations and achieve good business performance. Poor security measures in retailers that experience more shoplifting could be an issue, and one of the measures is a lack of clear communication. The lack of communication and clear directives is evident from the following quote:

*The company policy is clear that, when a customer wants to make an exchange, they must bring the slip. One day the customer wanted to make the exchange and did not have the slip. I told the customer that she cannot do the exchange as she does not have the slip. The customer complained to the shop manager, and the shop manager criticised me in front of the customer. But I was following the procedures (Participant 3).*

The company flouts its own rules and embarrasses security guards in front of customers. They believe this is in the business's best interest and that the customer is always right. However, they are unaware that this could weaken the company's security measures. They encourage the customer to abuse the notion of 'the customer is always right.'

According to Tompkins (2015), the phrase, the customer is always right, was originally coined in 1909 by Hany Gordon Selfridge, the founder of Selfridge's department store in London. The purpose was to convince customers that they would get good service at the company. Also, it convinces the employees to give customers good service. However, some businesses now reject this as it leads to bad customer service. Tompkins (2015) listed five reasons why the saying is wrong.

- i. It means employees can become unhappy;
- ii. It gives abrasive customers an unfair advantage;
- iii. Some customers are bad for business;
- iv. It results in worse customer service;
- v. Some customers are just plain wrong;

I would like us to explore the two reasons for this study. The first reason, the notion that the customer is always right, makes employees unhappy. The participants in this study revealed

that they are expected to ask for forgiveness from the customers, even when they are wrong. Hence, they become unhappy at work. Second, it gives abrasive customers an unfair advantage. That means the abusive customers get better treatment and conditions than nice people. Security guards clarified that they could not fight back when customers were violent. Therefore, abusive customers have an advantage over them.

The violent behaviour of customers can be interpreted in the context of Bandura's (1977) Social Learning Theory. The violent behaviour of the customers could be learned by imitating observed behaviours that are noticed in the surrounding environment. According to Bandura (1963), films may influence violence. Chugh (2022) explains that violence acted out by the protagonist is often a sign of strength and courage. In contrast, a character unwilling to partake in violence can be seen as a coward. Heroes are often required to kill to win their lovers, and many times their violent behaviour is cheered by people. Perhaps the show of violent behaviour towards security guards in the shopping centre could be seen as a sign of strength by customers. In addition, while excuses should not be made for violent behaviour, it is also critical to consider the context. South Africa comes from a dark and violent past, and these remnants are still felt today. Terre Blanche (2002) mentioned that apartheid instilled a psychological climate that encouraged violence. Vogelman and Lewis (1993) argue that South Africa has internalised a culture of violence, which has led society to believe it is acceptable. Therefore, customers who abuse the security guards might not see anything wrong because this is how they express their discontent. However, they fail to understand that this verbal abuse has a negative effect on the well-being of the security guards

It may also be argued that the violent behaviour displayed by customers could be related to the battle for public space. Perhaps some customers feel that the restrictions placed on them when visiting the shopping mall deny them free access to public spaces such as shopping centres. Kohn (2004) and Smith and Low (2006) argued that there are increasing trends to privatise public space and life. That means the private sector continues to privatise public spaces and impose measures to control access and activities in them. For instance, in this study, the security guards mentioned that the customers could not bring pets to the shopping

centre and were prohibited from running in the shopping centre. This may not go down well with some customers who resist violence and verbal abuse.

Based on an analysis of public space by Von Hirsch and Shearing (2000), the resistance shown by the customers when told not to perform the above activities could be justifiable. According to Von Hirsch and Shearing (2000), public space has traditionally been conceived as a free space where people can move freely. If their behaviour does not violate specific conduct regulations, the customers might feel that this freedom has been taken away by the security guards, and they resort to violence. However, the security guards described a profile of customers who often give them problems at shopping centres. This was experienced and explained differently by the security officers. For example, some security guards believe women create problems, and others blame young people.

*The women have attitude when we search their bags. They are not comfortable when we put our hands in their bags. They say we must put the cameras instead of searching their bags (Participant 7).*

*The women give us the problem. One of the women could not wait while I was assisting other customer. She said I am the useless security guard, and she will tell the centre manager to fire me because I don't know my work. I told her to go and tell the centre manager that I did not help her because I was busy with another customer (Participant 9).*

*The young boys give us problems. They do not follow the instructions at shopping malls. They will play with the escalators. The students from the University of ... also give us the problem. Some of them enter the shopping mall with the bottle of beers, and this is not allowed in the shopping mall. The white people also give us the problems, especially on weekends and Fridays when they are drunk. They also urinate around the shopping mall (Participant 8).*

*The white people give us more problems than blacks do. The white people shout at us even if they do not remember where they parked their cars. He will apologise when he discovers that he is wrong. They like to complain to management, and the management will support them*  
(Participant 1).

Furthermore, they indicated that some people who display violent behaviour are regular visitors to the shopping mall. Although they understand the rules, they persistently challenge the security guards and become violent when reprimanded. The Public Service Commission (2002) found that violence was most likely committed by clients, residents, and other public members rather than co-workers. As much as there is the possibility that the coworkers can be violent, there is a greater chance of outsiders being violent because they might feel that the employees make it difficult for them to access the services. Greenberg (1990) claimed that the perception of unfair treatment is associated with conflict. The perpetrators of these acts often point to what they believe was unfair treatment by a supervisor or co-worker (Mantell & Albrecht, 1994). It was evident in this study that customers may feel that they are treated unfairly by security guards when they search them, which often leads to fights between the security guards and customers. Another challenge facing the security guards is violence perpetrated by young people.

The World Health Organisation (2015, p.1) defines youth violence as “the physical or psychological harm done to people - either intentionally or as a result of neglect that involves young people as perpetrators, victims or both, or that is a potential threat to the youth”. What stands out from the definition of youth violence is that young people can be both victims and perpetrators of violence. In South Africa, a study by the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention showed that young people who have been victims of violence were six times more likely to commit a crime than those who have not been victimised (Burton et al., 2009). Therefore, we need to view the violent behaviour of these young people at shopping centres as part of a bigger picture of a childhood where they may have been exposed to violence at an early age and how this might contribute to them being violent themselves and hurting other people, including the retail security guards. Fenton (2016) argues that, although most



abusers are male, women also commit serious abuse. This calls attention to the importance of a gendered perspective on the issue of violence. The security guards in this study reported that female customers often abuse them, and they cannot defend themselves. Therefore, this requires a broader understanding of who perpetrates violence and the implications. Therefore, a multi-perspective response and understanding are required if the issue of workplace violence is to be tackled appropriately.

### ***Fear of violence***

The fourth dimension of violence (Whether or not there is a subject (person) who acts to cause violence). It could mean that it may not be a specific actor influencing the fear of violence in the shopping centre security guards. However, the effects of the fear of violence will be felt by security guards. The possibility of violence, even after working hours, is a challenge the security guards have to contend with. Violence linked to their jobs can happen both at work and outside work. Such a possibility linked to threats they receive from customers may affect the guards' productivity. They might be reluctant to do their work to the best of their ability due to fear of physical violence from customers. In his thesis, Leino (2013) points out that psychological distress, fear of violence and alcohol use are some of the effects of work-related violence prevalent among security employees. The fear of violence may prevent the security guards from giving statements to the police at shopping centres unless the police assure them of their safety after they provide the statements.

Leblanc and Kelloway (2002) explain that work-related violence leads to a feeling of fear. Furthermore, if the fear of future violence increases, people may become increasingly depressed and anxious about the recurrence of violence (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010). The participants indicated that they are scared for their lives most of the time and feel helpless as they are not sure what will happen to them when they leave the shopping mall. These uncertainties may lead to feelings of anxiousness (Hershcovis & Barling, 2010).

According to the above finding on verbal abuse and fear of violence, it is clear that structural violence in the private security industry is institutionalised. Clients at shopping centres have no respect for security guards, despite their critical role in preventing crime, especially in

public spaces such as shopping centres. For instance, one female client called the security guard useless and told the centre manager to fire the guard. The verbal abuse experienced by security guards traumatises them and influences their fear of violence. Participant 5 mentioned that they often fear meeting the perpetrator after work. Based on the above challenges facing the security guards, they suggested some measures that could be implemented in the private security sector to improve the working conditions. Some of those measures are discussed in the next section.

#### 5.2.17 Theme 9: From challenges to possibilities

The security guards needed to ask how their working conditions could be improved. Only identifying the problems would not be effective. They needed to identify strategies to deal with structural violence in the security sector. I named this Theme 9, from challenges to possibilities.

Despite all the challenges faced by the security guards at shopping centres, the guards who participated in this research study believed there was still something that could be done about it. The participants proposed some ways to confront the challenges. One of the proposed improvements included educating people about the role of security guards, which would involve the PSIRA assisting them with the challenges they face at work. In addition, they suggest that training security guards be separated as all security guards do not deal with similar problems. For instance, they wanted training that would focus on retail security guards. Also, the working relationship between the client, customer and security company must be one of respect and collegiality. The following statements illustrate some of the solutions suggested by the security guards:

*We must be paid very well. We also need the support from the company when we attend the court cases. We need more training on how to handle the violent customers. Also, they need to make the security companies to follow the law. Some of the things that do by security companies are not consistence with the labour law. The labour department should ensure that there is compliance with the law (Participant 9).*

*The customers will not change since they come from different families. This is how they are raised at home. We must accept that this is the kind of treatment that will get from customers (Participant 5).*

*The company must stop this thing of saying the customer is always right. They should stop taking the side of the customers even when the customer is wrong (Participant 10).*

*The company must provide us with transport. Especially when we knock off late (Participant 3).*

#### 5.2.18 Theme 9 discussion

It is clear from the above quote that some security companies have abandoned advanced training for security guards, particularly those who deal with armed robberies daily. They prefer to employ security guards with inadequate training, possibly as a cost-cutting measure, but do not realise they endanger their lives. Further, it seems training security guards is not important; they are just interested in profit. The security guard industry remains plagued by inadequate training and standards. In addition, the security guards feel unprepared to handle problematic people and physical altercations and protect themselves (Nalla & Wakefield, 2014). Another possible solution highlighted by the participants was that of improving working conditions. This would include better wages and transport provisions, especially if they knock off late. The issues raised by the participants are ones that trade unions and even the media have spotlighted. What remains is for action to take place. One of the main issues on the agenda is wages. Security guards must be paid a living wage to afford a decent living and support their families.

As can be seen from excerpts about possible solutions above, the participants indicated that they do not know how to deal with the attitudes of violent customers. They could not suggest

what could be done to curb this challenge. They felt helpless and insisted the customer's attitude could not be changed as some of them have behaviours influenced by their childhood experiences. Martinek (1996) explained the concept of helplessness as the "state in which nothing a person opts to do affects what is happening. It is quitting or the give up response that follows the conviction that, whatever a person does, doesn't matter" (p. 409). The consequences of customer abuse could make the target (security guard) blame themselves for the abuse, leading to learned helplessness and passive behaviour (Starr et al., 1991). It is possible to blame yourself when you have been abused; however, in this study, the security guards did not blame themselves for the abuse they got from customers; they felt helpless. They could not defend themselves or act against act customers.

They believe a lack of education about security guards could be one of the contributing factors to the violent behaviour of the customers, and there is a need to educate the public. The customers must understand that the security guards are there for their safety and convenience, even though their presence may appear inconvenient. One of the participants said: "...they treat us bad, but we look after their cars". Dowd (2018) states that security officers' duties include protecting people, places and property from potential threats. Without the proactive work of security guards, law enforcement would be overwhelmed with protecting people against crime. For that reason, the security guards reduce the burden of the police to protect the public. However, they are not recognised by the public for doing the important task of working with the police in preventing crime.

### **5.3. Concluding remarks and reflection**

Before undertaking this study, I did not have adequate knowledge about the work experiences of security guards at shopping centres. I knew security guards at shopping centres played an important role in preventing severe and petty crimes, but I was unaware of psychological issues impacting their lived experiences. As this is the first known psychological study on the experiences of mall security guards, it is a significant contribution to empirical psychological science in South Africa and the region. This body of work is expected to inspire further psychological and other social science research in security.

This study had four objectives, and each of them contributed to new knowledge in psychology. First, Objective 1 highlighted the psychological experiences of the security guards at shopping centres due to negative public perception. The negative public perception of the security guards means they see themselves as valueless and unskilled to do their work. Also, uncertainty about employment contracts made some of them anxious about losing their jobs. Second, Objective 2 demonstrated that structural violence is normalised in the private security industry. This is evident as they work long hours and are not compensated for overtime. They are paid less money despite the risk of their work at shopping centres. In this study, it is reported that some security guards lost their lives in the line of duty, especially at shopping centres. The power to end structural violence rests with institutions such as the PSIRA and trade unions. However, they are unwilling to free the security guards from structural violence. Mbeki and Mbeki (2016) stated that South Africans demand economic changes because they want to provide for their families. It means they can no longer tolerate structural violence. As a result, on 26 March 2006, security guards protested against poor working conditions in the private security industry. It was reported that 60 people were killed during the protest, which confirms the argument by Galtung (1969) that structural violence, if not avoided, can lead to direct violence. Thirdly, Objective 3 showed that work-related violence could be influenced by structural violence. For example, unemployed South Africans and those living in poverty tend to resort to crime (robbery and car hijacking) to earn a living. The security guards at shopping centres become the victims of work-related violence perpetuated by structural violence in South Africa. Finally, Objective 4 indicated that, although the security guards experience the effects of structural violence at shopping centres, they hope that working conditions will change. They stated in this study that security guards must be well paid for providing security services and protected from violent customers.

The above objectives of this study were achieved, which means the methodology was relevant to allow the security guards to tell their stories about psychological challenges at a shopping centre. Galtung's (1969) structural violence proposition and interpretative paradigm guided this study to have a broader understanding of structural violence in the private security industry in South Africa. Further, this study has shown that a qualitative

research approach is an effective research instrument for understanding the experiences of the victims of structural violence. In this case, the victims of structural violence are the security guards. In the following section, I expand on how this study has generated knowledge of the psychology of security guards in the South African context.

It is well documented in South African history that black South Africans were exposed to the apartheid system that perpetuated structural violence. The structural violence included ill-treatment of the black working class in the workplace. The effects of structural violence that had its roots in racialised statutory inequality (apartheid system) continue to be mirrored in the organisational work culture of the security industry that this study exposed. This study has shown that employees in the private security industry exposed to poor working conditions are mostly black South Africans of African descent. The rhetorical question - perhaps an empirical question to ask in future studies of this nature – is the question: Is this a coincidence or a structural social design issue?

As this study has shown, these poor working conditions dehumanise security guards at shopping centres and make them feel incapable and unaccepted by members of society. The psychology of dehumanisation in the security sector context is well hypothesised in the opening chapter of this thesis (for example, security guards claiming to sleep on inflatable mattresses and boxes following long nights of keeping the company's clients safe during the coronavirus pandemic). This and other examples revealed in this study demonstrate how security guards at shopping centres do not wear their uniforms with pride but as people who experience low self-esteem reinforced by poor working conditions and unfavourable social categorisation by the public. Considering the racial demographic of the security industry (white people in control and black people as indentured employees) that still retains the apartheid-era social differentiation, does it not beg the question: Does the private security industry perpetuate structural violence in South Africa? As a scholar in psychology, I shall answer that question with another provocative question: What is the role of psychology in correcting the social anomaly of structural violence that creates fertile ground for psychological disorders in South Africa?

Has this study succeeded in revealing the prevalence of anxiety and depression in a small sample of security guards at a shopping mall in Gauteng? Could the findings of this study be the proverbial tip of an iceberg of psychological disorders and other emotional problems in the security industry in the country? The answer to this rhetorical question is convincing enough to consider this study successful in contributing new knowledge in psychology. This study has successfully illustrated that structural violence in South Africa did not end in 1994 with the political Rubicon. The transformation agenda that became imperative in the South African workplace does not seem to have permeated the security sector. To borrow from Mpofu-Walsh (2021, p. 13), "Apartheid did not die; it was privatised". This study also shows that the research agenda on the psychology of the security industry in South Africa is just beginning. There is a need for psychological interventions to assist the security guards at shopping centres in dealing with structural violence. The proposed psychological interventions will be presented in Chapter 6.

## **CHAPTER 6**

### **Recommendations: Psychological interventions to improve the working conditions of security guards**

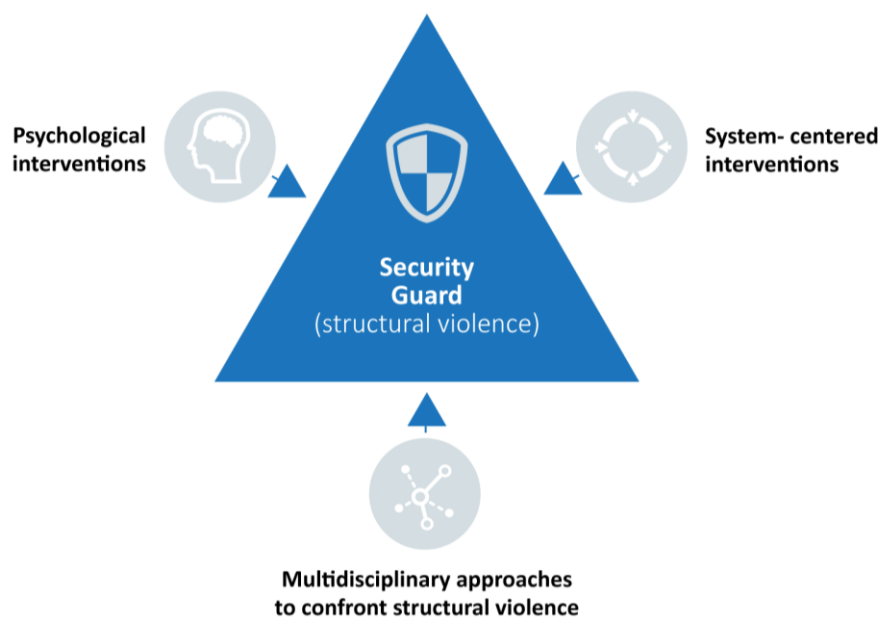
#### **6.1 Introduction**

Chapter 5 of this thesis has argued that the structural violence inherent in the private security industry adversely impacts the well-being of security guards. A myriad of problems affecting the self-esteem of security guards was identified. Prominent among these problems were poor working conditions and work-related violence while on duty, uncertainty about the prospects of their job contracts, contempt by members of the public, constant fear of violent attacks and indifference towards their plight by trade unions. In the face of all these problems, security guards continue to work in the industry as socio-economic circumstances rooted in apartheid inequality (structural violence) compel them to stay working to survive poverty. In light of these grim findings, this sixth and final chapter of the thesis proposes interventions that could improve the conditions of security guards in South Africa, especially those working at shopping centres. The strengths and limitations of this study are also presented.

#### **6.2 Interventions to the combat effects of structural violence**

The effects of structural violence on security guards at shopping centres cannot be addressed by focusing on individual security guards and their problems. Interventions that focus on structural changes are needed to effectively address and manage the systemic factors that maintain structural violence in the private security industry. The proposed interventions are categorised into three interrelated parts: psychological, system-centred, and multidisciplinary, as illustrated in Figure 6.1. We discuss the different dimensions of these interventions in detail below.





**Figure 6.1: Proposed interventions to combat structural violence**

### 6.2.1 Psychological interventions

As the findings of this study have shown, security guards experience low self-esteem and unhappiness due to ill-treatment by customers. According to Bizencyclopedia (2019), low self-esteem can make employees not utilise their talents in the workplace, for example, by remaining silent in meetings and not contributing to issues that affect them. Low self-esteem, if it persists, could result in mood disorders and other psychiatric problems. Meek (2019) explains that general anxiety disorder (GAD) is one of the psychiatric problems that people with low self-esteem could experience. Most people worry at times about their health, job, money and family, but people with GAD experience anxiety about these things more excessively and persistently (Gans, 2021). Apart from low self-esteem caused by customer behaviour, security guards are exposed to life-threatening violence in the form of armed robberies (Singh, 2021). In light of these examples, this study recommends psychological interventions to mitigate some effects of physical and psychological violence on security guards. Psychological debriefing and psychological counselling are considered appropriate strategies to help security guards deal with the effects of work-related violence.

According to Rose et al. (2002), psychological debriefing is a treatment to reduce the psychological harm that follows exposure to traumatic incidents. The debriefing process encourages recollection of the traumatic event (Rose et al., 2002). In the context of security guards exposed to work-related violence, such as robbery and assault, security companies could utilise the services of clinical psychologists to conduct psychological debriefing with affected security guards. In the South African context, organisations such as the South African Depression and Anxiety Group (SADAG), a non-profit organisation comprising psychologists, psychiatrists and general practitioners, render to the public telephone counselling services to address mental health problems (South African Depression and Anxiety Group, 2021). Workplace wellness businesses such as ICAS provide mental health services to employers in the private and public sectors (ICAS, 2021). These, and similar organisations, could be employed to provide psychological debriefing services to companies that employ security guards.

The effects of low self-esteem on security guards could not be underestimated in this study. Therefore, to mitigate the psychological effects of low self-esteem on security guards, I recommend establishing an employee assistance programme (EAP) in the private security industry. It is a confidential counselling service that affects their work performance. The purpose of an EAP is to promote wellness that involves written policies and supervisor and employee training. Some of the services provided by an EAP include job stress, relationship difficulties, harassment, substance abuse, and balancing work and family. O'Donnell (2017) points out that employee performance is higher when people are physically and emotionally able to work and desire to work. However, to achieve higher employee performance in the workplace, a supportive work environment must be created, including protection from injury hazards, medical coverage of preventive services, flexible benefits and flexitime. The management policies moderate stress, incentive systems, employee assistance programmes, child care programmes and recreation programmes (O'Donnell, 2017).

The PSIRA can play a major role in ensuring that security companies provide psychological counselling and debriefing for security guards at shopping centres. This can be mandatory and a condition of registration of a security company. Failure by a security company to provide

psychological services, especially debriefing after robberies, should result in the deregistration of offending security companies or fines.

As much as this study recommended psychological interventions to help security guards deal with structural violence, it will be difficult to overlook the stigma attached to psychological interventions by black people. According to Carauthes (2014), African Americans<sup>10</sup> believe mental health services are expensive and costly. Also, a stigma is associated with going to therapy in black communities. They might view the person as crazy and weak if they cannot handle issues that may arise in their personal life. Therefore, when this is applied in the context of security guards, mostly black people, it could mean that there is a likelihood that employers can experience resistance from the security guards when they propose psychological counselling for them. They might think the employer views them as people who cannot handle their problems and stress from structural violence. Also, psychological interventions could be costly for security guards if employers will not assist them. One of the key findings in this study is that security guards are paid less and struggle to meet their basic needs. Therefore, they would rather save money to finance their families than undergo therapy. They will find other ways to deal with the effects of workplace violence. Mental health awareness for black men can assist in encouraging them to go for counselling. They should understand that mental health conditions are common and that seeking help is not a weakness.

### 6.2.2 System-centred interventions

System-centred interventions refer to interventions aimed at improving the functioning of the company. Therefore, training is one of the system-centred interventions. It was revealed in this study that security guards did not receive adequate training to manage work-related violence at shopping centres. The security guards receive one week or two weeks of training, which is insufficient for them to gain advanced skills for dealing with work-related violence. For instance, Manson Security Guard Training Academy provides training on armed response, CCTV and control room, firearms competency, Grade B security training, Grade C security

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<sup>10</sup> African Americans are black people living in the United States who are descended from families that originally from Africa.

training, Grade D security training and Grade E security training. The syllabus for Grade C training includes writing reports, threat assessment, protection of information, occupational safety, fire prevention and protection, bomb threats, role in an emergency, legal aspects and self-defence (Manson Security Guard Training Academy, 2021). The training takes five days, and the purpose of the training is to ensure that security guards know how to manage emergencies. It is unlikely that such intense training over five days' training could be useful in helping security guards respond when confronted by armed criminals during their work effectively. The security guards in this study complained that their lives are at risk because they are not allowed to carry firearms, are poorly trained and do not possess the skills to work with violent customers. This deprivation of adequate training, which exposes them to grave danger, could be construed as a form of structural violence.

The purpose of system-centred interventions is to transform the entire security sector in order to compel security companies to implement workplace violence-prevention training. Security Magazine (2021) explains that preventing and mitigating the threat of workplace violence requires multiple intervention strategies, of which training plays a significant role. This will allow security guards to deal effectively with violence in the workplace (Security Magazine, 2021). The significance of workplace violence prevention training is that there is a shift from only focusing on mitigating the psychological effects of structural violence on the individual (security guard), such as providing psychological counselling and debriefing. However, security guards also need psychological empowerment to prevent structural violence in the workplace. Spreitzer (1995) points out that psychological empowerment exists when employees perceive that they exercise some control over their work lives. Therefore, in the context of workplace violence-prevention training, security guards can make their own decisions on how to deal with violent customers and do that within the company's policy. The security guards complained that they were powerless to deal with violent customers. However, the system-centred intervention does not only include training of staff, but policy formulation will be necessary to tackle work-related violence at shopping centres. For instance, security companies must comply with the Occupational Health and Safety Act No. 85 of 1993. The Occupational Health and Safety Act aims to provide for the health and safety of persons at work and the health and safety of persons in connection with the

activities of persons at work and to establish an advisory council for occupational health and safety.

Security companies and shopping centres need to implement policies that will mitigate or prevent the risk of work-related violence in the work of security guards at shopping centres. According to Meyerstain and Ramchandani (2015), the policy that retail stores and security companies can implement could include the following pre-emptive interventions:

- ***Hazard assessment of physical security and employee vulnerabilities at work:*** Shopping centre management and security companies must be required to ensure that hazard assessment is conducted on parking lots and restricted areas at shopping centres to determine the risk potential associated with those areas. As this study has shown, female security guards stated they are not allowed to work at parking lots because there is a high risk of car hijacking that could pose a bigger risk to them than their male counterparts. Therefore, the work-related violence policy could address the work allocation issue by considering additional measures to accommodate the needs of female security guards stationed at parking lots.
- ***Implementing engineering and administrative controls:*** These measures would involve technical and administrative measures to complement hazard assessments to protect employees. For example, this would include better lighting, security cameras, access control, mirrors and communication devices (radios and panic buttons), and additional protective measures.

Prominent in such a policy framework would be intolerance of violence to any person in the secured workplace and the specification of clear and appropriate consequences for violations. That means law enforcement agencies (police and security guards) will be required to remove and bar offending customers from accessing stores. The policy framework would also encourage prompt reporting of violence and propose procedures for investigating work-related violence. Security employees would be required to record any violent incidents occurring at shopping centres to assess intervention progress and the level of risk related to the reported incident. It should be noted that both psychological and system-centred

interventions cannot be successfully implemented in the private security industry when other relevant stakeholders are not included in this process of combating structural violence. Therefore, the following proposed intervention, multidisciplinary approaches to confront structural violence, will seek to include other stakeholders, such as the community, to help the security guards to deal with structural violence.

### 6.2.3 Multidisciplinary approaches to confront structural violence

Galtung (1969) stated that structural violence is not a visible and obvious form of violence where a person physically harms someone. Structural violence occurs through economic, political and cultural processes that work together in such a way as to limit victims from achieving a full quality of life (Gupta, 2012). The invisibility of structural violence makes it difficult to deal with violence and effectively help victims of violence. According to Morgan et al. (2014), it is difficult to identify the actors of structural violence, as they are often hidden behind anonymous institutions and often would have long disappeared while the effects of the violence continue. Considering the victims and not just the perpetrators of structural violence, it could be deduced that structural violence has similar effects to behavioural violence, including death (Morgan et al., 2014). As a result, there is a need to have a multidisciplinary approach to help the victims of structural violence. The multidisciplinary approach proposed in this study embodies the African philosophy of 'Ubuntu', trade unionism in South Africa and PSIRA. Each approach is discussed regarding how the security guards at shopping centres can be assisted in overcoming structural violence.

#### 6.2.3.1 African philosophy of 'Ubuntu.'

The security guards in this study found themselves exposed to structural violence, such as poor working conditions, long working hours and work-related violence. Perhaps this is the time for the families and community to declare support for security guards, as the effects of structural violence continue to be felt in the private security industry in South Africa. We must invoke the African philosophy of 'Ubuntu' to help security guards continue to show resilience in these difficult times of structural violence. The African philosophy of 'Ubuntu' emphasises '*being human through other people*' (Tutu, 2000). It means security guards can overcome

structural violence if the community and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) can support them as the security guards live in our communities. The community leaders, such as Counsellors and Ward Committee members, can organise a protest action against PSIRA and submit a memorandum of demands to deal with structural violence facing the security guards in South Africa.

Furthermore, communities can implement programs that will educate community members about the role of security guards in society. This can be useful as the security guards feel underestimated when performing their duties. On the other hand, NGOs play an important role in the fight against human rights violations. For instance, in Chapter 1 of this thesis, we saw how the security guards in Lonehill were sleeping on inflatable mattresses and boxes the following nights, keeping clients of the company safe during the coronavirus pandemic. This is the worst form of structural violence experienced by security guards at Lonehill. Therefore, NGOs such as Helen Suzman Foundations and Freedom Under Law are well suited to confront structural violence in the private security industry. These organizations can institute court actions against private security companies to force them to comply with labour legislations of South Africa and protect the rights of the security guards for decent work. However, 'Ubuntu' is insufficient to help the security guards escape structural violence. There is a need to resuscitate the role of trade unions in South Africa to deal with inequalities in South Africa.

#### *6.2.3.2 Trade unionism in South Africa*

The National Employers Association of South Africa (NEASA) indicated that more than 83% of staff reported for duty and ignored a plea by the Congress of South African Trade Union (COSATU) to stay home and withdraw their labour during its national strike on the Thursday of 7 October 2021. The one-day strike put pressure on the government and the private sector to address corruption, unemployment and retrenchments (Eyewitness News, 2021). The fact that many people did not withdraw their labour as requested by COSATU is the signal that trade unions in South Africa no longer have an impact on national discourse, such as putting pressure on the government to implement economic policies that will improve the lives of the working class, especially black South Africans. In this study, security guards reported losing confidence in trade unions and called them 'sell-outs'. It is time for trade unions to go back to the drawing board and pressure the South African government to adopt economic

policies that will prevent and reduce structural violence in the security industry, as in all other work sectors. Reducing social disparities through social policy reform is important for violence prevention and reduction (Hyman et al., 2016). The trade unions also cannot achieve such an objective without the help of PSIRA. It means PSIRA must come on board to assist trade unions in dealing with structural violence in the private security industry in South Africa.

### *6.2.3.3 Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSIRA)*

The Private Security Industry Regulation Authority (PSIRA) was established in terms of Section 2 of the Private Security Industry Regulation Act (56 of 2001). The primary objective of PSIRA is to regulate the private security industry and ensure compliance with the Private Security Regulation Act (56 of 2001). This objective notwithstanding, the findings in this study paint a different picture of PSIRA. For instance, the security guards in this study did not understand the role of PSIRA and how PSIRA is helping the security guards to improve working conditions. PSIRA is supposed to be a watchdog for the security guards and protect them against the structural violence that this study found to characterise the industry. However, it seems that PSIRA has failed the security guards, as the security companies continue the exploitation of security guards despite the existence of PSIRA. Therefore, I recommend that PSIRA educate the public about its role and the services that PSIRA provides for South Africans.

Psychological interventions, system-centred interventions and multidisciplinary approaches are necessary to improve security guards' working conditions. The psychological interventions will assist with the psychological well-being of security guards. System-centred interventions will ensure that security guards are trained to prevent work-related violence and policies that perpetuate it at shopping centres. The multidisciplinary approaches recommended in this study would ensure that security guards are protected against structural violence, such as poor working conditions, work-related violence, low wages and long working hours. The infusion of the philosophy of 'Ubuntu' in the regulatory framework will help security guards to show resilience in the face of the structural violence inherent in their work. The trade unions would have to pressure the South African government to adopt pro-poor economic policies that discourage and prevent structural violence. PSIRA must ensure that security companies comply with the Private Security Industry Regulation Act (56 of 2001). The public



must be educated about the role of PSIRA in South Africa as they are important stakeholders in protecting security guards against structural violence. Although this study made recommendations that can be implemented to deal with structural violence in the private security industry, the strengths and limitations of this study cannot be overlooked. Therefore, the following section will focus on the strengths and limitations of this study.

### **6.3 Positive contribution**

The strength of this study can be seen in many factors. There has been scholarly research into the security industry in South Africa; for example, Sefalafala's (2012) study on the nature of the working conditions of private security guards in Johannesburg and Du Toit's (2015) study on job-related challenges of security guards working at North-West University. These studies, however, did not apply Galtung's (1969) structural violence proposition to create a conceptual context in which the work experiences of the security guards could be understood. This thesis investigated the work experiences of the security guards at shopping centres and applied structural violence propositions to understand social factors that influence the working conditions of security guards, thus adding new psychological knowledge to existing knowledge. This is the first known psychological research in South Africa that addresses the psychology of security guards, as it is impacted by structural violence inherent in the country's history of injustice.

The literature reviewed in Chapter 2 (Conceptual framework: Structural violence proposition as an explanation for the security industry in South Africa) and Chapter 3 (Review of workplace research on the security industry) is expanded by the findings of this study. Galtung's (1969) structural violence proposition is discussed in detail, and the six dimensions of violence are explicated. This literature review has been relevant to this study and helped structure how I approached and designed this study on the work experiences of security guards at shopping centres.

The research methodology is also relevant to this study. The case study design adopted has allowed me to have face-to-face interviews with security guards at shopping centres in which

they expressed themselves on their work experiences. This study makes a major contribution to the field of psychology, as it is the first attempt to understand the lived experiences of the most important role players in the country's economic development. With the proliferation of shopping malls in South Africa, it could be anticipated that the security industry is a growing sector. The findings of this research could be generalised to the security sector as a whole, as the findings reveal structural violence in the way the industry is organised.

#### **6.4 Recommendations for further psychological research in the field of security**

The research conducted in this thesis has contributed to understanding the psychological stressors that security guards face in the retail environment. For instance, it is documented in this thesis that security guards work long hours and are exposed to poor working conditions. However, this research study also identified some of the limitations that would require further research, for example, the inclusion of employers in the security industry to understand their perspectives on issues that give rise to the problems identified. It is apparent from analysing the findings of this study that there is still much knowledge to be generated by involving all role players in the security sector. This study only focused on the cohort of guards. With the current proliferation of terrorism in the world, there is no doubt that the security industry will be a growing sector in all world economies. All social science disciplines will have research niche areas in the security field. As security work involves human factors, there will be an increasing need for psychological research in the security industry. This study is most probably just the beginning of such research. While this study focused on work-related violence, other psychological constructs affecting security guards could be the focus of future research.

#### **6.5 Limitations of the study**

The employers of the security guards were not interviewed to understand their perspectives on the working conditions of security guards at shopping centres. The inputs from employers might have contributed significantly to my fuller understanding of the uniqueness of the security sector that shapes the working conditions of the security guards at shopping centres.

On the other hand, I view this as a conscious choice to narrow the scope of the study. It means there is nothing wrong with excluding employers of the security guards in the study. Perhaps going forward, the researchers who will conduct the study on security guards at shopping centres could address this limitation by including the employers of the security guards.

## **6.6 Conclusion**

The security guards' experiences of workplace violence were consistent with the findings of other studies on workplace violence. Findings from this study further implied that workplace violence needs to be understood in the context of a violent society, as violence tends to be rooted in the cultural and political milieu inherent in a particular society. For instance, the abusive behaviour experienced by security guards from the public might be rooted in the history of violence in South Africa. Through their narratives, the security guards who participated in this study have shown how structural violence impacts the psychological well-being of people working in the security sector. This study recommended how the working conditions of the security guards at shopping centres could be improved.

The implementation of psychological interventions, system-centred interventions and multidisciplinary approaches would majorly contribute to the work-life experiences of security guards in South Africa. The lesson drawn from this study is that structural violence is a psycho-social pandemic that, if not addressed within societies, could pervade the institutions of a society and negatively impact the psychological well-being of people in that society. The findings of this study are an example of how unmitigated structural violence in a society could adversely impact a sector (security sector in the case of this study) of that society, thereby resulting in psychological problems unique to people involved in that sector. This study has shown that the field of psychology has enormous contributions to make to the betterment of the working conditions of security guards. The findings of this study could be generalised to other sectors of South African society as each sector would have psychological factors unique to it that would require psychological research to develop policy and generate solutions. As I hope this study has shown, the journey towards understanding work-related violence and the contributions of psychological research in this area has just begun.

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## APPENDIX A: INFORMED CONSENT

My name is Fana Simelane and I am student in the Psychology department at University of South Africa and my research project is entitled “**Work-Related Violence: Experiences of Shopping Centre Security Guards.**” This is a research study intended to explore and understand the experiences of security guards in South Africa. I would like permission to interview you about your experiences of work-related violence in the shopping mall. This interview will take 1 hour. With your permission, I would like to audio-record this interview so I can record the details accurately. The tapes will only be heard by me and my supervisor. All information gathered will be kept strictly confidential, and will be stored in a locked file cabinet, to which only I, and my supervisor, will have access. At any time, you can refuse to answer any questions or end this interview. The risk involved in this study, is that you may feel uncomfortable discussing some of your experiences during the interview, and should this happen please know that you can stop at any time, and should you need to talk further about the uncomfortable feelings that might arise I will have someone whom you can speak with. The benefit of your participation is that what you share with me might help us understand. There will be approximately ten participants taking part in this study. I may publish results of the study, but names of people, or any identifying characteristics, will not be used in any of the publications. If you would like a copy of the study, please provide me with your address and I will send you a copy in the future. If you have any questions about this research, you can contact me at 0710184041 or my supervisor Dr Emmanuel Tlou, [tlou@unisa.ac.za](mailto:tlou@unisa.ac.za). If you have questions about your rights as a participant in this study, you can contact the Unisa Ethics Office.

Thank you for your participation in the study. I will give you a copy of this form to take with you.

I agree to have this interview audio-recorded please [circle one]:

Yes      No

\_\_\_\_\_  
Participant’s signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

\_\_\_\_\_  
Researcher’s signature

\_\_\_\_\_  
Date

## **APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

### **BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION**

NAME.....

AGE.....

GENDER.....

### **QUESTIONS**

1. Can you tell me about yourself? When you started to work as a security guard?
  - Which security company employed you? How long you been working for this company.
  - I am aware that security profession is classified into Grade B, C, and D. What is your security grade?
  - How long was your training? What activities that you do in the training?
  - Do you have children? How many of them?
  
2. Can you tell me about your duties as a security guard?
  - What is the first thing that you do when you get to work?
  - What are the working hours per day? Do you get the off days and how many days?
  - The working hours allow you to have time with your family.
  - When is your lunch break and teatime?
  - Do you have overtime? Are you rewarded for overtime?
  - When you compare your duties and salary. Are you happy with your salary?
  - What other benefits do you have beside the salary?
  - I want us to touch on issue of surveillance cameras. How they assist you to perform your duties?
  - The surveillance cameras useful to reduce crime incidence at shopping mall.
  - The management also use the surveillance cameras to monitor the movement of security guards.

3. I want us to focus on searching the customer as one of the duties of the security guards.

- Why do you search the customers?
- Who told you to search the customers?
- Are you comfortable to search the customers?
- How the customers respond when you search them?
- The shoplifting is one of the challenges that face by retail shops. Have you arrested someone for shoplifting?
- What steps do you follow when you arrested someone for shoplifting?
- Do you call the police? How is the relationship between police and security guards?
- Have you appeared to court to testify against the customer? Do you get support from the company?

4. What challenges that you face as security guards at shopping mall?

- The purpose of the security guards is to prevent crime and protect the customers that visit the shopping mall. How do customers treat you?
- How you affected by the treatment that you get from the customers?
- Have you assaulted and intimidated by the customer?
- How you responded to that incident?
- How the management responded to that incident?
- The security guards are exposed to armed robbery. Have you exposed to armed robbery in your career as a security guard?
- Can you describe to me what happened when robbery took place?
- How you responded to that robbery?
- How the robbery has affected you?
- Did you receive any counselling?
- Company when exposed to robbery rewards you. For example, if you get the injury.
- Have you decided to resign because of the robbery incident?

5. We have more women that enter the security industry in South Africa. How do you feel as a woman to work as a security guard?

- What challenges that you face as a woman security guard?
- How male customers view the women security guards?
- Have you assaulted by male customer at shopping mall?
- What other opportunities available for women in the security industry?

**6.** PSIRA regulate the private security industry in South Africa. What do you know about PSIRA?

- How PSIRA is assisting you? For example, how PSIRA help you to deal with violent customers. Also, to improve the working conditions.
- You registered with PSIRA.
- Has PSIRA visited your workplace to monitor the working conditions?

**7.** I am aware that some of the security guards have joined the union. Are you the member of the trade union?

- Why you decided to join the union?
- How is the union assist you?
- What is the name of the union?
- How much do you pay every month?

**8.** We have discussed the challenges face security guards deployed at shopping mall. How can we improve the situation?

- How can we deal with workplace violence at shopping mall? The focus is more on security guards and no other retail workers.
- How to improve the working conditions of the security guards?

## APPENDIX C: ETHICAL CLEARANCE



### **Ethical Clearance for M/D students: Research on human participants**

*The Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at Unisa has evaluated this research proposal for a Higher Degree in Psychology in light of appropriate ethical requirements, with special reference to the requirements of the Code of Conduct for Psychologists of the HPCSA and the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics.*

**Student Name:** Fana Simelane      **Student no.** 35278692

**Supervisor:** Dr P J Segalo      **Affiliation:** Dept. of Psychology, Unisa

**Title of project:**

Work-Related Violence: Experiences of South African Security Guards.

The proposal was evaluated for adherence to appropriate ethical standards as required by the Psychology Department of Unisa. The application was approved by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology on the understanding that –

- All necessary permission regarding the protection of privacy of the participants and confidentiality of the information as stipulated in the ethics form will be met to the satisfaction of the supervisor. If further counselling is required in some cases, the participants will be referred to appropriate counselling services.

Signed:

**Prof. M Papaikonomou**

[For the Ethics Committee      ]  
[ Department of Psychology, Unisa ]

Date: 2014/11/24

