
PREDISPOSED POLICE CULTURE ATTITUDES: SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE SERVICE VERSUS JUSTICE INSTITUTE OF BRITISH COLUMBIA NEWCOMERS**Jéan Steyn,¹ Nick Bell² and Ian de Vries³****ABSTRACT**

This article aims to report on a comparative examination of South African Police Service' (SAPS) and Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC) Police Academy newcomers, for indicators evincing the presence of police culture themes of isolation, solidarity and cynicism. Using a survey format, the research employs a quasi-experimental pre-test (first phase of a larger longitudinal study) design. Although there is significant variance among the South African Police Service (SAPS) and Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC) Police Academy newcomers, overall there are indicators of solidarity, isolation and cynicism present among SAPS recruits upon arrival for basic training, however, less so for the JIBC Police Academy recruits, especially in relation to the cynicism theme. The findings suggest that newcomers from both the South African Police Service (SAPS) and Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC) Police Academy arrive for basic training with already moderate attitudes in support of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. It is contended that recruits' views are largely in place upon hiring and that the police occupation attracts people with certain values and attitudes similar to characteristic police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. This finding also has theoretical importance in that it provides empirical support for the predispositional school of thought which believes that police officer behaviour can primarily be explained by the personality characteristics (traits), values and attitudes that the individual had prior to being employed by a police organisation. This article reports on a comparison of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism attitudes between the South African Police Service' (SAPS) and Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC) Police Academy newcomers at the start of basic training.

Keywords: *Police culture South Africa and Canada; Justice Institute of British Columbia Police Academy; policing and police culture themes: solidarity, isolation, cynicism, and community policing.*

INTRODUCTION

Culture is an extraordinary broad topic (Crank, 2004:01) and much has been said and written in traditional and contemporary literature on the specific field. According to Hall and Neitz (1993), the study of culture emerged in ethnographies of 'primitive' or non-Western societies. In its origins, culture was conceived broadly, in that there are bounded, isolated and stable social entities called cultures and these cultures provide the measure of a whole way of life of a people (Redfield, 1939). At its heart, the study of culture is the study of what it means to be a person. Culture enables a great many of those things that mark people as quintessentially human.

Literature on public police culture is rarely embedded in any sort of definition or notion of culture (Crank, 2004; Hall & Neitz, 1993). Public police culture emerges uniquely from the organisational setting, yet the broader notion of culture is either unaddressed or

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taken for granted. What is needed is a definition of culture that provides a bridge to literature on culture generally and from which descriptions of public police culture make sense.

Crank's (2004) adapted culture definition from Hall and Neitz (1993:4-5) where a 'behavioural element' is added and distinguishes culture tool and social elements, addresses these inadequacies. Crank (2004:15) defines culture as follows:

"Culture is collective sense-making. Sense-making has ideational, behavioural, material, social structural and emergent elements, as follows: (1) ideas, knowledge (correct, wrong, or unverifiable belief) and recipes for doing things, (2) behaviours, signs and rituals, (3) humanly fabricated tools including media, (4) social and organisational structures, and (5) the products of social action, including conflicts, that may emerge in concrete interpersonal and inter-social encounters and that may be drawn upon in the further construction of the first four elements of collective sense-making".

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

The second setting that public police officials work in is the organisation, which consists of one's connection with the establishment (i.e. overseers) (Paoline III, 2003). The two most salient components of this setting that public police officials are faced with are the erratic and disciplinary overseeing and the abstruseness of the public police role (Paoline III, 2003). The connection between public police officials and their managers has been depicted as ambiguous. It is expected of the public police to impose laws, yet they are obliged to keep to the correct bureaucratic rubrics and conventions (Paoline III, 2003). Technical infringements from inappropriate use of the law can end in punitive proceedings. Novice public police officials soon realise that when they become noticed, it is usually for mistakes, instead of being commended for behaving admirably (Steyn & De Vries, 2007). Enthusiastic behaviour amongst public police officials is not encouraged as it increases the likelihood of blunders and its accompanying detection and reprimand. As such, public police officials are constricted, employed by an establishment that commands that all challenges on the 'front line' be controlled with competent inevitability, yet kept to extreme inquiry by faultfinders in the future (Paoline III, 2003). This institutional ambiguity is the corresponding element to the apparent corporal risks within the public police work setting. Supplementary to the erratic and disciplinary overseeing, public police officials also work within an institutional setting that supports vague task affinity. Empirical enquiries have ascertained no less than three foremost roles that public police officials are anticipated to perform: preservation of the

peace; execution of the law and the provision of public assistance, yet public police institutions have traditionally more often than not formally recognised execution of the law. This is buttressed through public police institutional tuition, formation of expert sections, emphasis on crime numbers and notably, assessment of performance and advancement (Meyer, Steyn & Gopal, 2013).

In general, operational public police manage circumstances that comprise all three roles, yet only criminal law execution is underpinned and endorsed. For public police officials, the vagueness derives from overseers who require juniors to perform all operational tasks the same. The hazards and forcible licence in the public police officials' occupational setting, as well as overseer of critical observations and role vagueness from the organisational setting, generates pressure and 'angst' for public police officials (Paoline III, 2003). The manner in which public police officials deal with these tensions maintain the public police culture which is the topic of discussion in the next section.

The values of the public police culture come from the inherent dangers of the police vocation and police officials' attempt to reduce these dangers to shield themselves (Paoline III, 2003).

Adaptive strategies particularised by the public police culture, attempts to curtail the pressure and nervousness produced by the settings, directing opinions and actions. In other words, adaptive strategies assist the public police officials by providing order and control to their vocational realm. Two extensively quoted adaptive strategies arise from the public police officials' occupational setting: distrustfulness and sustaining superiority (Paoline III, 2003). Parallel, self-preservation and firm devotion to the anti-crime warrior semblance result from the public police officials' organisational setting (Paoline III, 2003).

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

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

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

Sustaining superiority relates broadly to construing individuals and circumstances. Construing individuals and circumstances also includes the ability to categorise clientéle ("...dubious individuals, assholes and know-nothings..."), constructed on the possible risk that they could offer (Paoline III, 2003). Adding to the adaptive strategies imposed by the public police culture as a product of populace dealings in the occupational setting, the organisational setting in which officials are employed creates pressure and angst that are thought to be dispelled by public police culture. As Manning (1994:5) points out: "As an adaptive modality, the occupational culture mediates external pressures and demands internal expectations for performance and production". A particular after effect of the public police overseers' emphasis on regulatory infringements, is the self-preservation mind-set. This adaptive strategy dissuades public police officials from initiating behaviours that could possibly attract criticism. Herbert (1997:805), explains how the self-preservation mentality

can have debilitating consequences on the application of public policing: “The [self-preservation mentality] afflicts [public police officials] who live primarily in fear of administrative censure and thus avoid all situations that involve risk that might later be second guessed”.

Another adaptive strategy is a firm devotion to the anti-crime warrior semblance or criminal law execution proclivity. Some public police officials address task vagueness by associating with the task superiors have traditionally valued (Paoline III, 2003).

Public police culture is understood to accentuate law enforcement above preservation of the peace and the provision of public assistance. “As such, the inner-directed aggressive street cop is somewhat of the cultural ideal that officers are expected to follow” (Paoline III, 2003).

True adherence to the law enforcement proclivity could clash with self-preservation dexterity, which may result in public police officials making use of discriminatory tactics in relation to law enforcement, or in other words concentrate on priority criminal offences.

Public police culture adaptive strategies are cohortly passed on *via* predisposition and socialisation practices, and persist the span of a public police officials’ career.

Central to the notion of employing the ‘right’ kind of police officer, is the age-old question of from where do the attitudes and values of the police officer come. Two opposing schools of thought have developed over the years in an attempt to answer this question, namely the predisposition school and the socialisation school.

PREDISPOSITION

Supporters of the predispositional school of thought believe that police officer behaviour can primarily be explained by the personality characteristics (traits), values and attitudes that the individual had prior to being employed by a police organisation. The theory further emphasises that the police occupation attracts people with certain values and attitudes (Roberg, Novak & Cordner, 2005:275).

Since the 1970s several American and British police researchers (Rokeach, Miller, & Snyder 1971; Rokeach 1973; Lefkowitz 1975; Cook 1977; Fenster & Locke, 1973; Reiner 1978; Adlam 1980; Colman & Gorman 1982; Cochrane & Butler 1980; Adlam 1982; Brown & Willis 1985; Gudjonsson & Clark, 1986; Carpenter & Raza 1987; Potter & Wetherell, 1987; Caldero, 1997; Zhao, He & Lovrich 1998; Crank & Caldero 1999; Caldero & Crank 2000; Caldero & Larose 2001), have found support for the predispositional model. In summary these researchers describe the police personality as being:

- authoritarian; suspicious; conservative; and cynical.

Most of these personality characteristics are in direct contrast to what Miller and Hess (2005:115) identify as community policing skills that police officers of today should have:

- Creativity;
- Flexibility;
- Imagination;
- Intelligence;
- Ability to function interdependently;
- Problem-solving ability;
- Critical reasoning ability;
- Conflict mediation;
- Capacity to relate to others;
- Sensitivity to problems of urban life and community organisation; and
- Ability to consider the chief task of the job to be relating to people.

SOCIALISATION

As the body of knowledge about police behaviour increased, social scientists suggested as early as the 1960s that police behaviour was determined more by work experiences and peers than by pre-employment values and attitudes (Roberg et al., 2005). This is called the socialisation theory – that is, *individuals are socialised as a result of their occupational experiences*. If a police officer becomes corrupt, it is because the police occupation contributes in some way to weaken values; in other words, corruption is learned within the department. This theory applies to any type of police behaviour, good or bad (Roberg et al., 2005).

There have not been many systematic studies of police socialisation (Fielding, 1988; Van Maanen, 1975, 1977; Genz & Lester 1976; Westley, 1970; Niederhoffer, 1967; Kirkham 1963), although there is substantial literature on professional or organisational socialisation in other fields (Saks & Ashforth, 1997; Ashforth & Saks 1996; Adkins 1995; Morrison 1993; Jones 1986; Van Maanen & Schein 1979).

Traditionally, socialisation is conceived as the process through which a novice learns the skills, knowledge and values necessary to become a competent member of an organisation or occupation (Chan, 2003:3). In policing this involves not only learning the laws, procedures and techniques of law enforcement and order maintenance, but also acquiring a range of organisational skills, attitudes and assumptions that are compatible with those of other members of the occupation. The socialisation process starts with the selection of new recruits and steps into higher gear the moment the new recruit arrives at the basic training college and continues for some time after he or she has been appointed officially as a constable. Successful socialisation often involves a personal metamorphosis (Van Maanen, 1975 and not always a positive one. Research has consistently shown that most recruits join the police with high expectations and lofty ideals, but by the time they graduate as police constables, many have become disillusioned and cynical about police work and the organisation, although they remain firmly committed to their vocation and bonded with their colleagues (Chan, 2003:3). Through socialisation, new recruits acquire various types of dimensions of cultural knowledge (Schein, 1985; Sackmann, 1991).

New police recruits go through various stages of socialisation (Van Maanen, 1976). Often there is a phase of *anticipatory socialisation* during which people prepare themselves before entering an organisation by taking on its values, attitudes, skills and knowledge. This is followed by an initial period of *introduction* with the organisation, which can be a difficult phase if new recruits' expectations of their job and the organisation are unrealistic. The newcomer's experience at this phase is mediated by environmental, organisational, as well as relevant group, task and individual factors (Van Maanen, 1976). The *encounter phase* follows the introduction wherein the newcomer first experiences 'the street'. Finally continued membership in the organisation, as mentioned before, demands some form of *metamorphosis* on the part of the newcomer. The extent of individual change is 'situationally determined and dependent upon both organisational and individual characteristics' (Van Maanen, 1976:115).

Three police culture themes have traditionally been described as opposing, within relative terms, the effective implementation of community-oriented policing. These themes are police culture solidarity, isolation and cynicism (Chan, 2007; Steyn, 2006; Reiner, 2000).

SOLIDARITY

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

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

Central to the theme of the police cultural of solidarity, is the sense of high-minded morality amongst its members. High-minded morality requires the elementary logic that the enemy (out-groups in conflict with the police such as the public, courts, criminals, politicians, administrative brass), is totally evil and the police members are totally good. Police officials view themselves as moral agents whose responsibility is not simply to make arrests, but to roust out society's trouble-makers (Sykes & Brent, 1980). They perceive themselves to be a superior class (Hunt & Magenau, 1993), or as Bouza notes (1990:17), people 'on the side of angels'. Police officer morality thus carries with it a judgment of citizens as different. This sense of high-minded morality amongst police officials typifies the often uncritical way in which the police are presented to the outside world as good guys, waging a war against the bad guys, criminals, or whoever fails to unequivocally support the police (Fussell, 1989:164). The moral dimension of police solidarity is the heart of police culture and justifies all that the police do to protect their identity, including righteous abuse of suspects and malcontents (Caldero, 1995).

Perceived differences between the police and out-groups are emphasised through irony and the art of irony amongst police officials is suspicion (Crank, 2004:225). Suspicion is a central element of police work and more specifically cultural solidarity. Suspicion derives from the ability to transform a safe environment such as the beat patrol, colourfully described as 'the street', where the central organising theme of police work is carried out. Suspicion is a true foundational or root metaphor, providing the basis for much of police behaviour. The consequences of police behaviour in turn justify the suspicion. A bad guy does not have to be found every time a police official is suspicious, but each time one is apprehended the mythos of irony and suspicion is sustained by police stories.

Ironic training is highly visible in police-college and field training. Stories of peril and danger, role-plays and films emphasise the threat and hidden danger in police work. Recruits, when taught the lore of police work, are simultaneously provided with a vocabulary of irony, danger, suspicion and officer safety. College instructors are members of the police, and as such, are participants in the common-sense language of the organisational culture. Their natural language is metaphoric and story-based (Crank, 1996; McNulty, 1994). Instructors provide insight into the organisational culture when they are asked the question or when they feel compelled to provide an explanation during a class. The recruits are told to make use of this cultural knowledge so as to stay out of trouble. Instructors give group rather than individual punishment, when recruits do not conform to these cultural values and norms (Van Maanen, 1973). Group punishments and rewards intentionally reinforce solidarity. The latent or unintended consequence of punishment for trivial behaviour is an atmosphere in which recruits need to cover for each other, thus validating secrecy as a central element of solidarity (Crank, 2004:246).

The intense focus on officer safety that characterises current police-college training reinforces the 'we-them' attitude where the 'them' is the public. Police officials are expected to watch out for their partner before all others (Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983). The entire outside world is dangerous, and only officers can identify the dangers out there (Crank, 2004:247).

ISOLATION

A considerable amount of police research over the past forty years has chronicled the tendency for police to become isolated. They are isolated from previous friends, isolated from the community, isolated from the legal system, and even isolated from their spouses and families (Drummond, 1976; Skolnick, 1966). Police impose social isolation upon themselves as a means of protection against real and perceived dangers, loss of personal and professional autonomy, and social rejection (Skolnick, 1966:18). Skolnick found: "In an attempt to be attentive to any possible violence, the officer becomes generally suspicious of everyone. Likewise, many officers begin to distance themselves from previous friends as they do not seem to understand and appreciate the rigors of being a cop".

Administrative factors such as shift work, days-off during the week and court time tend to isolate the police official from persons other than other police. Police also become isolated due to their authority. They are required to enforce many laws representing puritanical morality, such as those prohibiting drunkenness. Many police officials have been drunk themselves and become sensitive to the charge of hypocrisy. In order to protect themselves, they tend to socialise with other police or spend time alone, again leading to social isolation (Kingshott & Prinsloo, 2004).

Ruess-Ianni and Ianni (1983) identified several postulates that are reflective of a 'we-they' worldview by police. The postulates tend to be a means of creating and maintaining a police culture in which the members believe that non-police simply do not understand the true nature of police work. Police have a strong view of the uniqueness of their profession and generally believe that non-police could not possibly grasp the problems that exist in police work (Kappeler, Sluder & Alpert, 1994). Eventually, this 'us-them' outlook could increase police isolation from the citizens.

CYNICISM

In 1967, Arthur Niederhoffer wrote about a pervasive cynicism he had observed during his career in the New York City Police Department. Niederhoffer (1967:98) describes police cynicism as diffuse feelings of hate, envy, impotent hostility and a sour-grapes pattern, which are reflected as a state of mind in the individual police officer. Niederhoffer (1967:98) further states further that police cynicism is directed towards life, the world, people in general, and the police system itself. Niederhoffer (1967:98) also believes that cynicism is at the root of many problems associated with the police. Left unchecked, a brooding cynicism and its accompanying loss of faith in police work contributes to alienation, job dissatisfaction and corruption.

According to Crank (2004:324), cynicism begins early in a police official's career, and reaches full strength in the fourth and fifth year, at which point an officer is most vulnerable to corruptive influences. Wilt and Bannon (1976) argue that measures of police cynicism tap the argot of police culture, a language nuanced with frustration towards administrators, police work and the organisation. Cynicism emerges early on from language and attitude modelling in college training, partly because of a desire among newcomers to emulate experienced officials in an effort to shed their status as novices (Wilt & Bannon, 1976:40) and partly because new recruits have the motivational desire to quickly learn how to cover their 'backs', such as more experienced police officials do (Crank, 2004:325).

OBJECTIVES AND HYPOTHESIS

The primary objective of the current study is to establish whether police recruits' views are largely in place upon hiring and if the police occupation is attracting people with certain values and attitudes similar to what has traditionally been described as police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. More specifically, the study hypothesises that South African Police Service' (SAPS) newcomers and Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC)

Police Academy newcomers already have attitudes in support of police culture solidarity, isolation and cynicism in place on their arrival for basic training.

OPERATIONALISATION OF RELEVANT CONCEPTS

Dependent variables

SAPS and JIBC newcomer attitudes

SAPS newcomer:

These are citizens of the Republic of South Africa who were recruited by the South African Police Service and (at the time of conducting the study, January 2005) arrived at all six basic training colleges/institutes to start their basic training.

SAPS newcomer attitudes:

Such attitudes refer to cognitive evaluations (favourable or unfavourable) of statements made on a 30-item questionnaire measuring police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism.

JIBC Police Academy newcomer:

These are citizens or landed immigrants of Canada who were recruited by metropolitan police agencies within the Province of British Columbia and (at the time of conducting the study, January 2013) arrived at the Justice Institute of British Columbia Police Academy to start their basic training.

JIBC Police Academy newcomer attitudes:

Such attitudes refer to cognitive evaluations (favourable or unfavourable) of statements made on a 30-item questionnaire measuring police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism.

The South African Police Service (SAPS).

The SAPS was established on the 27 January 1995 in terms of section 214 of the Interim Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1993. The SAPS is the sovereigns' only national police service and is tasked with, under section 205 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), to prevent, combat and investigate crime, maintain public order, protect and secure the inhabitants of the Republic and their property; and uphold and enforce the law.

The Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC) Police Academy:

British Columbia's Police Act (1996) requires that all municipalities in the Province with a population of over five thousand (5000) must maintain their own police department (s.15 (1)). Most cities elect to have policing services provided by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), which is the contracted provincial police force and which also provides municipal police services on a contracted basis. However, 11 municipalities (out of a total of 161 municipalities) in British Columbia currently have their own police departments. The JIBC Police Academy, established in 1978 and situated in New Westminster, is the provincially designated training facility for these eleven departments, and also for the Stl'atl'imx Tribal Police Service and the Greater Vancouver Transit Authority Police Service (GVTAPS).

Independent variables

Police culture theme of solidarity

This refers to the need of new SAPS and JIBC recruits to form powerful loyalties among themselves and with more experienced police officers in an attempt to protect themselves against the sheer danger of police work as well as external oversight in the form of challenges levelled against police authority that determines how they do their day-to-day work.

Police culture theme of isolation

The theme of isolation is the degree to which the SAPS' newcomer or JIBC' newcomer feels isolated from previous friends, the community, the legal system, and from their spouses/partners and families. Isolation is also seen as a consequence of police solidarity.

Police culture theme of cynicism

Cynicism is the cynical interpretation of and positioning against 'out-groups' (the community, the media, Justice System and top ranking police officials).

METHODS

In an attempt to address the researchers' research question, that is, whether police recruits' views are largely in place upon hiring and if the police occupation is attracting people with certain values and attitudes similar to what has traditionally been described as police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism, the researchers made use of a quantitative and deductive research approach and design due to the measurement requirement of dependent and independent variables stipulated in the hypothesis of the study.

The survey instrument

A thirty-item questionnaire suggested by a review of the literature (Crank, 2004; Chan, 2001; McNulty, 1994; Skolnick, 1994; Manning, 1989; Reuss-Ianni & Ianni, 1983; Shearing & Ericson, 1991; Bayley & Bittner, 1989; Van Maanen, 1976; Niederhoffer, 1967) and the employment of a focus group comprised of senior SAPS managers and police academics in South Africa, was developed by the current studies' principal researcher, to measure the presence of solidarity, isolation and cynicism among functional SAPS police officials:

Solidarity theme items

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

Isolation theme items

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

- (19) I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public.
(20) Commissioners do not really know what is happening at grass roots level.

Cynicism theme items

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

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

A pilot study was also conducted (December 2004 among 100 SAPS functional police officials stationed within the city of Durban, and the factor analysis (VARIMAX technique) identified nine (9) factors of which four (4) met the latent root criterion (also known as the eigenvalue-one criterion or the Kaiser criterion) of eigenvalue greater than 1.0 (as indicated in Table 1). The rationale being that each observed variable contributes one unit of variance in the data set. Any factor that displays an eigenvalue greater than 1.0 accounts for a greater amount of variance than was contributed by one variable. Williams, Hollan, and Stevens (1983) noted that the latent root criterion has shown to produce the correct number of factors when the number of variables included in the analysis is small (10 to 15) or moderate (20 to 30). The reliability coefficient (*Cronbach alpha*) of 0.77 for the 30-item police culture questionnaire is also within the 0.7 acceptable indicator level. xxx pilot study done 2004.....

Table 1: Pilot study factor analysis: Factor Loadings Eigen Values > 1.5

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

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

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

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

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

In general (factor analysis), several of the questions of the study's measuring instrument did not load on any of the four (4) factors (with eigenvalues >1.0), and some of the items loaded (statistically significant) on more than one (1) factor. This therefore indicates a composite of a more generalised multi-dimensional and categorical (behavioural and attitudinal) measure.

Sample

To maintain a high standard of external validity, reduce standard errors and prevent systematic biases, the mean sample mean was chosen to approximate the population mean. Subsequently, the sample was selected to be within a 5 percent variance of the population mean with a 99 percent confidence level.

Table 2: Sample of the SAPS' basic training institutes' and JIBC Police Academy newcomers

Country	Province	Institute	X	n	♂/♀	% of X
South Africa (January 2005)	Gauteng	Pretoria	2 050	496	330/166	24.19
	KwaZulu-Natal	Chatsworth	140	119	64/55	85.00
	Western Cape	Oudtshoorn	420	200	127/64	45.47
	Eastern Cape	Bisho	840	317	216/101	37.73
	Eastern Cape	Graaff-Reinet	350	275	183/92	78.57
	Western Cape	Philippi	550	53	33/20	09.63
SA TOTAL			4 350	1 453	955/498	33.40
Canada (January 2013)	British Columbia	JIBC Police Academy	80	37	25/11	46.25
<u>Note:</u> X denotes population parameters; n denotes actual participants. One (1) JIBC Police Academy participant did not indicate his or her specific gender.						

Table 2 indicates that the SAPS had recruited four thousand three hundred and fifty (X = 4 350) newcomers to be trained at the organisations' six basic training institutes (at the time of conducting the study, January 2005). The actual number of SAPS' participants is less than the original sample selected due to the fact that some recruits chose not to participate.

The actual number of SAPS' participants was 1 453 out of 1 485 originally selected, for a participation rate of ninety-eight percent (97.8%). There is also a nine year time delay between conducting the SAPS' measurement and the JIBC Police Academy survey. This has an obvious impact on the comparison, as possible changes over time have not been accounted for. Table 2 further indicates that almost half of the 2013 JIBC Police Academy new recruit population decided not to participate in the study.

Table 3: Biographical information of the SAPS' basic training institutes' and JIBC Police Academy newcomers

SAPS (January 2005)				JIBC Police Academy (January 2013)			
Gender							
Female		Male		Female		Male	
498		955		11		25	
34.27%		65.72%		29.72%		67.56%	
Mean age							
27				31			
Race							
Black	Indian	Coloured	White	White	Asian	Black	Indian
1256	20	146	33	27	4	3	2
84.70%	01.50%	11.20%	02.50%	75.00%	11.11%	08.33%	05.55%
Police experience prior to reporting for basic training							
None		1-5 years		1-11 months		11-15 years	
89.70%		10.30%		91.89%		02.70%	

The biographical information of the study in general indicates relative representation of the respective national population demographics. However, gender equality leaves much to be desired. It is also interesting to note that most of the British Columbia police basic training recruits already had police experience, albeit less than a year, which is not the case for SAPS newcomers.

Administration of the survey

SAPS basic training institutes: prior to commencing with the project in January 2005, approval was obtained from the SAPS Head Office Strategic Research Component to conduct the research. The researchers together with the assistance of the various SAPS basic training institute commanders, used the following procedure in administering the 30-item questionnaire measuring police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism:

- (i) All selected recruits were assembled in a hall and were equipped with a table, chair and a black writing pen.
- (ii) Participants were then informed about the survey and the voluntary nature of their participation as well as the confidentiality of their answers and that the data would be used for research purposes only.
- (iii) Recruits who signed the voluntary permission form were then provided with and completed the questionnaire with no time limit.
- (iv) Upon completion of the survey the questionnaires were collected by the PBTI and arrangements were made for courier services to deliver the completed questionnaires to the principle investigator.

JIBC Police Academy: Sergeant Nick Bell, a Senior Instructor from the JIBC Police Academy obtained permission from the JIBC Police Academy Program Director. He subsequently personally administered the research questionnaire to the JIBC Police Academy

sample and on completion scanned the originally completed surveys and emailed the said surveys to the researcher for analysis.

DATA ANALYSIS

From a micro level, Table 4 indicates similar responses between the SAPS' newcomers and JIBC Police Academy recruits on almost half (14) of the thirty (30) items, that is, statements 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 14, 19, 22, 25, 27, 28, 29, and 30. More particularly, both sets of rookies believe that not every 'Tom, Dick, and Harry' can be a police official. Policing is perceived as a 'higher calling' that can only be performed by persons with particular characteristics, such as amongst others, toughness and the ability to sniff something out of nothing (suspiciousness). Outsiders do not genuinely understand what policing is all about. Even though the public expresses some respect and support for the police, civics are only trusted to a certain extent as they are hasty in their criticism and seldom recognise the good work police officials do. As a consequence, and due to police work in general, these police officials are careful of how they conduct themselves in public and tend to socialise with their peers and less with members of the public since entering their respective police organisations.

Differences of degree were found on items 1, 2, 4, 10, 13, and 18. On these items irrespective of scale, SAPS newcomers were inclined to strongly agree more. Specifically, SAPS novices felt stronger about the police occupation being a higher sense of moral calling. JIBC Police Academy recruits additionally did not feel as strong about the critical stance of the public towards the police nor the tendency not to talk in-depth to people outside of the organisation about their work.

Differences of kind were observed on items 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24 and 26. More specifically, on the isolation scale (items 11, 12, 15, 16, 17 and 20), JIBC Police Academy recruits tended to either disagree or strongly disagree on these items whilst SAPS newcomers were prone to either agree or strongly agree. In other words, SAPS novices felt that they were socialising less with outsiders and more with their peers due to police work in general, whilst JIBC Police Academy cadets did not sense the same. There were two exceptions though on this scale. SAPS newcomers either disagreed or strongly disagreed that shift work and special duties influence their socialising with friends outside of the police, whereas JIBC recruits leaned towards agreeing and strongly agreeing. This is most probably due to the fact that over ninety percent of the JIBC Police Academy participants indicated they had 1-11 month police experience prior to their arrival for basic police training, whilst 89.70 percent of the SAPS newcomers had no such experience. The same argument could be used in explaining why JIBC Police Academy recruits were in agreement that top police management do not know what is happening on the ground, whereas SAPS newcomers had the opposite opinion.

In relation to differences of kind on the cynicism scale (items 21, 23, 24 and 26), SAPS newcomers either agreed or strongly agreed whereas JIBC Police Academy recruits either disagreed or strongly disagreed. More specifically, the responses of SAPS novices indicated the perception that most people lie when answering questions posed by police officials, most people are untrustworthy and dishonest, most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught, and most people lack the proper level of respect for police officials. The responses of the JIBC Police Academy cadets were exactly the opposite on these statements – that is, most people do not lie when answering questions posed by police officials, most people are not untrustworthy and dishonest, most people would not steal if they knew they would not get caught and most people have the proper level of respect for police officials.

Table 4: Frequency summary comparison of the SAPS’ new recruits’ responses and JIBC Police Academy new recruits’ responses to the thirty items of the questionnaire that measures police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism

QUESTIONNAIRE ITEMS	P/N		S/A	A	D	S/D	N/O	Totals	
Police culture theme of SOLIDARITY									
1. I think that the police should be one of the highest paid occupations.	P	Count	SAPS	871	479	71	13	21	1 455
		Percent		59.86%	32.92%	04.88%	00.89%	01.44%	100%
		Count	JIBC	6	19	8	0	4	37
		Percent		16.21%	51.35%	21.62%	00.00%	10.81%	100%
		Total C	All	877	498	79	13	25	1 492
		Total P	groups	58.78%	37.13%	05.29%	00.87%	01.67%	100%
2. I feel it is my duty to rid the country of its bad elements.	P	Count	SAPS	839	554	33	9	14	1 449
		Percent		57.90%	38.23%	02.28%	00.62%	00.97%	100%
		Count	JIBC	10	17	7	0	3	37
		Percent		27.02%	45.94%	18.91%	00.00%	08.10%	100%
		Total C	All	849	571	40	9	17	1 486
		Total P	groups	57.13%	38.42%	02.69%	00.60%	01.14%	100%
3. Police officials are careful of how they behave in public.	P	Count	SAPS	502	734	186	27	11	1 460
		Percent		34.38%	50.27%	12.74%	01.85%	00.75%	100%
		Count	JIBC	14	20	2	0	1	37
		Percent		37.83%	54.05%	05.40%	00.00%	02.70%	100%
		Total C	All	516	754	188	27	12	1 497
		Total P	groups	34.46%	50.36%	12.55%	01.80%	00.80%	100%
4. You don’t understand what it is to be a police official until you are a police official.	P	Count	SAPS	658	527	209	59	7	1 460
		Percent		45.07%	36.10%	14.32%	04.04%	00.48%	100%
		Count	JIBC	16	19	1	0	1	37
		Percent		43.24%	51.35%	02.70%	00.00%	02.70%	100%
		Total C	All	674	546	210	59	8	1 497
		Total P	groups	45.02%	36.47%	14.02%	03.94%	00.53%	100%
5. Police officials have to look out for each other.	P	Count	SAPS	1040	382	21	10	4	1457
		Percent		71.38%	26.22%	01.44%	00.69%	00.27%	100%
		Count	JIBC	19	17	0	0	1	37
		Percent		51.35%	45.94%	00.00%	00.00%	02.70%	100%
		Total C	All	1059	399	21	10	5	1 494
		Total P	groups	70.88%	26.70%	01.40%	00.66%	00.33%	100%

6. Members of the public, media and politicians are quick to criticise the police but seldom recognise the good that SAPS members do.	P	Count	SAPS	805	593	34	2	20	1 454
		Percent		55.36%	40.78%	02.34%	00.14%	01.38%	100%
		Count	JIBC	17	17	3	0	0	37
		Percent		45.94%	45.94%	8.10%	00.00%	00.00%	100%
		Total C	All	822	610	37	2	20	1 491
		Total P	groups	55.13%	40.91%	02.48%	00.13%	01.34%	100%
7. What does not kill a police official makes him or her stronger.	P	Count	SAPS	390	627	130	29	243	1419
		Percent		27.48%	44.19%	09.16%	02.04%	17.12%	100%
		Count	JIBC	4	11	9	5	8	37
		Percent		10.81%	29.72%	24.32%	13.51%	21.62%	100%
		Total C	All	394	638	139	34	251	1 456
		Total P	groups	27.06%	43.81%	09.54%	02.33%	17.23%	100%
8. Most members of the public don't really know what is going on 'out there'.	P	Count	SAPS	559	723	132	28	15	1457
		Percent		38.37%	49.62%	09.06%	01.92%	01.03%	100%
		Count	JIBC	12	17	6	0	2	37
		Percent		32.43	45.94%	16.21%	00.00%	05.40%	100%
		Total C	All	571	740	138	28	17	1 494
		Total P	groups	38.21%	49.53%	09.23%	01.87%	01.13%	100%
9. A good police official takes nothing at face value.	P	Count	SAPS	535	672	142	19	76	1444
		Percent		37.05%	46.54%	09.83%	01.32%	05.26%	100%
		Count	JIBC	6	18	8	0	5	37
		Percent		16.21%	48.64%	21.62%	00.00%	13.51%	100%
		Total C	All	541	690	150	19	81	1 481
		Total P	groups	36.52%	46.59%	10.12%	01.28%	05.46%	100%
10. To be a police official is not just another job it is a 'higher calling'.	P	Count	SAPS	942	453	35	13	15	1458
		Percent		64.61%	31.07%	02.40%	00.89%	01.03%	100%
		Count	JIBC	15	17	2	0	3	37
		Percent		40.54%	45.94%	05.40%	00.00%	08.10%	100%
		Total C	All	957	470	37	13	18	1 495
		Total P	groups	64.01%	31.43%	02.47%	00.86%	01.20%	100%

Police culture theme of ISOLATION									
11. I tend to socialise less with my friends outside of the police since I have become a police official.	P	Count	SAPS	289	607	391	131	41	1 459
		Percent		19.81%	41.60%	26.80%	08.98%	02.81%	100%
		Count	JIBC	1	8	18	8	2	37
		Percent		02.70%	21.62%	48.64%	21.62%	05.40%	100%
		Total C	All	290	615	409	139	43	1 496
		Total P	groups	19.38%	41.10%	27.33%	09.29%	02.87%	100%
12. I prefer socialising with my colleagues to socialising with non-members of the police.	P	Count	SAPS	252	517	536	108	45	1458
		Percent		17.28%	35.46%	36.76%	07.41%	03.09%	100%
		Count	JIBC	1	5	20	4	7	37
		Percent		2.70%	13.51%	54.05%	10.81%	18.91%	100%
		Total C	All	253	522	556	112	52	1 495
		Total P	groups	16.92%	34.91%	37.19%	07.49%	03.47%	100%
13. I don't really talk in-depth to people outside of the police organisation that I am employed with about my work.	P	Count	SAPS	666	634	100	36	23	1459
		Percent		45.65%	43.45%	06.85%	02.47%	01.58%	100%
		Count	JIBC	2	22	8	2	3	37
		Percent		05.40%	59.45%	21.62%	05.40%	08.10%	100%
		Total C	All	268	656	108	38	26	1 496
		Total P	groups	17.91%	43.85%	07.21%	02.54%	01.73%	100%
14. Being a police official made me realise how uncooperative and non-supportive the courts are.	P	Count	SAPS	118	309	541	188	298	1454
		Percent		08.12%	21.25%	37.21%	12.93%	20.50%	100%
		Count	JIBC	6	10	7	0	14	37
		Percent		16.21%	27.02%	18.91%	00.00%	37.83%	100%
		Total C	All	124	319	548	188	312	1 491
		Total P	groups	08.31%	21.39%	36.75%	12.60%	20.92%	100%
15. My husband/wife, boyfriend/girlfriend tends not to understand what being a police official is all about.	P	Count	SAPS	255	611	394	128	71	1459
		Percent		17.48%	41.88%	27.00%	08.77%	04.87%	100%
		Count	JIBC	1	8	13	9	6	37
		Percent		2.70%	21.62%	35.13%	24.32%	16.21%	100%
		Total C	All	256	619	407	137	77	1 496
		Total P	groups	17.11%	41.37%	27.20%	09.15%	05.14%	100%

16. Shift work and special duties influence my socialising with friends outside of the police organisation that I'm employed with.	P	Count	SAPS	106	366	641	216	127	1456
		Percent		07.28%	25.14%	44.02%	14.84%	08.72%	100%
	Count	JIBC	3	25	8	0	1	37	
	Percent		08.10%	67.56%	21.62%	00.00%	02.70%	100%	
	Total C	All	109	391	649	216	128	1 493	
	Total P	groups	07.30%	26.18%	43.46%	14.46%	08.57%	100%	
17. I feel like I belong with my work colleagues more every day, and less with people I have to police.	P	Count	SAPS	172	623	492	87	82	1456
		Percent		11.81%	42.79%	33.79%	05.98%	05.63%	100%
	Count	JIBC	0	9	15	4	9	37	
	Percent		00.00%	24.32%	40.54%	10.81%	24.32%	100%	
	Total C	All	172	632	507	91	91	1 493	
	Total P	groups	11.52%	42.33%	33.95%	06.09%	06.09%	100%	
18. As a police official, I am being watched critically by members of the community, even in my social life.	P	Count	SAPS	778	520	101	18	42	1459
		Percent		53.32%	35.64%	06.92%	01.23%	02.88%	100%
	Count	JIBC	11	21	3	0	2	37	
	Percent		29.72%	56.75%	08.10%	00.00%	05.40%	100%	
	Total C	All	789	541	104	18	44	1 496	
	Total P	groups	52.74%	36.16%	06.95%	01.20%	02.94%	100%	
19. I can be more open with my work colleagues than with members of the public.	P	Count	SAPS	414	679	258	57	47	1455
		Percent		28.45%	46.67%	17.73%	03.92%	03.23%	100%
	Count	JIBC	7	19	4	0	7	37	
	Percent		18.91%	51.35%	10.81%	00.00%	18.91%	100%	
	Total C	All	421	698	262	57	54	1 492	
	Total P	groups	28.21%	46.78%	17.56%	03.82%	03.61%	100%	
20. Top Management do not really know what is happening at grass roots level.	P	Count	SAPS	275	344	498	188	155	1460
		Percent		18.84%	23.56%	34.11%	12.88%	10.62%	100%
	Count	JIBC	1	15	5	1	15	37	
	Percent		2.70%	40.54%	13.51%	2.70%	40.54%	100%	
	Total C	All	276	359	503	189	170	1 497	
	Total P	groups	18.43%	23.98%	33.60%	12.62%	11.35%	100%	

Police culture theme of CYNICISM									
21. Most people lie when answering questions posed by police officials.	P	Count	SAPS	357	877	129	22	73	1458
		Percent		24.49%	60.15%	8.85%	01.51%	05.01%	100%
		Count	JIBC	0	9	20	0	8	37
		Percent		00.00%	24.32%	54.05%	00.00%	21.62%	100%
		Total C	All	357	886	149	22	81	1495
		Total P	groups	23.87%	59.26%	09.96%	01.47%	05.41%	100%
22. Most people do not hesitate to go out of their way to help someone in trouble.	N	Count	SAPS	152	648	538	87	33	1458
		Percent		10.43%	44.44%	36.90%	05.97%	02.26%	100%
		Count	JIBC	0	15	13	1	8	37
		Percent		00.00%	40.54%	35.13%	02.70%	21.62%	100%
		Total C	All	152	663	551	88	41	1495
		Total P	groups	10.16%	44.34%	36.85%	05.88%	02.74%	100%
23. Most people are untrustworthy and dishonest.	P	Count	SAPS	313	779	301	38	29	1460
		Percent		21.44%	53.36%	20.62%	02.60%	01.99%	100%
		Count	JIBC	0	2	26	4	5	37
		Percent		00.00%	05.40%	70.27%	10.81%	13.51%	100%
		Total C	All	313	781	327	42	34	1497
		Total P	groups	20.90%	52.17%	21.84%	02.80%	02.27%	100%
24. Most people would steal if they knew they would not get caught.	P	Count	SAPS	478	747	169	39	26	1459
		Percent		32.76%	51.20%	11.58%	02.67%	01.78%	100%
		Count	JIBC	0	7	21	3	6	37
		Percent		00.00%	18.91%	56.75%	08.10%	16.21%	100%
		Total C	All	478	754	190	42	32	1496
		Total P	groups	31.95%	50.40%	12.70%	02.80%	02.13%	100%
25. Most people respect the authority of police officials.	N	Count	SAPS	246	798	358	38	16	1456
		Percent		16.90%	54.81%	24.59%	02.61%	01.10%	100%
		Count	JIBC	2	30	2	0	3	37
		Percent		05.40%	81.08%	05.40%	00.00%	08.10%	100%
		Total C	All	248	828	360	38	19	1493
		Total P	groups	16.61%	55.45%	24.11%	2.54%	1.27%	100%

26. Most people lack the proper level of respect for police officials.	P	Count	SAPS	249	784	348	51	24	1456
		Percent		17.10%	53.85%	23.90%	03.50%	01.85%	100%
		Count	JIBC	1	5	23	1	7	37
		Percent		02.70%	13.51%	62.16%	02.70%	18.91%	100%
		Total C	All groups	250	789	371	52	31	1493
		Total P		16.74%	52.84%	24.84%	03.48%	02.07%	100%
27. Police officials will never trust members of the community enough to work together effectively.	P	Count	SAPS	148	482	636	154	38	1458
		Percent		10.15%	33.06%	43.62%	10.56%	02.61%	100%
		Count	JIBC	0	1	23	8	5	37
		Percent		00.00%	02.70%	62.16%	21.62%	13.51%	100%
		Total C	All groups	148	483	659	162	43	1495
		Total P		9.89%	32.30%	44.08%	10.83%	2.87%	100%
28. Most members of the community are open to the opinions and suggestions of police officials.	N	Count	SAPS	175	841	363	32	45	1456
		Percent		12.02%	57.76%	24.93%	02.20%	03.09%	100%
		Count	JIBC	2	22	4	0	8	37
		Percent		05.40%	59.45%	10.81%	00.00%	21.62%	100%
		Total C	All groups	177	863	367	32	53	1493
		Total P		11.85%	57.80%	24.58%	02.14%	03.54%	100%
29. Members of the community will not trust police officials enough to work together effectively.	P	Count	SAPS	85	586	605	143	38	1457
		Percent		5.83%	40.22%	41.52%	09.81%	02.61%	100%
		Count	JIBC	0	3	24	6	4	37
		Percent		00.00%	08.10%	64.86%	16.21%	10.81%	100%
		Total C	All groups	85	589	629	149	42	1494
		Total P		05.68%	39.42%	42.10%	09.97%	02.81%	100%
30. The community does not support the police and the police do not trust the public.	P	Count	SAPS	94	419	638	248	55	1454
		Percent		06.46%	28.82%	43.88%	17.06%	03.78%	100%
		Count	JIBC	0	0	24	11	2	37
		Percent		00.00%	00.00%	64.86%	29.72%	05.40%	100%
		Total C	All groups	94	419	662	259	57	1491
		Total P		06.30%	28.10%	44.39%	17.37%	03.82%	100%

Note: P/N denotes the direction of the survey item; S/A denotes 'strongly agree'; A denotes 'agree'; D denotes 'disagree'; SD denotes 'strongly disagree'; N/O denotes 'no opinion'; **Total C** denotes 'total count'; **Total P** denotes 'total percentage'.

Table 5: Mean scores of the SAPS’ newcomers’ responses as well as JIBC Police Academy recruits’ responses on the three scales of the 30-item questionnaire measuring police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism

	Solidarity (items 1-10)		Isolation (items 11-20)		Cynicism (items 21-30)				
	SAPS	JIBC	SAPS	JIBC	SAPS	JIBC			
<i>Mean</i>	33.02890	30.22222	27.43771	21.55555	25.33516	18.16666			
<i>Percentage</i>	82.55%	75.55%	68.57%	53.87%	63.32%	45.40%			
<i>Note:</i> The scoring of the scales was performed as follows (except for items 22, 25, and 28 [reversed scoring due to direction of statement]):									
Strongly agree	④	Agree	③	I do not have an opinion	①	Disagree	②	Strongly disagree	⑤
Thus, if all the SAPS’ new recruit participants (1453 sample) would Strongly agree with each item on the police culture solidarity scale (1453 [number of participants] x 10 [number of solidarity scale items] x 4 [numerical value denoted for the Strongly agree option]) the score would be 58120. If all the SAPS’ new recruit participants (1453 sample) would Strongly disagree with each item on the police culture solidarity scale (that is, 1453 [number of participants] x 10 [number of solidarity scale items] x 1 [numerical value denoted for the Strongly disagree option]) the score would be 14530. The higher the score the greater the presence of a particular police culture theme attitude. Thus, the contents of Table 5 indicates the mean scores of all the study respondents on each of the study measuring instrument scales, as well as the transformation of these mean scores into percentages.									

How cohesive, isolated and cynical, as a general proposition, must the police newcomers be in order to assess whether one is willing to conclude that solidarity, isolation and cynicism are sufficiently present in degree to argue that it typifies the police as a cultural characteristic? The decision is somewhat arbitrary but the characteristics must be present in a sufficient degree to support a strong claim. The authors chose an overall average score of 24 (cut-off mean score of 60%) or more, on a scale of 0 to a possible 40 (if a study participant would strongly agree with each item [10 items] her or his score would be 40 [10 x 4]), as our criteria, with higher scores indicating the greater presence of solidarity, isolation and cynicism based on the 30-item, five-point, Likert-scale measures. This decision is based on the fact that an absolute middle-range score would be 20. Our argument is that a mean score of 24 or higher for our sample of police recruits would be sufficiently above the middle-range score of 20 to support a conclusion that solidarity, isolation and cynicism are characteristic of our sample. Table 5 indicates that SAPS’ newcomers arrived for basic training with attitudes in support of police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. JIBC recruits started basic training with indicators evincing solidarity but not isolation or cynicism based on the current studies quantitative criteria. However, it would not be complete to recognise the fact that five out of every ten JIBC Police Academy recruits were just about to start their basic training with attitudes in support of police culture theme of isolation and cynicism attitudes.

CONCLUSION

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

The primary objective of the current study was to establish whether police recruits’ views are largely in place upon hiring and if the police occupation is attracting people with certain values and attitudes similar to what has traditionally been described as police culture themes of solidarity, isolation and cynicism. More specifically, test the hypotheses that South African Police Service (SAPS) newcomers and Justice Institute of British Columbia

(JIBC) Police Academy recruits already have attitudes in support of police culture solidarity, isolation and cynicism in place on their arrival for basic training.

The study found that both the South African Police Service' (SAPS) newcomers and Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC) Police Academy recruits had attitudes in support of police culture solidarity. However, the same cannot be said for the police culture themes of isolation and cynicism. The South African Police Service' (SAPS) newcomers arrived with police culture isolation and cynicism attitudes present, whilst Justice Institute of British Columbia (JIBC) Police Academy recruits - did not. However, it would be arguably ignorant not to note that five out of every ten JIBC Police Academy participants reflected attitudes in support of police culture isolation and cynicism. This overall finding supports Crank and Caldero's (1999) contention that recruits' views are largely in place upon hiring and confirms the findings of Roberg, Novak and Cordner (2005) that the police occupation attracts people with certain values and attitudes – characteristics similar to those of officers already employed by the organisation. The study further contradicts contemporary ethnographers (Cockcroft, 2013; O'Neill, Marks & Singh, 2007; Sklansky, 2005) who fashionably argue that conventional characterisations of the police culture are antiquated, illogical and useless due to new developments in policing.

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

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