

**“It’s not a woman’s job”: An exploration of the gendered nature
of employment in the South African private security industry**

by
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Declaration

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Abstract

Private security provision is a career which has traditionally been associated with men and regarded as a masculine occupation. Since the adoption of the UN resolution 1325 there has been an effort to address issues of gender inequality in the security sectors, such as the police and the military, both internationally and in South Africa (Mobekk, 2010:278). However, gender statistics of the South Africa private security industry (PSI) suggest that the industry lags in terms of gender equality and the implementation of gender mainstreaming goals. While there exists a large body of literature pertaining to gender in public security institutions, such as the police and the military, there is little literature focusing on the PSI. In this study I aim to address this gap by exploring the gendered nature of employment in the South African PSI and the possible barriers women might face when working and seeking employment in this industry.

As little literature exists on this topic, semi-structured interviews with employees of four private security companies, operating in Cape Town, were my main source of data. A critical qualitative approach and research design was utilised to examine why these companies employ so few women. The interview guides were framed around two broad issues, namely the attitude towards and experiences of women working in the PSI and the barriers women face when working and seeking work in the PSI. Document analysis of several PSiRA annual reports, and observations were also utilised to achieve triangulation.

The conclusion reached is that employment, and employment practices, within the South African PSI are highly gendered, and women routinely experience exclusion and discrimination within this sector. The industry is characterised by a masculine organisational culture and a division of labour that reflects essentialist and patriarchal attitudes towards sex and gender, in terms of the abilities and capabilities of men and women. Consequences include that women struggle to find employment within the PSI, a high employer in a country beset with unemployment and poverty. Furthermore, women's minority status in this industry means that they are unlikely to shift problematic perceptions of women in security roles, despite the fact that academics suggest that they have a unique contribution to make in such roles (Lopes, 2011:15; Mobekk, 2010:281). Challenges to women's inclusion are the persisting patriarchal rhetoric at a societal level, sexual harassment in the workplace and the weak regulation of equal employment legislation within the industry. Therefore, until such a time that the industry

undergoes transformation in terms of occupational culture, and employment equality is prioritised, women are likely to remain underrepresented in the South African PSI.

Opsomming

Tradisioneel is private sekuriteitsvoorsiening geassosieer met mans en as 'n manlike beroep gesien. Sedert die aanneming van die VV resolusie 1325 was daar 'n daadwerklike poging gemaak om probleme rondom ongelykheid in die sekuriteits sektore soos byvoorbeeld die polisie en die militêr aan te spreek, beide in Suid Afrika en internasionaal (Mobekk, 2010: 278). Statistiek rondom geslagsgelykheid in die Privaat Sekuriteits Industrie wys daarop dat die industrie agterweë gebly het m.b.t. geslagsgelykheid en die implimentering van hoofstroom geslagsgelykheid doelwitte. Terwyl daar baie literatuur ten opsigte van geslagsgelykheid in openbare sekuriteits instansies soos byvoorbeeld die polisie en die militêr bestaan, is daar min inligting ten opsigte van die PSI. Ek beoog om hierdie tekortkoming aan te spreek in hierdie studie en om sodoende moontlike struikelblokke ten opsigte van geslagsdiskriminering te bepaal wat vroue mag ervaar wanneer hulle aansoek doen om 'n betrekking in hierdie industrie.

Aangesien min inligting bestaan oor hierdie onderwerp, was my hoofbron van inligting onderhoude met werknemers van vier privaat sekuriteits firmas in Kaapstad. 'n Kritiese kwalitatiewe aanslag en navorsingsontwerp is gebruik om te bepaal hoekom hierdie firmas so min vroue in diens neem. Die onderhoude is gestruktureer rondom twee hooftrekke, naamlik die houding teenoor en die ervarings van vroue in die PSI en die hindernisse wat vroue ervaar wanneer hulle werk of werk soek in die PSI. 'n Gedokumenteerde analise van verskeie PSiRA jaarverslae en waarnemings is ook gebruik om triangulering te bewerkstellig.

Die gevolgtrekking wat bereik is, is dat werkgewing en werkgewings praktyke binne die Suid Afrikaanse PSI hoogs geslagsdiskriminerend is en dat vroue gereeld uitsluiting en diskriminasie ervaar in hierdie sector. Die bedryf word gekarakteriseer deur 'n manlike-georiënteerde kultuur en 'n werksverdeling wat essentialistiese en patriargale houdings teenoor geslag in terme van werksverdeling met verwysing na die bevoegdheids/ bekwaamhede en vermoëns van mans en vroue. Die gevolge is dat vroue sukkel om betrekkinge te kry binne die PSI - 'n groot werkskepper in 'n land met soveel armoede en werkloosheid soos Suid Afrika. Die ondergeskikte status van vroue in die industrie beteken dat dit onwaarskynlik is dat hulle daarin sal slaag om persepsies aangaande vroue in die PSI sal verander, ten spyte van die feit

dat akademisie voorgestel het dat hulle 'n unieke bydrae kan maak in sulke rolle (Lopes, 2011: 15; Mobekk, 2010: 281). Uitdagings met betrekking tot vroue se insluiting, is die voortdurende patriargale retoriek, seksuele teistering in die werkplek en die swak regulering van gelykheid ten opsigte van diensneming in die industrie. Om hierdie redes sal vroue voortdurend ondervteenwoordig wees in die PSI totdat daar 'n daadwerklike transformasie ten opsigte van werkskultuur en gelykheid ten opsigte van indiensneming plaasvind.

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List of acronyms

SAPS	South Africa Police Service
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
PSiRA	Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority
GBV	Gender Based Violence
EEA	Employment Equity Act
PSI	Private Security Industry/ Privaat Sekuriteits Industrie
PSC	Private Security Company
PS	Private Security
UWO	United Women’s Organization
UN	United Nations
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against women
UWO	United Women’s Organisation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against women
DCS	Department of Correctional Services
MoU	Memorandum of understanding
SASSETA	Safety and Security Sector Education and Training Authority
NQF	National Qualification Framework
SATAWU	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union
ILO	International Labour Organisation
SANSEA	South African National Security Employers’ Association
SASA	Security Association of South Africa
COSAPS	Chamber of South African Private Security
SD6	Sectoral Determination: Private Security Sector
SA	South Africa

FMF	Fees Must Fall
SWOP	Society, Work and Development Institute
SOB	Security Officer's Board

Terminology

This study challenges the naturalisation of gender and sex as inherent. Rather, this study subscribes to the notion of gender as a performative, social construction (Butler, 2002:33). Therefore, I have chosen to use the commonly used adjectives male and female with woman/women and man/men, in order to respect the difference between the sex and gender of my participants.

Chapter 1: Introduction

Between March and April 2015 28 women, employed by Chuma Security, a Cape Town based private security company (PSC), were dismissed without notice (*NUMSA vs Chuma Security Services* 2016 (16) SA 845). They were dismissed for being women. Prior to the dismissal, their client, Metrorail complained about increased crime on their sites and surmised it was because 60% of the security guards deployed for their purpose were women. They believed these women to be ‘incapable’ of “[arresting] crime” (*NUMSA vs Chuma Security Services* 2016 5). While Chuma Security initially resisted, in 2015 they eventually complied with Metrorail’s demands and dismissed 28 of the women employed on Metrorail’s sites, citing fear of losing the contract as the reason for the dismissal. However, in complying with the client’s demands, Chuma Security discriminated against the women they dismissed on the basis of sex and gender contravening the Employment Equity Act (EEA) of 1991 (Government Gazette, 1998).

This case demonstrates the issue of employment inequality in the South African private security industry (PSI). Not only are women underrepresented in the PSI, with men occupying 80% of employment positions, but a gendered approach to employment and deployment is common within this sector (Tennant, 2017: 39; Private Security Sub-Sector Report, 2016:12). Furthermore, despite laws regarding equal employment practices, this case suggests that clients play a large role in determining who is deployed for their purposes. Given that this case indicates that patriarchal perceptions of men and women in protection roles remain common among clients and employers alike, this could pose a barrier for women seeking employment in this industry.

It is for this reason that it is important to glean insight into the gender profile of the South African private security industry (PSI). Furthermore, it is important to interrogate what challenges companies face in employing women, as well as what influence the client has over the employment of women in this sector.

1.1 Background

Historically security provision has been a traditionally male occupation (Eichler, 2015:56; Higate, 2011:6; Stiehm, 1982:374). The concept of protection itself has long been gendered and associated with masculine qualities such as strength, aggression and bravery (Eichler, 2015:56; Stiehm, 1982:374). However, the inclusion of women in public security institutions across the world, such as the police and the military, is slowly beginning to erode this norm (Higate, 2011:6; Heinecken, 2016:8; Weitz, 2015:166). While the number of women participating in security provision is still marginal when compared to men, UN Resolution 1325 has placed pressure on the international inclusion of more women within public security institutions such as the police and the military (Heinecken, 2016:8; Norville, 2011:2). However, unlike public security institutions like the police and military, there appears to be little political pressure or policy driving inclusion and gender equality in the PSI.

The demand and need for private security services in African countries has grown exponentially over the last few decades, nowhere more so than in South Africa. South Africa has the largest private security industry in Africa with over 8692 registered companies (Berg and Howell, 2017:4). In fact, private security guards outnumber policemen and policewomen by three to one (Berg and Howell, 2017:4). The sector is also very broad, encompassing a large number of roles ranging from security guards and bodyguards to private reaction services and venue control (Gumedze, 2008:77). As is the case with most security institutions, the PSI is a male-dominated sector (Potgieter, 2012:20).

As is the case with all security institutions, the equal inclusion and participation of women at all levels of security provision in the PSI is a necessity. Not only does the exclusion of women have implications for the broader struggles for gender equality in the workplace, but it also deprives women of employment opportunities in an entire sector. Furthermore, South Africa has one of the highest levels of femicide globally and women face increased levels of gender-based violence (GBV) daily. As women are affected differently than men in terms of their safety and security, it is vital that women participate in all peace and security contexts to ensure that ensuing strategies address their needs (Heinecken: 2015:247; Hudson, 2005:157; Kreft, 2017:154; UN Women, 2016:4).

Against this brief background, the aim of this study is to explore the gendered nature of employment in the South African PSI and the barriers women face in this industry. While there is an extensive body of literature pertaining to gender and gendered employment within public security institutions, such as the police and the military, there is little literature pertaining to the gendered nature of employment in the PSI (Carreiras, 2006; Hudson, 2005; Heinecken, 2016; Segal, 2006; Woodward & Duncanson, 2017). Some exceptions include Maya Eichler (2015) and Paul Higate (2011), and in the South African context Tessa Diphoorn (2015). This study addresses the dearth of research on this subject in South Africa.

1.2 Literature Review

UN resolution 1325 emphasized the importance of including women at all levels of peacekeeping operations, including decision-making, conflict prevention, resolution and management (Kreft, 2017:134; UN Women, 2016:4). Gender mainstreaming was suggested as an appropriate approach for women's inclusion and is defined as the process by which policies, goals and strategies are amended so as to ensure that men and women can influence, participate and benefit equally within the workplace (OSAGI, 2002:vi).

Underlying the principles of gender mainstreaming is the fact that not only do women have the right to equal opportunities, but that women need to be included out of necessity, particularly in the security sector. There are a number of instrumental reasons why more women are needed in this sector. Not only are men and women affected differently by insecurity, but for legal, cultural and psychological reasons it is often necessary for women to perform body- and house-searches with women (Diphoorn, 2013:210; Karim & Beardsly, 2013:471). Other reasons pertain to the unique contribution women can make in the provision of security services based on their position within society and how they have been socialised (Lopes, 2011:15). Others have found that even the token presence of women discourages misconduct (Lopes, 2011:15). This is important given that the South African private security industry has a reputation for employing unnecessary aggression and force (Mulaudzi, 2016).

However, there are many factors that make the inclusion of women in the security industry difficult. Literature suggests that the security sphere is characterised by a masculine organisational culture (Diphoorn, 2012:340; Eichler, 2016:160; Stachowitsch, 2015:29). According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005:834), men continue to dominate certain

sectors, such as security sectors, because hegemonic masculinity has played a large role in the structuring of bureaucracies, institutions and workplaces. Hegemonic masculinity refers to the masculine expectations associated with certain sectors, such as the PSI, that allow men to continue to dominate them (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005:832). Therefore, security sectors are highly gendered “having been created largely by and for men, [with] organizational systems [reflecting] masculine experience [and] masculine values” (Alvesson & Due Billing: 2009: 119).

Such masculine occupational cultures are often rooted in biological deterministic arguments which assert that men and women as binary opposites in terms of their behaviour, characteristics and capabilities. These are often assumed to be inherently linked to their biological sex (Morton et al, 2009:653). Thus men are assumed to be masculine and women feminine. Importantly, the qualities associated with men and women are considered to be complimentary but oppositional, with men possessing the qualities women lack and vice versa (Heilman, 2012:115). Such perceptions manifest in the social constructions of sex and gender roles which determine what is accepted and valued in men and women, in a certain context, regarding their masculinity and femininity (Ensor, 2018:5). This leads to men and women being classified as more suited to certain roles, both within the workplace and the home.

There are several implications regarding this gendered division of labour in security sectors. Firstly, it sustains essentialist notions that women are not capable of serving in certain positions simply because they are women (Hearn & Parkin, 2002:5). Secondly, it limits their opportunities for advancement into positions with better remuneration and prestige. Thirdly, it limits women’s access to employment opportunities (PSiRA, 2015:63; SASSETA, 2016:7). Finally, when women are confined to subordinate roles and remain in the minority they are unable to influence decision-making processes that affect their security. This is especially problematic since women are often the most vulnerable to crime and sexual violence.

The consequences of this gendered division of labour are twofold. Women are either confined to low-risk positions, rather than those where a gender perspective is necessary, or they are forced to assimilate into this masculine culture to be regarded as capable (Heineken, 2015:243; Kreft, 2017:135). Either way this impacts upon their ability to change this masculine organisational culture which marginalises women and encourages aggression (Carreiras, 2008:175). To do this they must reach a critical mass in order to change existing stereotypes that contribute to their marginalization (Kanter, 1977:956). Therefore, Kanter argues that if

enough tokens form coalitions, they can alter the culture upheld by the dominants (Kanter, 1977:966). If applied to the context of the PSI, Kanter's theory suggests that if enough women are employed in the industry, together they could change the value system.

However, while the inclusion of more women is important to shift gender binaries, this alone cannot transform gendered institutions (Olsson, 2000:12). This is owing to the fact that women often have to dilute their femininity and embrace hegemonic masculinities in order to succeed. Where they challenge this, they are often met with resistance from their men counterparts (Heinecken, 2016:17). Therefore, gender mainstreaming programmes must endeavour to increase the inclusion of women, as well as to transform organisational cultures and policies which produce inequality (Debusscher & Hulse, 2014:561).

Many of the challenges that perpetuate employment inequality within the PSI are deeply rooted in the patriarchal values that continue to shape the larger societal context in South Africa, which affect women's inclusion, exclusion and ability to shift gender norms (Wilen & Heinecken, 2018:6). Walby (1990:20) argues that these patriarchal values are reproduced and sustained by a number of structures within society including productive and reproductive labour, the state, violence and sexuality (Walby, 1990:20). At the core of this patriarchal system is a culture that continues to shape expectations regarding the types of roles men and women should play and their capabilities (Walby, 1990:20). Therefore, these patriarchal norms that characterize society also need to change if gender transformation is to be achieved (Wilen & Heinecken, 2018:8).

Given the deeply imbedded patriarchal gender roles, consumers often demand men security guards because of the perception that men are more able to provide protection, as can be seen in the case of *NUMSA v Chuma Security Services* (2016 (16) SA 845). Private security services are classified as "non-core" work along with other so-called support services such as "catering, cleaning [...] maintenance and gardening" (Bardill, 2008:2). Such services are often outsourced, which is the case at many universities and other large businesses (Bardill, 2008:2). This brings another dimension to the employment relationship creating a triangular employment relationship between the employer, the employee and the consumer (International Labor Organization, 2011:3). Thus, consumer demands can play a large role in determining who is employed in this industry. Often this further hinders the possibility of implementing gender-mainstreaming goals, because even companies that may be open to including more women will not pursue it, as they may lose the business.

However, it is important to recognise that the division of labour is not just based on gender, but the intersectionality between race, class and gender (Gumedze, 2008:75; Yuval-Davis, 2006:195). This is particularly important in South Africa given the history of inequality and marginalisation. According to Crenshaw (1990:1252) “the failure of feminism to interrogate race means that the resistance strategies of feminism will often replicate and reinforce the subordination of people of colour”. It is important to recognise that gender is not a homogenous category and that there are significant differences between how white and black women may experience their inclusion, exclusion and ability to shift gender norms in gendered institutions (hooks, 1984:2). Therefore, it is important to acknowledge how gender intersects with other social identities, to avoid silencing other marginalised groups in the effort to give a voice to women in this industry (Yuval-Davis, 2006:195).

In South Africa, as elsewhere, there is little research that reflects upon the role that gender plays in the PSI. According to Martin (2003:84) “as long as the interests and practices of [women] are ignored or distorted” a feminist perspective will be necessary to overcome “gender silences” (Hudson, 2005:156). Therefore, this research is rooted in a feminist theoretical perspective in order to give a voice to a group that has long been silenced in discourses and policy surrounding the PSI (Lazar, 2007:142).

1.3 Research problems and questions

Given the existing gender imbalance in the private security industry and the dearth of literature on this topic, in the context of South Africa, this study sets out to determine how issues of gender influence the employment of women in the PSI in South Africa.

Research question and objectives

The aim of this research is to determine why there are so few women in the private security industry and what influences their inclusion and exclusion. To answer this, the following research objectives are set

1. What is the structure and gender profile of the private security sector in South Africa?
2. What are the barriers to the employment of women in the private security sector and to what extent is this influenced by their tasks, existing stereotypes and gender norms?
3. What are the challenges that security companies face in employing women?

4. How does the tripartite employment relationship between employer, employee and client influence the employment of women in this sector?

1.3 Methodology

Given that very little literature exists on this issue, this study is an exploration of how two PSC's view the employment and deployment of women. A qualitative approach was adopted in order to obtain the views and experiences of individuals working in this sector (Merriam & Tisdell, 2009:5). I would classify my research project as a critical qualitative study, as I am focusing on how social factors influence the construction of reality (Merriam, 2002:4).

Primary data collection consisted of document analysis of seven editions the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSiRA) annual report in order to uncover the nature of this sector and the breakdown of its constitution by gender. Once a thorough understanding of the sector was obtained, a further 29 semi-structured interviews were conducted with employees of 4 private security companies operating in the Cape Town area. I was also able to observe interactions and activities taking place at the various company head offices and sites where I interviewed my participants. I decided to use these three data collection techniques in tandem to achieve triangulation, in order to gain a more holistic view of how issues of gender influence the employment of women in the South African PSI. A complete discussion of the methodology and research design utilized is presented in chapter four.

1.5 Value of the Study

As mentioned, there is very little literature that focuses on gender in the context of private security. As this study is one of the first of its kind, in this context, it explores and provides insight into the gendered nature of employment in the South African PSI as well as the barriers women face finding employment in this sector. Furthermore, this study addresses some of the social implications of women's exclusion from the PSI, as well as offering some recommendations for further research and reform within the industry

1.6 Chapter Outline

This first chapter has served as an introduction to provide an overview of the focus of this study, namely the how issues of gender influence women's employment in the South African PSI, as well as they key concepts and arguments surrounding this issue.

Chapter two is a review of the literature used in the analysis and interpretation of my findings. Chapter three presents an overview of the South African PSI, including a brief history and a discussion of the regulation in the different sectors in the industry.

Chapter four outlines the methodology and research design utilized in this study, including ethical considerations and limitations.

The findings are presented in chapter five, under four key themes the nature of security work, gendered division of labour, implications of women's exclusion and challenges to their inclusion.

Finally, chapter six constitutes my conclusion in which I reflect on my findings and make recommendations for further research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Despite the call to have more women employed in security sectors, women remain under-represented in the South African PSI (Kreft, 2017:135; PSiRA, 2016:12). In this chapter the theories that are relevant to understanding why women are excluded from this industry are presented. These theories include feminism, gender, patriarchy, occupational culture and gender mainstreaming.

2.1 Feminism, and gender

2.1.1 Feminism

At its core, “feminism is about the social transformation of [the] gender relations” that produce and sustain sexist oppression (Butler, 2004: 204). Historically women have been the group most disenfranchised by sexist oppression and while their voices and struggles continue to be ignored and undermined, a feminist perspective strives to give women a voice (hooks, 1984:43, Hudson, 2005:156, Martin 2003:84). Within social research it is necessary to interrogate gender- a seemingly innocent yet oppressive category- in order to understand certain gendered social practices and how they are normalised (Lazar, 2007:143).

With this being said, feminist research can be difficult to define as it is characterised by multiplicity and context-specific divergences. While acknowledging the multiplicity of feminist research Reinharz (1992: 251) suggests several principles of feminist research, of which I focus on three. First is the definition of feminism as a perspective rather than a method (Reinharz, 1992:251). There are several different feminist perspectives that cannot be equated and need to be distinguished, namely liberal feminism, radical feminism, Marxist feminism, standpoint feminism, post-structural feminism and black feminism.

Liberal feminism can be traced back to eighteenth and nineteenth century political liberalism which emphasised the importance of equality for all (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:23). This perspective posits that a number of prejudicial values and norms exist which deny women equal access to opportunities and resources (Johnson, 2005:114). The liberal feminist solution is to remove the barriers restricting women’s opportunities and participation (Johnson, 2005:114). Such barriers range from ‘glass ceilings’ that restrict women’s advancement in the workplace, to reproductive control (Johnson, 2005:114). The liberal feminist method for provoking change

challenges stereotypes and demands equal opportunities through the rewriting of curricula and legal codes which promote women's advancement in the workplace and lobbying for equal treatment (Johnson, 2005:114). Liberal feminism expects men to become enlightened as they learn the 'truth' about gender inequality and respond by allowing and encouraging women to participate equally in society (Johnson, 2005:115). Similarly, it expects women to strive for equality and to push against the barrier restricting them (Johnson, 2005:115).

However, there remain many barriers that restrict women from participating equally in society. Many women, particularly women of colour, remain underpaid, undervalued and unable to find employment in many sectors of society (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:23). This exposes one of the main critiques of liberal feminism. By simply focussing on the individual women's right to behave and participate equally, little attempt is made to critique and change patriarchal elements of society and social practices that perpetuate their subordination (Johnson, 2005:117). For example, instead of questioning the culture of violence and aggression which characterises most security sectors, liberal feminists simply assert women's right to participate in them (Johnson, 2005:117). Therefore, liberal feminism fails to challenge the underlying power dynamics embedded in the patriarchal system. Consequently, it is said that certain women, namely wealthy, heterosexual, white women, benefit from the liberal agenda and join men at the top of a patriarchal system that continues to oppress women of colour, the working class and LGBTQ individuals (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:23).

Unlike liberal feminism, radical feminism acknowledges the underlying male-centred patriarchal system, as well as how individuals experience this system (Johnson, 2005:120). According to this perspective, the consequences of patriarchy, such as GBV, oppression and the gendered division of labour in the home and the workplace, are viewed as more than "individual pathology" (Johnson, 2005:120). Rather, they are seen as rooted in the patriarchal system, which keeps women in their place and reinforces male privilege (Johnson, 2005:120). Therefore, radical feminism rejects the patriarchal system, claiming that women should aim to feminize existing institutions, or develop their own (Jonsson, 2008:21). Unlike liberal feminism, radical feminism does not aim for competition between men and women in the workplace to be equal on a 50/50 basis, rather it aims to make competition less central within society and institutions (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:23).

In terms of the method radical feminists propose to provoke change, they assert that socialisation and education alone will not engender major change (Johnson, 2005:123). Rather, radical feminism strives to emphasise that patriarchal societies situate men as dominant and women as subordinate, dividing them and assigning them roles that emphasise their perceived ‘difference’ (Johnson, 2005:124). Furthermore, radical feminism makes women, rather than men, the centre of this discussion, encouraging women to focus on themselves and other women (Johnson, 2005:124). In order to dismantle the system of patriarchy, you have address its roots, and that is at the core of radical feminism.

The Marxist feminist perspective asserts that women’s oppression is rooted in the “class dynamics” of capitalism rather than male domination and privilege (Johnson, 2005:126). According to Johnson (2005:125), this perspective views male privilege as a form of “class privilege,” with men in the position of power to control important resources, as the ruling class, while women’s “domestic labour” is exploited for the benefit of the ruling class. Women are viewed as “disposable labour” in the capitalist system, with low bargaining power in labour markets (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009: 23). Therefore, for Marxist feminists, gender inequality is rooted in economics (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:23). Economics is also at the core of the Marxist feminist solution for gender inequality (Johnson, 2005:126). This solution would entail closing the gap between the family and the workplace by including domestic labour, such as childcare, in the “paid labour force” thus acknowledging the domestic labour often performed by women (Johnson, 2005:126). Therefore, this solution would challenge the economic root of male privilege, reducing the opportunity for men to exploit women’s labour. Marxist feminists believe that this economic equality will foster a general social equality between men and women (Johnson, 2005:126).

While useful, Marxist feminism is critiqued for focussing excessively on economics, while overlooking the role that patriarchy plays in shaping the capitalist system (Johnson, 2005:126). Patriarchy and capitalism are viewed as separate but overlapping systems, yet there is little acknowledgement of the role that patriarchy plays in the Marxist feminist perspective (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:23; Johnson, 2005:126). Furthermore, this perspective does not explain how women continue to experience discrimination and oppression in societies that do not adhere to a capitalist system, such as China (Johnson, 2005:127).

Standpoint feminism was first theorised by Nancy Hartsock in the 1980’s and is rooted in

Marxist theory (Cockburn, 2015:4). Hartsock argued that the standpoint of the oppressed group, whether the oppression is rooted in sex or class, is only available through their struggle (Cockburn, 2015:4). At the core of this perspective is the belief that women's lives in patriarchal societies allow them a privileged perspective of male supremacy (Hekman, 1987:344). Therefore, theorists of standpoint feminism posit that women have a different worldview and different values, born from their experience of marginalisation and oppression, which gives them a superior epistemological and political position (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:29). Thus, according to this perspective, women will produce empirical research, and make political decisions, which place women at the forefront with the agency to create their own lives (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:29). It is hoped that this alternative 'truth', at the centre of standpoint feminism, will create a less repressive society (Hekman, 1987:356)

However, standpoint feminism is critiqued for assuming a homogenous 'standpoint' that all women possess (Cockburn, 2015:8; Harding 1986:163). Women are not a unitary group with unitary experiences. Women's experiences can be very different on the basis race, sexuality, ability or disability, religion and class, (Cockburn, 2015:8). Therefore, the notion of a singular women's 'standpoint' is problematic because it assumes that all women have the same experiences and perspectives. If the diversity among women is considered, it must be accepted that women might experience a myriad of realities and occupy a number of different standpoints (Hekman, 1987:349). Therefore, it is useful to consider how a multiplicity of feminist standpoints might emerge among women based on how they are perceived and treated within society and institutions, such as the workplace and the family, based on the intersection between their sex and other socioeconomic factors.

Post-structural feminism, sometimes referred to as "third wave feminism," is perceived to be different to most other feminist perspectives because it aims to dismantle the perception of women as "victims of oppression" (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:24). Post-structural feminists emphasise the instability and fragmentation of gender as a category. Gender is viewed as a fluid construct so gendered systems do not hold the same gravity within this perspective. Rather, post-structural feminists aim to dismantle the discourse surrounding gender (Weedon, 1987:113). Language is particularly important within this perspective and terms such as woman and man, female and male, are troubled because they are believed to signify a false unity (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2005:35). This perspective focuses on situation-specific contexts, rather than a universal struggle for equal rights (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:24; Weedon,

1987:113). Rather than assuming that gender and sex have the same meanings in all contexts, it is assumed that the meaning differs allowing for variance and divergence in how different individuals understand femininity and masculinity in different contexts (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:35).

One of the most common critiques of post structuralism is that it does not have clear political implications (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:40). Identifying common issues among groups of individuals and suggesting solutions is discouraged because it reinforces the artificial gendered categories. Therefore, the concern is that the emphasis this perspective places on the “discursive construction of reality” undermines issues of oppression and discrimination that women, for example, continue to experience despite the perspective’s insistence that ‘women’ as a category is artificial (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:39-40). I will come back to this concept in the next section.

Black feminism challenges the notion that sex discrimination, and the marginalisation of women, is the only form of oppression that women face (Neville and Hamer, 2001:437). Feminist theory has a long legacy of exclusion (Davis, 2011:45). According to hooks (1984:8) it has long been co-opted to serve the interests of liberal white women, and in turn, has silenced the voices of black women. This has happened partially through the categorisation of all women into one category, with the expectation that a struggle for equality would reap equal benefits for all. A consequence of this rhetoric is that when women are homogenised into one category, “women of colour are less likely to have their needs met than women who are racially privileged” (Crenshaw, 1989:1250). For example, South Africa’s transition to democracy in 1994 saw black women finally accepted as ‘full citizens,’ yet black women in South Africa continue to face discrimination on both the basis of their race and their gender (Segalo, 2015:72). While women and black people are superficially considered to be fully accepted within society, many spaces within society remain “unwelcoming and unaccommodating” for people from certain groups, especially women of colour (Segalo, 2015:73).

Therefore, when considering the impact of gender discrimination on society it is important to acknowledge that gender is not the only social factor that influences an individual’s experience of society. White men hold more privilege and power in society than black men, not because it is inherent to their gender or race, but because historically black men have been discriminated against and oppressed on the basis of their race, as women have been on the basis of their sex.

This legacy continues to play a role in the structuring of many societal discourses today. Crenshaw (1989:1242) coined the term ‘intersectionality,’ to describe this phenomenon. Intersectionality posits that discrimination does not occur on a single axis, but rather that different social factors, and the discrimination associated with them, intersect to produce an individual’s experience of the various institutions within societies (Crenshaw, 1989:1244; Beringola, 2017:85). For example, women of color will likely experience “intersecting patterns of racism [,] sexism” and of poverty (Crenshaw, 1989:1244).

Many academics pronounce intersectionality as being essential to feminist theory because it forces the acknowledgement of the differences between individuals who are categorised by social factors, such as gender, race and class (Davis, 2011:43). Such social factors have certain ‘characteristics’ in common because they are often ‘naturalised’ based on the perception that they are biologically based and linked to intelligence, behaviour and other important characteristics (Yuval-Davis, 2006:199). Such perceptions contribute to the misconception that social factors, such as race and gender, determine who a person is or will be. This is important because these social factors do not constitute homogenous categories and perceiving them as such ignores the impact that intersecting social factors have on how individuals experience inclusion, exclusion and the ability to shift norms (hooks, 1984:2). For example, according to Crenshaw (1989:1244), the experiences of women of colour are often influenced by “intersecting patterns of racism and sexism”, which are often not represented “within the discourses of either feminism or antiracism” (Crenshaw, 1989:1244).

Despite the value of intersectionality, a common critique, highlighted by Bilge (2013:406), is that intersectionality is often used as a ‘buzzword’ by individuals, institutions and movements attempting to ‘rebrand’ to improve their image and public relations. Such attempts are not benign as they allow individuals, institutions and movements to invoke intersectionality theory without addressing their structures and practices which reproduce inequality (Bilge, 2013:406). Such actions dilute, the true purpose of intersectionality, and its political potential (Bilge, 2013:405). Bilge’s (2013:405) critique of intersectionality makes me question my use of the theory in my research, since the main focus of this research is gender and not race. It is not my intention to engage anecdotally with this theory, however, I feel that it is important to acknowledge the role that intersectionality might play in shaping the experiences and perspective of my participants.

Based on the preceding discussion it is clear that there are profound differences between the various feminist's perspectives. However, while the divergences within the feminist discourse are important in highlighting the different contexts in which feminism operates "one shared tenet underlying feminist research is that women's lives are important [and] are worth examining as individuals and as people whose experiences are interwoven with other women" (Reinharz & Davidman, 1992:241). To this end, Reinharz's and Davidman (1992:241) second principle states that feminist research should aim to create social change. Feminist researchers should not simply place women in their research to avoid appearing sexist but rather aim to contribute to women's welfare and everyday experiences through knowledge production, raising awareness, policy making" (Reinharz, 1992:247-251). Embedded in this is the aim to enact social change through research that identifies and represents the diversity within 'women' as a social category. This begins with producing research that emphasizes how other social factors influence experiences of gender, oppression and inequality and how they complicate and challenge an individual's ability to mobilise against such forces (hooks, 1984:47).

Ultimately I have chosen not to align this research with a particular feminist perspective but rather to draw on all of the perspectives where relevant, as a feminist theoretical framework should acknowledge that "gendered assumptions and hegemonic power relations are [...] produced, sustained, negotiated and challenged in different contexts" (Lazar, 2007:142). The different perspectives of feminism are the product of different contexts that inform the intricacies of feminism and have produced different responses with aims that target sexist oppression. As long as 'gendered' silences exist, feminism is necessary to overcome them (Martin, 2003:84). Within this context, a feminist theoretical framework, which draws on multiple feminist perspectives, is the most effective in giving a voice to women as a group who have been silenced in discourse and policy surrounding the private security industry.

2.1.2 Sex and Gender

Given the feminist nature of this research, it is important to define how the concepts of sex and gender are used in this study for conceptual clarity. The distinction between sex and gender has been key in feminist discourse since the 1970's (Potgieter, 2012:13). According to Freedman (2001:13), feminists started to question the biological arguments that often underlie women's exclusion. This has resulted, in part, in the separation of "physiological sex and social gender" (Freedman, 2001:13). While an individual's assigned sex is referred to as 'female' or

‘male’, the terms ‘man’ and ‘woman’ denote an individual’s gender. Sex refers to the genitals and secondary sexual organs that a person is born with. Gender, on the other hand, is understood to be the “culturally constructed characteristics [...] abilities and expectations about how women and men should behave in society” (African Union, 2009).

Masculinity and femininity are the terms used to describe attributes often linked to gender. For example, strength, bravery, aggression and leadership are often associated with masculinity and men, while gentleness, empathy, sensitivity and loyalty are most often associated with femininity and women (Gerzema & D’Antonio, 2013:9). In many contexts, masculinities and femininities represent power relations, with masculinities occupying a higher position in the gender hierarchy particularly in western societies (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004: 83). According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005:832-838) masculinity and femininity are not unitary or static, as there is a hierarchy of multiple masculinities and femininities that are subject to change (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005:832). Hegemonic masculinity is placed at the top of this hierarchy (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005:832). Hegemonic masculinity is not necessarily posited as the ‘norm,’ in fact, statistically very few individuals attain this. However, it symbolises the most ‘traditionally male’ characteristics, such as “authority, physical toughness, strength, heterosexuality and paid work” (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004; 83). Not only does hegemonic masculinity legitimise the subordination of women, it also positions other masculinities in relation to itself (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005:832).

Schippers (2007:95) proposes that ‘hegemonic femininity’ exists alongside hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic femininity is characterised by conventionally ‘feminine’ qualities which complement, and are subordinate to hegemonic masculinity (Schippers, 2007:95). Thus, hegemonic femininity reinforces hegemonic masculinity and vice versa, and conversely, Therefore, femininities which challenge hegemonic masculinity are termed “pariah femininities” because they are viewed as contaminating rather than inferior (Schippers, 2007:95). Where women are often considered to be weak and, therefore, inadequate for certain jobs, women who perform “pariah femininities” are often socially policed in a different way.

For example, in Diphooorn’s (2015:340) ethnography of a PSC in Durban the few women who had worked in the company were described as being lesbian and ‘unfeminine’. Diphooorn’s (2012:340) participants questioned if these employees were ‘real’ women because they displayed ‘masculine’ characteristics such as strength and aggression. This example highlights

resistance to individuals who challenge gender norms. While these women proved themselves to be competent and capable in the security role, they were still not accepted because they were not men. Important to note, is that women also perpetuate gender norms and cast doubt on women's capability in the male dominated industries. Sion (2009:483), found, in her work with women peacekeepers in Bosnia and Kosovo, that many of the women she interviewed believed that women should be in the minority security sectors. One woman stated, "I don't mind being the only woman, but women shouldn't be the majority, it is not good." (Sion, 2009:438). Therefore, both men and women may perpetuate hegemonic masculine ideals.

Likewise, it is not only women who are subordinated by dominant forms of masculinity. Masculinity is not a unitary concept, therefore, while hegemonic masculinity might be considered to be the most "honoured way of being a man," it is in no way a 'norm' because it is enacted by a minority of men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005:832). Consequently, other subordinate forms of masculinity, such as homosexual and black masculinities, are subjected to subordination and exploitative control by hegemonic masculinities (Hinojosa, 2010:180). There are also complicit masculinities which are not based on the enactment of dominance but do not challenge dominant forms of masculinities. Therefore, individuals who enact these different forms of masculinity experience different benefits within societies which privilege men and masculinity (Hinojosa, 2010:180). This distinction is important because homogenising masculinity, and assuming that all men benefit equally from male privilege, silences the struggles of men who experience oppression on the basis of race or sexuality (Hinojosa, 2010:180; hooks, 1984:15).

While many people believe that sex and gender are coextensive, for example, human males as inherently masculine and human females as inherently feminine. This is not always the case. For the purpose of this study, I subscribe to the notion that every characteristic associated with being a man can be enacted by a woman and vice versa (Davies, 2003:8). Furthermore, I take the stance of the many gender theorists who perceive gender as performative and fluid, rather than fixed and can therefore change, depending on how an individual performs it (Butler, 2002:33; Higate & Henry, 2004:483; Joachim & Schneiker, 2012:497). However, some disagree with this distinction between sex and gender, as indicated by the existence of varying theories on gender acquisition (Gorman 1992; Mikkola, 2017; Rogers, 2010: 11). I would argue that it is equally important to understand how others might perceive sex and gender differently,

and the implications of this in terms of the barriers that exclude women from employment in certain industries such as the PSI.

Theories of gender

Theories of gender acquisition quite literally theorise the factors that contribute to an individual's acquisition of gender. For the purpose of this study, I am going to focus on the three theories of gender acquisition most relevant to this study, namely biological determinism, sex role socialisation and the post-structuralist feminist perspective.

Biological determinism essentializes gender by attributing it to a “stable, immutable, and inherent cause” namely sex (Morton et al, 2009:653). Men and women are perceived as binary opposites and their behaviour and characteristics linked to particular sexual organs and hormones. Moreover, biological determinism suggests there are essential differences between men and women that are determined by their biological sex. For example, men are assumed to be stronger and more courageous, while women are considered to be gentle and more nurturing. Not only does this theory naturalise the social inequality that exists between men and women, it proposes that adherence to these differences need to be accepted as a matter of necessity for social functioning (Connell, 1978:38). Consequently, any variation from the expected norm is considered to be ‘pathological’ and unnatural (Connell, 1978:38).

Biological determinism is overly reductionist, attributing all elements of gender to sex, while ignoring the many complexities within the concept of gender. It uses the so-called ‘biological’ differences between the sexes to justify men and women’s unequal participation in society (Bem, 1993:6). It does not consider the many ways in which gender is socially constructed, such as through discourse. Biological determinism, has come under much critique because it naturalises and legitimises inequality between men and women (Morton et al, 2009:654). Furthermore, according to Rogers (2010:8) there is often a distortion of evidence to support “ideological [positions] [which] [...] hold women in second place in society”. Even if it were to be proven that perceived sex differences are biological, it would not explain why these characteristics often appear in individuals of the opposite sex (Bem, 1993:38).

In the late 1960's, liberal feminist influence on academia became noticeable, with the increase of ‘sex role’ and ‘sex difference’ research (Connell, 1987:33). ‘Sex roles’ are the “socially

constructed norms that determine what is expected, permitted and/or valued in women, girls, men and boys in a given context”, as well as typical representations of masculinity and femininity (Ensor, 2018:5). Gender stereotypes also play a large role in perpetuating such sex roles. Common conceptions about the qualities, capabilities and behaviour associated with men and women are often oppositional. Men are perceived to possess qualities and capabilities that women lack and vice versa (Heilman, 2012:115). According to Heilman (2012:115), such ideologies exist within many societies, and are largely consistent across a number of contexts and cultures. This consistency further contributes to the false validity of such claims. According to Macrae et al (1994:37) stereotypes constitute a short cut that allow people to make quick impressions based on perceivable, external factors, such as race, ability or disability. Therefore, stereotypes can automatically exert influence an individual’s perceptions about other people, often unconsciously (Heilman, 2012:115). Thus, men and women can be advantaged or disadvantaged in how they are viewed because of the stereotypes associated with their sex (Heilman, 2012:115). This can have significant consequences in a range of different contexts such as the workplace.

In contrast with biological determinism, the sex role socialisation theory proposes that individuals internalise their gender during childhood based on the influence of the significant adults in their lives, as well as their societal context, including peers, the media and religious institutions (Davies, 2003:5). Therefore, this theory proposes that individuals are not born ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine,’ but rather become ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’ based on their socialisation. Thus, according to this theory, a biologically ‘male’ individual may have ‘feminine’ qualities and a biologically ‘female’ individual may have ‘masculine’ qualities (Davies, 2003:5). However, while sex and gender are not naturally coexistent, it is the social norm for one’s sex and gender to correspond. Therefore, individuals who transcend this norm may experience social pressure from peers, family and other societal institutions. This social policing might take the form of ridiculing when individuals exhibit behaviour or characteristics that are not traditionally associated with their sex (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009: 440).

However, sex role socialisation fails to account for, or criticise, the “mechanisms of oppression” used to reinforce sexism and essentialist gender categories (Alcoff, 1988: 415; Connell, 1987:34). While this theory acknowledges the role society- among other factors- plays in shaping an individual’s gender, it does not acknowledge that these gender roles are problematic, as they often reinforce the subordination of women as “passive, ignorant, docile,

emotional helpmeets for men” (Mikkola, 2017). Therefore, the sex role socialisation theory does not adequately address the issue of power and inequality within gender relations (Freedman, 2001:24).

The post-structural feminist perspective holds that gender is rooted in discourse. It is inspired by the French post-structuralist thinkers such as Lacan, Derrida and Foucault, as well as feminist theorists such as Hekman and Butler (Deveaux, 1994:224; Alcoff, 1988:415). They argue that the construction of gender, and therefore the sexism and misogyny that surround it, are fundamentally reinforced by attempts to “define women, characterise women, or speak for women, even though allowing for a range of differences within gender” (Alcoff, 1988:407). Therefore, a main aim of this perspective is to ‘deconstruct’ and ‘de-essentialize’ the notion of gender itself (Alcoff, 1988:406). It is suggested that replacing gender with a “plurality of difference” will result in the gender rhetoric losing dominance within society, eliminating inequality, sexism and misogyny (Alcoff, 1988:407).

A key figure in post-structural feminism, Butler (1999:174), regards gender to be “a fantasy inscribed on the surface of bodies,” socially constructed and performative (Butler, 1999:174). Butler (2002:180) argues that gender is sustained through social performances on both individual and societal levels. Butler (2002:177) defines the performances of gender as a “dramatic [constructions] of meaning”. By abiding by the socially acceptable performances of gender, i.e. men as ‘masculine’ and women as ‘feminine’, individuals become part of a collective agreement to produce and sustain gender as a cultural fiction (Butler, 2002:180). The collective performance of gender binaries obscures the performativity of gender, constructing it as an irrefutable truth. Thus, the construction of gender “compels our belief in its necessity and naturalness” (Butler, 2002: 178). However, adherence to such a belief is not benign as the social punishment associated with refusing to conform or adhere to such norm can be severe (Butler, 2002:178). A prime example would be the harassment many transgender individuals experience in many societies simply because their gender does not “represent the shape of [their] genitals” (Schilt & Westbrook, 2009: 440). In the context of this study, adherence to gender norms could influence the perception that women are ill-suited to security work because they are inherently feminine, whereas an acceptance that gender is fluid and performative could shift such perceptions in this and other male-dominated sectors.

While the post-structuralist approach to gender and Butler’s theory of performativity is perhaps

the most applicable to this study, a key tenet of this approach is the conceptualisation of the category of ‘women’ as fiction and focusing feminist efforts toward dismantling it. However, while it is necessary for this study to trouble the construction and assumption of ‘women’ as a stable and homogenous category, I also need to acknowledge that, owing to the use of such categories in many institutions, women are discriminated against differently within the PSI. According to Martin (1983: 16-17), “we cannot afford to refuse to take a [...] stance, that pins us to our sex, for the sake of abstract theoretical correctness.” Therefore, in the context of my study, the discrimination against women in the private security industry, needs to consider the categories of ‘women’ and ‘men’.

Gender in the Security Context:

Socially constructed, hierarchical gender norms are particularly prevalent in security contexts (Eichler, 2016:160). According to Eichler (2016:160) an analysis of gender in security contexts is vital because gender norms associated with security provision and protection legitimize unequal and gendered power relations.

Security provision has long been associated with men rather than women (Stachowitsch, 2013:77). Historically, men have dominated positions in state security institutions, such as the police and the military. These institutions are often ascribed to having a hypermasculine culture, associated with qualities such as aggression, violence and the denigration of women (Potgieter, 2012:36; Sjoberg 2013, 149). The doubt regarding women’s capacity to contribute meaningfully in security, and their exclusion security roles, relates to the role that hegemonic masculinity has played in the structuring of bureaucracies, institutions and workplaces (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005:834). According to Stiehm (1982:374), in constructing gendered protection roles, society has effectively “forbidden women to act as either defenders or as protectors” (Eichler, 2015:60). Therefore, work practices, norms and the institutional culture of security sectors, such as the PSI, often reflect “masculine values” (Alvesson & Due Billing: 2009: 119).

Masculinity is embedded in these organisations not only through norms and values, but in the uniforms, insignias and behaviour (Diphorn, 2015:364). The PSI mimics the masculine nature of the military and police to reflect so-called ‘masculine’ qualities such as toughness and force, because this is associated with protection and security (Diphorn, 2015:346). This has larger implications for the gendered division of labour in security institutions, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

An immediate concern regarding the highly masculinised identity of the PSI is that it perpetuates the “male-female dichotomy” between the protection/protectors in which men are conceptualised as the protectors and women as the protected (Eichler, 2015: 57). Historically, the protection of ‘women and children’ has been central to war discourse (Eichler, 2015:55). Thus the protector has become associated with stereotypically masculine traits such as strength and violence and the protected with feminine characteristics such as dependency, passivity and vulnerability (Peterson, 1992:54; Wadley, 2010:49). The role of the protector is often associated with gun use. Like protection, gun carrying is often associated with masculinity and manhood (Abrahams et al, 2010:586). According to Stroud (2012:217) gun use is often viewed as central to being a good man and a good protector of one’s family. However, in privileging men in positions as the protector and gun carrier, it places them in a position of power on behalf of women and children who are viewed as incapable of self-protection and gun carrying (Carlson, 2015:389).

The fact that men dominate employment in the PSI is generally not challenged because society continues to accept men as protectors while grouping *adult* women into the same category as children, the *protected*. Such a categorisation has implications for women’s agency in society as it classifies women as dependents of men’s protection (Eichler, 2015:56; Stiehm, 1982:374). It also constructs men as being solely suited for security provision, as it is a dangerous occupation. Society is content to watch men lose their lives fighting wars and providing protection, but the concept of women as those being protected is deeply ingrained in the consciousness of many societies worldwide, thus the idea of women losing their lives in security provision is often viewed as being morally wrong (Farrell, 1993:282; Millar, 2017: 552). Feminist academics indicate that the normalisation of such gender roles serves to justify women’s gender subordination as well as to socially endorse the endangerment of men’s lives over women’s (Bunyan 1990; Eichler, 2015:56; Sjoberg, 2013:149; Stiehm, 1982:374). This can be directly related to the way in which the discourse surrounding sacrifice is gendered in many societies. Historically, men’s sacrifices have been viewed as positive and necessary, women’s sacrifice have been viewed as negative and taboo (Baggiarini, 2015:38).

Within this narrative, women are deemed to be needing of protection, but have little control over this protection, thereby paying for their ‘protection’ with their political and personal autonomy. This is particularly problematic where the protector becomes the threat (Stiehm, 1982:373). In such situations protectors may exploit, manipulate or harm those they are tasked

to protect in (Stiehm, 1982:373). For example, women suffer differently in times of war than men do. The use of rape as a tool of war disproportionately impacts on women and results in a myriad of implications, including psychological effects, sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies (Chinkin & Kaldor, 2013:168; Meger, 2010:119). Therefore, the gendered relationship between protector and protected is asymmetric because it creates unequal power relations between men and women (Stiehm, 1982:374).

While these gendered notions of protection are still pervasive in many societies, women's increased inclusion and participation in public security institutions, such as the police and the military, challenges the historically entrenched link between masculinity and security provision. For example, in South Africa, gender integration has been made a priority for the SANDF, with aims to raise the recruitment of women to 40% (Heinecken, 2016:8). No such claims can be made for the PSI in South Africa, which does not appear to be held to any gender equality objectives (Tennant, 2017:3). However, even those security institutions making the effort to include more women need to do so at all levels of security provision. Selectively incorporating women in particular roles, such as supportive roles rather than in combat, perpetuates the gendered dichotomy between men and women in security institutions (Eichler, 2016:161). According to Stachowitsch (201:75) this constitutes a remasculinization in which patriarchal norms are reinforced through the construction of gender boundaries that further reinforce masculine dominance (Eichler, 2016:161). Therefore, it is not enough for institutions to claim that the increased recruitment of women will bring about change, without addressing the underlying power dynamic embodied in patriarchy.

2.2 Patriarchy

In the feminist context the term patriarchy refers to “the manifestation of male dominance over women” (Mies et al, 1987:37; Sultana, 2011:3). Walby (1990:20) defines patriarchy as “a system of social structures and the practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women.” Patriarchal culture is often deeply embedded in society and perpetuates the notion that men and women are inherently different and that categorising them as such is the only alternative to ‘chaos’ (Johnson, 2005:40). The patriarchal system posits that men are strong while women and children are weak and in need of men's protection. This idea prevails despite the fact that women perform taxing physical labour in many areas of work and that women's endurance, both physical and emotional, is often far greater than men (Johnson, 2005:40).

Therefore, to live and develop in a patriarchal culture is to learn what is expected of men and women and how to conform to and perpetuate this norm. These expectations include stereotypical assumptions that men are the protectors and that women the carers (Johnson, 2005:40).

According to Johnson (2005:28), if the symbols and structures that make up patriarchy are not acknowledged and understood, the patriarchal system will remain unchanged and unchallenged. This is because these structures and symbols have a powerful impact on the structure of social life, as they refer to the ways in which privilege and oppression are organised in social relationships through an unequal distribution of power, opportunities and resources (Johnson, 2005:41). Walby (1990:20) maintains that there are six structures which reinforce patriarchy including paid work, household production, sexuality, violence and the state. Walby's (1990:20) analysis of patriarchy is useful in terms of this research, because it explains patriarchy as a system of structures and institutions (Sultana, 2011:2-3). This is important because patriarchy cannot survive without the support of all the elements of its environment. It also rejects the notion that all men dominate all women and that all women are powerless victims of the system, deprived of rights, resources and authority (Sultana, 2011:3). It is not only men who support and perpetuate this system, women can and do support patriarchy too (Johnson, 2009:43). However, using patriarchy as a lens to understand gender inequality is not without its critics.

The first critique cautions against perceiving patriarchy as unitary, existing across time and place which is both totalising and essentialist (Wilson, 2000:1495). This homogenises different cultures and societies into one concept of male domination and female subordination, which is not helpful, as it does not allow for variances owing to culture, language and context. Secondly, patriarchy is critiqued for portraying women as powerless and without the agency to mobilise. While patriarchy does argue that men hold the bulk of power, in many societies, it does not imply that women are powerless and unable to mobilise change (Wilson, 2000:1497). Finally, Pollert (1996:645) argues that patriarchy is an arbitrary attempt to categorise gender inequality and gendered power relations into specific structures of patriarchy because it is not necessarily an exhaustive list of the structures which reproduce inequality. Rather, Pollert (1996:646) suggests that gender relations can only be analysed through lived experience.

While this critique holds some merit, using lived experience as the unit of analysis for gender relations cannot interrogate the more complex power relations that exist within various

institutions in some societies (Gottfried, 1998:455). Furthermore, despite the various critiques of patriarchy, it remains one of the only theories that attempts to explain the inequality that exists between men and women in most societies (Johnson, 2005:41). Therefore, I engage with some of Walby's dimensions of patriarchy, including the state, sexuality, violence, household production and paid work, to illustrate that patriarchy continues to play a role in perpetuating the domination of men and the subordination of women in some societies.

2.2.1 The state

According to Walby (1990:150), the state, including, the judiciary, sub-central government and parliamentary assemblies, is often defined "as the body which the monopoly over legitimate coercion in a given territory, or in terms of its function, for instance, that body which maintains social cohesion is a class society" (Walby, 1990:150). The problem with this definition is the assertion that the state is only responsible for mediation between the social classes, while disregarding gender and race (Walby, 1990:150). According to Walby (1990:150) this is short-sighted, given that the structure of the state is often gendered and its actions produce "gender differentiated effects" (Walby, 1990:150). Consequently, Erika (1986:56) argues that the state holds a huge amount of power and historically, these positions of power have usually been held by men.

In the past it was much simpler to identify the patriarchal structure of the state. Some examples included women's inability to vote, women's classification as the 'property' of their husbands, the criminalisation of fertility control and trivialisation of violence against women (Walby, 151). Furthermore, many countries had legislation preventing or limiting women's participation in certain industries, such as law, and limited women's participation in other industries (Hill,1979:260). These laws often restricted women's working hours and introduced maximum weight laws (Hill,1979:260). While these laws were introduced as 'protective laws' to prevent women's exploitation, it could be argued that these laws ensured that women did not compete with men for jobs (Hill,1979:260). For example, such laws often prohibited women from working overtime, which precluded them from promotions (Hill, 1979:260).

Some transformation has taken place, partly driven by pressure from civil society, but largely owing to pressure from an international level, such as the United Nations (UN) and The Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Feminist Alternatives, 2011: xi). States have been pressurized to implement legislation that

facilitates inclusion, to commit to opening up positions in previously male-dominated state institutions such as the military and to meet certain gender targets (Kreft, 2017:135). Legislation, EEA of 1998, exists, to prohibit discrimination in the workplace (Government Gazette, 1998). While today there is much policy to safeguard society against discrimination and bias, this does not mean that it no longer takes place. Therefore, discrimination is now often considered to be ‘unconscious’, that is based on gender norms and stereotypes (Heilman, 2012:115).

However, because discrimination is less overt means that many individuals truly believe that gender inequality no longer exists. Yet, men still dominate the majority of positions of power in state institutions. For example, while more women now hold management positions, they usually hold lower level management positions and, are primarily responsible for managing women (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:4). Therefore, while there has been some change, many of the issues that were once more overt, still exist. Furthermore, some forms of birth control, such as abortion, are still illegal in many countries (Erika, 1986:54). Furthermore, in most societies women are expected to take their husbands name when they marry and there is a dilution of intervention with regards to violence against women by men (Erika, 1986:54). Therefore, it is important to point out the ways in which many state actions and policies remain gendered, because there are very real consequences for women in a number of circumstances including those outlined above (Hudson, 2005:17).

2.2.2 Sexuality

Sexuality is at the core of patriarchy because heterosexuality is key to the ‘domination’ of women by men (Johnson, 2005:148; Walby, 1990:11). In many societies womanhood and manhood are defined according to heterosexual feelings, behaviour and relationships. Therefore, women and men are the major, and often unconscious, actors and promoters of heterosexuality (Johnson, 2005:150). By allowing this heterosexual rhetoric to go unquestioned, it becomes naturalised and any criticism of, or deviation from this norm, is viewed as a violation of nature (Johnson, 2005:150). It is for this reason that Mackinnon (1989:133) describes patriarchal heterosexuality as the “linchpin of gender inequality.”

It is undeniable that there has been a liberalisation in the patriarchal stance towards sexuality (Fjaer et al, 2015:961; Walby,1990:122). In the past, women who engaged in premarital sex were social pariahs, particularly if it resulted in a child. While premarital sex is now more

acceptable for women in many societies, the legacies of these social sanctions are still present, as there are still gendered expectations of appropriate sexual behaviour (Crawford & Popp, 2003:13). For example, women who have multiple sexual partners are still labelled as ‘sluts’ while often men exhibiting the same behaviour are congratulated (Holland et al, 1998:173). Thus heterosexuality is an important structure of patriarchy because it designates characteristics and behaviour that are appropriate for women versus men (Walby, 1990:121). According to Butler (2004:126) “heterosexual dualism” needs to be disrupted if gender inequality and patriarchy are to be challenged and addressed, particularly where this results in discrimination, sexual harassment and violence against women (Butler, 2004:126).

Sexual harassment is a consequence of persisting sexist attitudes perpetuated by individuals or work place culture (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:132). Johnson (2016:23) suggests that sexual harassment in the workplace has historically affected women more than men, with 50% of women experiencing some form of sexual harassment throughout their careers (Diekmann et al, 2013:615). While it appears that more men are experiencing sexual harassment today than in the past, the number of complaints filed by women still appears to be higher (Johnson, 2016:23). There are several forms that sexual harassment may take, from subtle forms, such as normalising sexual and demeaning language and verbal abuse, to more overt forms such as physical and sexual assault (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:133). Sexual harassment remains a serious problem for women in many workplaces and industries but no more so than those industries which are male-dominated. For example, women serving in the SANDF continue to face sexual harassment and abuse which remains largely underreported (Heinecken, 2016:4). Mclaughlin et al (2012:3), describe sexual harassment as a consequence of “masculine overcompensation”, which is described as men’s enactment of extreme forms of masculinity when their position is threatened. Some men view the inclusion of women in ‘male dominated’ industries and positions as a threat to the gender hierarchy (Mclaughlin et al, 2012:2). Therefore, sexual harassment may be used as a tool “to police appropriate ways of “doing gender” in the workplace and to penalize gender nonconformity” (Mclaughlin et al, 2012:2).

Sexual harassment has a number of consequences for victims in the workplace. Victims might feel degraded, confused or ashamed following an incident of sexual harassment (Retief, 2000:46). They may also feel responsible, as though their behaviour invited the harassment (Garrett, 2011:16; Retief, 2000:46). According to Diekmann et al (2013:615), where channels are available to report sexual harassment, reporting often does not improve the situation and

often results in retaliation and greater psychological trauma for the victim. Therefore, many victims are forced to resign rather than report the harasser (Retief, 2000:47). The consequences of this are huge. In terms of financial stability, individuals who resign often struggle to find other positions, or to obtain good references from their previous employer (Prekel, 1993:6). In terms of career trajectory, it might have consequences for “long-term job prospects” as opportunities, such as promotions and seniority, are often linked to length of service. Where women are the victims of sexual harassment, their choice to resign rather than report the harassment often confirms the stereotype of women as unreliable workers (Retief, 2000:47). Given that the majority of victims of sexual harassment are women, this poses yet another barrier to women’s equal participation and inclusion in the labour force.

2.2.3 Violence

Walby (1990:128) and Johnson (2005:29) argue that violence against women is part of the patriarchal social structure. Therefore, it is important to question what kind of society would sanction such widespread violence. Gender based violence can manifest in several forms. Physical violence involves the use or threat of physical harm, including choking, punching, slapping, kicking, striking or restraint (ADAPT: 2). Physical violence may result in femicide, defined as the murder of a woman by an intimate man partner (CSV, 2016:5). Emotional violence includes objectification, insults, intimidation, humiliation, isolation and restriction of social mobility (ADAPT: 2). Sexual violence involves unwanted sexual touching, forced involvement in humiliating sexual activities and rape (ADAPT: 2). Economic violence entails the use of money to undermine a woman, including destroying property, withholding funds and medical aid and questioning financial decisions. Finally, spiritual violence entails the use of a woman’s faith to control or prevent escape from the abusive relationship (ADAPT: 2). Domestic violence is a particularly pressing issue that women face because it is normalised, to a large degree, in society.

Allowing such violence to occur unquestioned is to be a passive accomplice, yet there are individuals who openly condone violence against women. To understand this one needs to see that violence against women has become normalised, in many ways, as a tool of male control and domination (Johnson, 2005:29). Under patriarchy, control and dominance are valued highly in men, while women are primarily valued according to their ability to meet their needs and desires (Johnson, 2005:48). All men keep all women in a state of fear through the constant

process of intimidation by which women are made to fear the violence they may experience should they breach the status quo (Johnson 2005:49). Therefore, violence against women is often perceived as a “[performance] of masculinity” and can “reaffirm heteronormativity” and domination in situations in which men feel as though they have lost control (Hendricks, 2011:9). However, while men are most often the perpetrators of GBV any person, no matter their sex, gender or sexual orientation, can perpetrate normalisation of violence as a tool in patriarchal societies (Johnson, 2005:59).

The costs of gender-based violence are huge. The individual consequences are vast, including physical effects, such as head wounds, HIV infections and damage to internal organs. Behavioural effects such as suicidal tendencies, alcohol abuse and isolation, psychological effects, including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) and fear (CSVR, 2016: 15). Furthermore, there are limitations to social mobility that come at the cost of the threat of GBV. For example, many women feel afraid to walk alone at night because in many societies this is socially accepted as being ‘risky’ behaviour, as because so many women have been targeted at these times. These risks spill over to workplace relations as certain types of employment are considered too dangerous for women, not necessarily because they ‘lack’ the ‘essential qualities to do the job, but because, as women they are considered to be at risk of sexual abuse or rape by other men (Weitz, 2015:169)). The security sector, including the PSI, is one example of employment that is considered to be too ‘dangerous’ for women. According to Heinecken (2015:249), women’s vulnerability to GBV is often used as an excuse to exclude women from certain tasks, even though they had been trained to do them. What this illustrates is that women are ‘justifiably’ excluded from certain ‘dangerous’ jobs where they could be subject to sexual violence and abuse. Furthermore, some women support this notion fearing that their presence put others at risk (Heinecken, 2015:249). However, while GBV is a legitimate threat that women face, the notion that women are excluded from certain jobs ‘to protect their safety’, is paternalistic and undermines women’s agency to make their own decisions about their safety (Tennant, 2017:33).

This is linked to a form of sexism defined as “benevolent sexism” (Sarrasin *et al*, 2012:7). Through pressure to reduce workplace discrimination, sexism in the workplace has become less overt (Sarrasin *et al*, 2012:6). While traditional sexism is defined as an “open antipathy towards women,” this benevolent sexism perpetuates traditional gender norms less antagonistically and is characterised by positive paternalistic attitudes to women (Sarrasin *et*

al, 2012:7). Both forms of sexism have an impact on women's inclusion in workplaces, especially in so-called 'masculine' workplaces such as the military (Weitz, 2015:169). According to Weitz (2015:170), it is often the masculine culture of male-dominated institutions, characterised by aggression, denigration and the sexual objectification of women which contributes to the culture of sexual harassment in institutions such as the military.

2.2.4 Productive and reproductive labour

Despite attempts to address inequality within society, including the public and private spheres, the work-place and the household remain important sites of women's exclusion and exploitation (Sultana, 2011:10). Women are primarily responsible for the unpaid and often invisible reproductive labour, in the home, which is vital for maintaining life and producing the next generation (Duffy, 2007:320). On the other hand, men dominate most forms of productive labour, associated with paid work (Bryson, 2005:50; Hochschild & Machung, 2012:23). These Marxist feminist concepts of productive and reproductive labour indicate the link between capitalism and patriarchy and the profound inequalities these systems produce (Fakier & Cock, 2018:44). While it has become more acceptable, and necessary, for women to partake in most forms of paid labour, many have perceived this as a signal of women's emancipation (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005:834; Walby, 1990:58). Yet the legacy of women's exclusion from and discrimination within the workplace remains today as the structure and institutional culture of many workplaces still reflect discriminatory practices (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005:834). This can be seen in the fact that women continue to experience wage gaps, and unequal conditions and access to certain industries and positions (Walby, 1990:59).

Furthermore, the reproductive labour performed primarily by women, remains underappreciated and invisible despite the fact that productive wage labour would not be possible, were it not for the unpaid care work these women do within their own homes and communities (Fakier & Cock, 2018:40; Fraser, 2014:61). Reproductive labour is indispensable to capitalist production, yet the women who perform it receive no formal remuneration and are largely considered unproductive in the political economy (Folbre, 1994:95). Indeed, the image of the 'unproductive' housewife is linked to patriarchal assumptions that women are dependents who should be grateful for the support of their husbands (Folbre, 1994:96).

A further issue is that women's reproductive labour, and men's productive labour, is often

naturalised and unquestioned within society (Fakier & Cock, 2018:48). This perspective subscribes to the notion that women are inherently better suited to reproductive labour than men. To paraphrase Hochschild & Machung (2012:23) the *workplace* is still ‘designed’ for men and the household for women. In the past, in some societies, women, particularly married women, were prohibited from entering paid employment, or limited to positions that were part-time. It was considered to be, in most cases, a great shame when married women had to work for the survival of their families, as it meant that their husbands could not provide sufficiently for their wives to stay at home (Hochschild & Machung, 2012:202). Furthermore, the qualities considered vital for success in a job, such as skill, strength and the resilience to work long hours, were once considered to be “exclusively male” (Johnson, 2005:143). Therefore, men’s lack of participation in reproductive labour and women’s relative exclusion from productive labour have been constructed in a similar way, on the basis of patriarchal gender norms.

This patriarchal categorisation of gender roles has serious implications. Firstly, the expectation that women remain at home to ‘care’ and men work to ‘earn’ perpetuates the assumption that this is an arrangement that all men and women are satisfied with this, while some women might want to work and some men might want to stay at home (Johnson, 2005:25). In most cases men who choose to remain at home, to care for their children, face shame and ridicule from their families, peers and larger society (Hochschild & Muchung, 2012:23; Mikkola, 2017). Secondly, the patriarchal categorisation of gender roles gives little consideration to the existence of different types of families. The patriarchal system subscribes to the notion of the nuclear family, where dependents are raised by a breadwinning father and a housewife mother (Johnson, 2005:104). I found in my 2017 study, on employment inequality in the PSI, that many of my participants considered only the ‘nuclear family’ structure when speaking about family (Tennant, 2017:47; Thomas et al, 2018:479). Therefore, many believed that it was feasible for women to rely on their husbands for financial security, because they assumed that all women would be married. However, there are different types of house-hold structures such as single households, extended family households, single parent households or households without children (Thomas et al, 2018:479). In South Africa particularly, nuclear families are uncommon and it is likely that families will be headed by a single, woman breadwinner (Thomas et al, 2018:47) Therefore, the domestic roles associated with the ‘family,’ are complex. While it is feasible for one parent in a nuclear family to stay at home to care for the children, in a single parent household it is vital for the parent to work, whether they are a man

or a woman. Therefore, this challenges the validity of ‘domestic responsibilities’ as a justification for excluding women from certain roles and sectors.

Over the last 60 years there has been a huge increase in women participating in the paid workforce (Craig, 2007:150). However, men’s participation in reproductive labour has not increased accordingly. Therefore, women remain largely responsible for most household duties, while many simultaneously engage in paid work (Craig, 2007:150; Stats SA, 2018:72). This is termed “the second shift”, by Hochschild and Muchung (1989:259), as women are often expected to work two shifts, one in the work place and one when they are in their homes. While this ‘second shift’ might sometimes be shared between spouses and partners, generally men manage to avoid many of these duties, this begs the question as to why the reproductive labour is still perceived as a ‘woman’s domain’ (Craig, 2007:153; Van Gorp, 2013:32-33)? Where men do participate in reproductive labour, there is often a division of tasks according to ‘gender.’ Responsibilities such as child care and feeding one’s family necessitates a woman’s time and energy daily, while responsibilities such as putting oil in the car and fixing household appliances occur less frequently and can be completed in their own time, allowing men more control over when they make their ‘reproductive labour contribution’ (Hochschild & Machung, 2012:56). This represents the roles within the home that are considered, in most societies, to be suitable for men and women. Therefore, not only is there wage gap between men and women and their earnings in the workplace, there is also a “leisure gap” in the home (Hochschild & Machung, 2012:46). Furthermore, since women are more often responsible for core reproductive responsibilities, such as food provision and child care, they are often more likely to take on part-time employment, choose ‘family friendly’ occupations, or pass up promotions to accommodate these responsibilities (Khan et al, 2014).

Consequently, the unequal distribution of reproductive labour between men and women has serious implications for their participation in productive labour. While Walby (1990:67) is adamant that workplace inequality is not strongly influenced by reproductive responsibilities, I disagree. Given that women are socially expected to be responsible for their children and household maintenance, employers are often concerned that this will impact on their ability to do their jobs. Tennant (2017:33) and Heineken (2016: 14), both found that employers were reluctant to employ women, in private security and military positions, because their responsibilities as mothers might interfere with their dedication to the job. Therefore, not only can women’s reproductive responsibilities impact their career progression, but it can influence

their ability to find a job.

Therefore, while motherhood and reproductive labour itself is not an inherently oppressive institution, the naturalisation of gendered parental responsibilities in patriarchal societies, reinforce inequality in the workplace and the home (Walby, 1990:67). Furthermore, one of the factors that further perpetuate women's unequal participation in the labour force is the gender segregation that exists within many societies. Where women are excluded, or found less suitable for certain roles, such occupational segregation is often the result of sex-typing embodied in patriarchal relations. This is even more so where men dominate a certain sector.

2.3 Occupational Segregation

In terms of paid work, women have long been excluded from positions in the labour market that are considered unsuitable, dangerous, strenuous or inappropriate (Erikson et al, 2000:296). The consequence is that in many countries, work is still segregated both vertically and horizontally. Occupational segregation is the term used to describe this phenomenon, in which employment in a certain industry or role is segregated according to gender. There are very few sectors that employ an equal distribution of men and women (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:49). According to Alvesson and Due Billing (2009:63), most jobs are "sex-typed," meaning that they are perceived as being either more 'masculine' or more 'feminine' and thus they are perceived as the 'norm' for either men or women. This is linked to the essentialist notion that men and women are born with vastly different skills, capabilities and personalities. Therefore, men are often perceived as being inherently more "aggressive, ambitious, assertive, athletic, decisive [and] good at leadership" (Erikson et al, 2000:296). Women, on the other hand, are perceived as being inherently more "cheerful, compassionate, sensitive to the needs of others, sympathetic, and understanding" (Erikson et al, 2000:296). Such stereotypes have an impact on the types of jobs that are considered as appropriate for women in some societies (Heilman, 2012:116).

Women are often perceived as being unsuitable for, or incapable of, holding jobs that are thought to require 'traditionally male' characteristics (Erikson et al, 2000:296). Therefore, women are often excluded from work in the construction, engineering and security sectors, which men dominate (Hein & Anker, 1986:26). Similarly, men are considered to be less suitable for employment that requires affirmation of others, beautifying, enhancement and the

monitoring of the status of others' well-being (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:71). Accordingly, women often dominate roles within the health sectors, retail and teaching (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:54). Therefore, institutions and workplaces are often characterised by a gendered division of labour, in which positions and tasks in the workplace are assigned based on stereotypical gender norms (Connell, 1995:7). Similar to occupational segregation, a gendered division of labour is rooted in the socially produced understandings and meanings associated with femininity and masculinity and what is considered to be appropriate work for men and women (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:49). Where they are deployed in sectors dominated by men, women are often assigned to roles more 'suited' to their gender, such as supportive positions, while men are assigned more dangerous 'outside' work (Potgieter, 2012:93; Westmarland, 2001:6; Feilding, 1994:47).

It is important to note that it is not the attribution of feminine and masculine characteristics to different forms of work itself that is problematic, but that these are seen as set binaries. Men and women have the potential to perform both femininity and masculinity and succeed in both or either forms of work (Davies, 2003:26). Therefore, it is the assumption that success in a particular sector is inherent to one's sex that is problematic because it limits the employment opportunities men and women have access to (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:64; Erikson et al, 2000: 296). A gendered division of labour becomes further problematic when the positions and tasks assigned to men and women, on the basis of gender, differ in terms of pay and status. Where women are continuously relegated to roles that offer less prestige, remuneration and opportunity for advancement, over time these roles become defined as 'women's work' (Erikson et al, 294). Not only does this reinforce unequal power relations between men and women in the workplace, but by placing men in positions of authority and women in supportive roles, it reinforces problematic gender norms and perpetuates the gendered division of labour.

This can be seen in the implementation and regulation of policy surrounding the workplace. Organisational culture theory considers how organisational structures and processes are imbued with cultural meaning and significance perpetuating gendered values, assumptions and ideals (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:119). Therefore, sectors which are characterised by a masculine organisational culture "[have] been created largely by and for men, [therefore] organisational systems, work practices, norms and definitions reflect masculine experience [and] masculine values" (Alvesson & Due Billing: 2009: 119). There are many implications to a gendered organisational culture. Women may struggle to find employment in industries

characterised by a masculine organisational culture because such workplace cultures are often characterised by a gendered division of labour (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:120; Potgieter: 2012,94). Furthermore, where women are employed in male dominated workplaces, they often experience social isolation. According to Lincoln and Miller (1979:25), social similarity, in terms of sex and gender, facilitates rapport and the development of social networks between individuals in the workplace. Therefore, women often have difficulty accessing this “boys club” which limit their social networks which can be vital in terms of access to promotions (Einarsdottir et al, 2018: 6). Consequently, women often have to dilute their femininity and embrace hegemonic masculinities in order to succeed. Where they challenge this, they are often met with resistance from the men they work with (Heinecken, 2016:17). This often manifests in the form of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment is often more common in workplaces characterised by a masculine organisational culture, particularly those which are systematically sexist (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:92).

In contrast, men seeking employment in workplaces characterised by a feminine organisational culture often have different experiences. According to Alvesson & Due Billing (2009:88), while men might be met with scepticism when seeking employment in such workplaces, they are often perceived as attractive candidates because they might bring a different perspective. This phenomenon is characterised by a number of academics as the “glass ceiling” versus the “glass elevator” (Hultin, 2003:31). Token women in traditionally ‘masculine’ sectors experience a glass ceiling which acts as an invisible barrier to their career advancement (Hultin, 2003:31). In contrast, token men in traditionally ‘feminine’ sectors are often able to ride the glass elevator up the internal hierarchy within companies (Williams; 1992:50). Simpson (2004:359) stated that many of the men in her study reported feeling better accommodated and cared for than their female colleagues. Therefore, crossing the traditional gender lines, in terms of work, have different consequences for men and women (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:88).

This indicates that including more women, in sectors dominated by men, is not enough because the culture of the industry needs to undergo transformation for women to be truly included (Azmanova, 2016:749). Until there is a transformation of the culture of male dominated institutions, women will not be valued or included equally in the workplace.

2.4 Gender Mainstreaming

Given the prevalence of gender based inequality in many societies, workplaces and institutions

worldwide, achieving gender equality has become a key goal for many governments and organizations (OSAGI, 2002:1). The UN resolution 1325 has emphasized the importance of including women at all levels of peacekeeping operations, including decision-making, conflict prevention; resolution and management (Kreft, 2017:134). Gender mainstreaming was suggested as an appropriate approach for women's inclusion. It is defined as the process by which policies, goals and strategies are amended so as to ensure that men and women can influence, participate and benefit equally within the workplace (OSAGI, 2002:vi). According to OSAGI (2002:vi)

Mainstreaming should situate gender equality issues at the center of analyses and policy decisions, medium-term plans, program budgets, and institutional structures and processes. This requires explicit, systematic attention to relevant gender perspectives in all areas of the work.

The UN resolution 1325 has been the driving force behind the gender mainstreaming that has taken place within the public security sector in South Africa (Mouton, 2006: iii). Both the police and military have endeavoured to make their labour force more representative, largely owing to political pressure (Heinecken, 2016:8; Norville, 2011:2).

Within gender mainstreaming there are different positions. First is the equal rights position, which claims that women have the right to serve in all occupations (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:165). However, such instrumentalist arguments do not address the fundamental driver of gender mainstreaming, which is that women's voices need to be heard. Institutions which are taking government-sanctioned integration goals seriously, such as the police and the military, seem to adopt an "integrationist approach," driven primarily by equal rights arguments, which entails the inclusion of more women without the transformation of underlying cultures which perpetuate discrimination (Debusscher & Hulse, 2014:561; Heinecken, 2016:8). The implications are that there is often little consideration for how simple expectations, such as uniforms, may affect men and women differently in terms of performance and wellbeing. Furthermore, this approach focuses more on raising the 'quota' of women within the institutions rather than including women in positions of power where they may be able to enact change (Heinecken, 2015:243; Kreft, 2017:135). Approaching gender mainstreaming from a purely equal rights approach, also raises tensions related to meritocracy.

The meritocratic perspective maintains that individuals should be employed within an institution on the basis of merit rather than based on social factors such as race or sex (Alvesson

& Due Billing, 2009:167). However, in ‘masculine’ institutions, such as security sectors, women are still viewed as inferior physically, in terms of strength and combat abilities, and psychologically, in terms of bravery, even when they have the same training and qualifications (Heinecken, 2016:14; Sion, 2009:487). According to Heinecken (2016:14), in the military context, even where women *outperform* men on the basis of strength and endurance, they are still viewed as inferior and lumped into the classification of women as slower and less capable. Therefore, a meritocratic approach does not address previous discrimination and stereotypes which continue to disadvantage women in the workplace.

A third argument for the inclusion of women through gender mainstreaming claims that women have a unique contribution to make in security roles (Davis & Mckee, 2004: 70; Heinecken, 2015:231; Kreft, 2017:154; Olsson, 2007:8). This is a hotly debated subject among academics, but some argue that women acquire different traits, through socialisation, which equips them with unique skills that could aid security operations (Heinecken, 2015:231). Women are largely perceived as being better at interacting with the local communities, particularly women and children, during peacekeeping missions (Heinecken, 2015:232). Furthermore, many studies indicate that women are less likely to use force and weapons unnecessarily in conflict situations (Mobekk, 2010:280). Thus, it is argued that women should be an asset in peacekeeping missions (Heinecken, 2015:232). Similarly, women’s presence in security roles is thought to have a positive impact on the behaviour of the men that they serve with (Mobekk, 2010:281). Heinecken’s (2015:235) findings suggest that this women’s presence does have an impact on misconduct but is limited, as there is not always of woman on duty with the men. A further contribution women in security positions can make, is their ability to address sexual violence. Studies suggest that women are more likely to report incidences of sexual violence to women soldiers or police officers (Diphoom, 2013:210; Heinecken, 2015: 236; Karim and Beardsly, 2013:471). This is important, given the prevalence of GBV violence, particularly in conflict situations (Chinkin & Kaldor, 2013:168).

Finally, similar to standpoint feminism, the alternative values position claims that women have different values and perspectives as a result of their position and marginalisation in society. These values and perspectives often influence women’s interests, priorities and attitudes, which may be different to that of men (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:175). As a result, this position posits that men and women will come to organisations with different “psychological and value orientations” (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:177). Possibly one of the biggest assumptions,

about the implications of including women in security roles, is that their different values allow them to shift gender binaries and undesirable masculine behaviour within male dominated institutions (Heinecken, 2015:229). Therefore, the expectation is that where women are present, they will be able to influence the deeply patriarchal barriers to their inclusion (Heinecken, 2015:238).

However, there are a number of challenges to gender mainstreaming that limit the impact of women's contribution and alternative values. Firstly, it is often necessary for women, employed in highly masculine institutions, to suppress their femininity and exhibit 'masculine' qualities in order to be accepted. Many academics have emphasized that women in security positions assimilate into the 'masculine' culture of the industry (Heinecken, 2015:243; Sion, 2009:478). While some women might possess more 'masculine' values, attitudes and behaviour, it is often a necessity for women to perform militarized masculine behavior and values, associated with security sectors, to prove themselves in a male-dominated industry (Heinecken, 2015:243). According to Sion (2009:482), most women in security roles do not attempt to shift violent norms and misconduct, either because they do not believe they can, they do not think it needs to be changed, or because they fear that it will result in further resentment or and discrimination (Heinecken, 2015: 235). This limits their ability to shift gender binaries or undesirable behaviour in men recruits.

This relates to another challenge to gender mainstreaming initiatives, namely the ridicule and disrespect that many women suffer at the hands of their men colleagues (Kreft, 2017:154). Often men, in security positions, do not trust that women are able perform competently in the same roles (Heinecken, 2015:244). Therefore, women employed in such workplaces often face severe performance pressure because they have to prove their capability in their jobs (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:167). They are either confined to low-risk positions, rather than those where a gender perspective is necessary, or they are forced to assimilate into this masculine culture to be regarded as capable (Heinecken, 2015:243; Kreft, 2017:135). Either way this impacts upon their ability to change this masculine organisational culture that marginalises women and encourages aggression. To do this they must reach a critical mass, in order to change existing stereotypes which, contribute to their marginalization (Kanter, 1977:956).

Kanter's (1977:956) theory asserts that the "relative numbers of socially and culturally different people in a group are critical in shaping interaction dynamic". Therefore, she argues, if enough tokens form coalitions they can alter the culture upheld by the dominants (Kanter,

1977:966). If applied to the context of the PSI, Kanter's theory suggests that if enough women are employed in the industry, together they could change the value system. While useful to this context, Kanter's theory is critiqued for not accounting for the many complexities of gender discrimination in the workplace. Her solution for overcoming gender discrimination by merely increasing the numbers has been disproven (Yoder, 1991:178). While the inclusion of more women is important to shift gender binaries, it alone cannot be relied upon to transform gendered institutions (Olsson, 2000:12). This is owing to the fact that women often have to dilute their femininity and embrace hegemonic masculinities in order to succeed. Where they challenge this, they are often met with resistance from their men counterparts (Heinecken, 2016:17). According to Heinecken (2015:248), the reality is that it is extremely difficult to introduce alternative perspectives and ways of managing conflict when femininity is "not valued, suppressed, or where it is seen as a threat or a liability." Therefore, the only way forward is to stop privileging masculinity over femininity in the security industries, which remains unlikely, as long security industries remain hostile to women (Heinecken, 2015:248; Mobekk, 2010:280).

Chapter 3: An overview

3.1 The South African private security industry

Security and crime prevention are services which are usually associated with the state. However, since 1980 there has been an almost global shift towards plural policing, in which state police exists alongside other providers of private policing operating in public, private and semi-private spaces (van Stokkom & Terpstra, 2018:416). Academics such as Berg (2004:224), Garland (1994:435) and Loader and Sparks (2002:89) attribute the rise in demand and need for private policing to postmodern developments and the advent of neoliberalism. According to Berg (2004: 224), many neoliberal states have increasingly withdrawn from certain duties and the provision of certain services such as security. For example, while most neoliberal states provide policing and military services, many have adopted a neoliberalist strategy of “responsibilization” in which the public are encouraged to play a role in providing their own security to fill any gaps in state security provision (Berg, 2004: 224). Therefore, the withdrawal of the state from certain aspects of security provision has increased the demand for private security providers. According to Carrier (1999:37) this is by no means a ‘new’ concept, however, the degree to which private security institutions are involved in security provision has certainly increased.

Irish (1999) delineates the differences between the services provided by public and private security institutions. Firstly, state police provide security as public service, good while PSC’s protect their clients’ interests and are motivated by profit. Secondly, since state police is funded and regulated by the government, it is held accountable by all levels of government as well as the public. The PSI is held accountable by clients, the regulator and to a lesser extent the government (Bodnar, 2012:26; Irish, 1999). Thirdly, private security providers aim to deter crime, while the police also enact punishment for crimes committed (Irish, 1999, Minnaar, 2007:88). Irish (1999) argues that the services offered by the police and the PSI differ to the extent that the PSI cannot replace the police. However, they provide security to many who can afford it and this commercialisation does call into question the state’s role as the main provider of security for its citizens. Indeed, the PSI now provides a range of services previously provided by the police as a public service (Sefalafala, 2012:51).

Owing to the private nature of the PSI, there exists a triangular employment relationship between the employer, the employee and the client. The implication of the triangular

employment relationship is that consumer demands can play a large role in determining who is employed in this industry and for how long (Bardill, 2008:55; Tennant, 2017:42). One of the main differences between the public and private security sectors, is the degree to which the government can implement reform within these industries as the providers of a public service. According to Baggiarini (2015:47) “privatization implies a shift in citizenship away from collective or public ideals [...] toward consumer-based [...] modes of subjectivity”. The consumer influences the “internal organization [...] in the relevant companies producing [the] services” they consume (Harvard et al, 2009: 2). Therefore, the PSI is driven more by consumer demands than governmental gender mainstreaming reforms. Given the deeply imbedded patriarchal gender roles, consumers often demand men security guards because of the perception that men are the ‘natural protectors’ (Tennant, 2017:42). Therefore, an implication of the private nature of the PSI is that there is little pressure on this industry to conform to equality, transformation initiatives and objectives.

Mechanisms and discourses which construct the protector as exclusively male, support the exclusion of women from occupying positions in both public and private security sectors (Stachowitsch, 2013:77). While policies supporting gender equality have paved the way for an increase in women’s participation in state security institutions such as the military and the police, the same cannot be said for the PSI (Heinecken, 2016:2; Kreft, 2017: 132). In fact, it could be argued that through the privatisation of security services, the services provided by PSC’s and PMC’s have become re-masculinised (Stachowitsch, 2013: 77).

This contributes to the employment inequality that appears to characterise the South African PSI. South Africa has the largest private security sector in Africa, with over 498435 registered employees (PSiRA, 2017:18). However, it is also a very male dominated sector with men holding 80% of positions in the industry (Private Security Sub-Sector Report, 2016:12). Given the triangular employment relationship and consumer demands, there has been very little done to address the inequality in this sector in terms of legislation and policy. The case of *NUMSA vs Chuma Security Services* (2016) indicates the role that the client plays in employment practices as well as the underlying patriarchal and sexist attitudes that enforce this discrimination.

There are currently 8692 registered PSC’s operating in South Africa (Berg and Howell, 2017:4). These companies vary in size, including small locally owned companies and large, multinational companies, such as G4S, which operates across Africa (Berg and Howell,

2017:4). The tasks they perform are vast, ranging from guarding and patrolling, to transporting assets, which aim to protect both persons, businesses and properties (Pillay, 2009:69). Typically, these PSC's operate alongside the state security services, namely the police and military, but differ from public security forces. The size of the PSI, the diversity of services and the blurring of high and low forms of security services, make it very difficult to define in terms of the division of labour, tasks and functions (Berg and Howell, 2017:7). However, a way to understand the industry, is to examine the profile of the industry and to do this, it is useful to provide some insight into the growth and development of the industry, regulation, the diverse services provided, training and the challenges faced by the industry.

3.2 Growth and development

There is a general consensus among academics that the exponential increase in the demand for private security services was driven, in part, by neoliberal policies (Berg, 2003: 224; Loader and Sparks, 2002:89). However, along with neoliberalism, the growth of the PSI in South Africa can also be attributed to the instability of the Apartheid era, the transition to a democratic state in 1994 and the security vacuum that has developed since the transition to democracy (Berg, 2007:8; Bodnar, 2012:1; Pillay, 2009:67-68).

During apartheid, the South African Police (SAP) served to enforce the apartheid regime, while the PSI stepped in to provide security to whites concerned about the threat black resistance posed to the preservation of white privilege (Diphoom, 2015:530). During the 1970's and 1980's, as resistance increased, the SAP became increasingly focused on enforcing the political regime. Ordered by the government to address political unrest, there was less emphasis placed on the protection of citizens and their assets (Bodnar, 2012:1; Minnaar, 2007:129). As public confidence in the police decreased, many white South Africans turned to PSC's for protection. The Apartheid state encouraged this reliance on the PSI to fulfil duties that the police could not perform resulting in a voluntary overlap of the duties provided by the police and the PSI. This was compounded by the government's attempts to professionalise the PSI through legislation such as the Security Officers Act of 1987 (Sefalafala, 2012:53).

The democratic transition of 1994 saw another increase in the size of the PSI (Sefalafala, 2012:54). According to May (1998:130), it is theorised that the state of emergency from 1985

to 1990 “suppressed crime levels” while political liberalisation in 1994 saw the levels of reported crime increase hugely. As influx control broke down and social controls loosened, crime began to increase in white suburbs (Diphoorn, 2015:530). Heightened by prominent media reporting of violent crimes, such as rapes and murders, public fear, among the whites in particular, escalated (Minnaar, 2005:94). Those who could afford to employ the services of PSC’s did so, escalating the growth and support for PSI. There was a strong public perception that criminals were acting with impunity as the police, lacking resources, struggled to curb the sudden rise in crime (Minnaar, 2005:94). There was an already well-established culture, within black and white communities in South Africa, of relying on non-state forms of policing (Baker, 2002). White communities had come to find the SAP inadequate, while black communities, having been constantly harassed by the police, found them hostile and racist (Baker, 2002).

The transformation of the police force post 1994, which aimed to change the oppressive and racist reputation of the SAP, further compounded ‘white fear’ (Diphoorn, 2015:530). As black South Africans entered the police force, some white South Africans viewed them and the police force as untrustworthy and incompetent. At the same time, the downscaling of both the police and military, as well as the implementation of affirmative action policies, meant that many skilled white security personnel were thrust into the civilian labour market. Many found employment in the private security industry, or started their own companies to address the growing need for security across a range of protection services. (Diphoorn, 2015:530; ISS, 2007:7; Minnaar, 2007:129).

Now, 25 years later, the PSI continue to play a large role in the provision of security in South Africa (Minnaar & Ngoveni, 2004:43; Taljaard, 2008:77). As crimes such as “money laundering, drug and human trafficking, cyber-crime, the smuggling of firearms and rhino poaching” have become more prominent, the SAPS have channelled resources into the prevention of high priority crimes leaving few resources for the policing of residential areas (Sub-sector Report, 2016:13, Minnaar, 2007:100). The SAPS itself dedicating a significant portion of its budget to outsourcing private security services, it is important that there be more emphasis placed on accountability, regulation and equity within this industry (Bodnar, 2012:3).

3.3 Regulation

In comparison to other PSI's on the African Continent, the South African "regulatory framework" is considered to be one of the most advanced (Berg, 2003:203). However, this has not always been the case, as the South African PSI has evolved, over time, from un-regulated to partially regulated, and is now considered to be fully regulated (Penxa, 2009:76).

The Security Officer's Act 92 of 1987 was established as the government's first attempt to legitimate the PSI during apartheid, as the SAP became increasingly unable to fulfil all duties related to security provision as their political duties increased (Bodnar, 2012:1). One of the central aims of the Act was to establish a regulatory board, the Security Officer's Board (SOB) (Minnaar & Ngoveni, 2004: 51). The primary function of the SOB was to exert a level of control over the industry through the registration of every company and employee within the sector. One of the major successes of the SOB was the introduction of mandatory and specialised training courses that played a huge role in professionalising the industry and standardising the skills and qualifications necessary for employment in the PSI (Minnaar & Ngoveni, 2004: 51). Furthermore, the SOB can be credited with introducing the Code of Conduct which served to regulate ethical behaviour within the industry. This demanded a level of accountability from employees of the PSI that had not existed before (Minnaar & Ngoveni, 2004: 51). Unfortunately, without the correct disciplinary measures in place, the SOB did not appear to enforce this Code of Conduct effectively (Minnaar & Ngoveni, 2004: 51).

Consequently, there have been many amendments to the original Security Officer's Act of 1987 as the government has attempted to exert stricter control over the industry (Minnaar & Ngoveni, 2004: 53). Of particular significance are the amendments that have been made post 1994. In contrast to the apartheid government, the new democratic government was more critical of the PSI and concerned about its growth and influence (Shearing & Berg, 2006:202). This was further compounded by the fact that in the 1990's, even post-apartheid, PSC's were commonly staffed by ex-apartheid-era police and military personnel (Gumedze, 2008:200). Thus, in 1997 the legislation was amended and the Security Officers Amendment Act 104 of 1997 was passed to establish a new regulatory board, the Interim Security Officers' Board, to replace the SOB (Minnaar & Ngoveni, 2004: 53). The justification of the replacement of the

SOB related to a call for an impartial regulatory board, as members of the SOB had personal interests in the industry (Minnaar & Ngoveni, 2004: 53).

In 2001 the Private Security Industry Regulation Act 56 of 2001 was passed. Some of the key aims of this Act were to redefine which service providers, within the industry were obliged to register (Minnaar & Ngoveni, 2004: 53). Some service providers, including in-house security providers and locksmiths, were obliged to register for the first time (Minnaar & Ngoveni, 2004: 53). The inclusion of the in-house security in this legislation is significant, as it represents the government's attempt to bring all forms of security under its regulation (Shearing & Berg, 2006:205). Furthermore, a new Code of Conduct and more effective disciplinary measures were introduced to improve enforcement of the Code of Conduct (Minnaar & Ngoveni, 2004: 53). It was also with the passing of the Private Security Industry Regulation Act 56 of 2001 that the current regulatory board, the Private Security Industry Regulatory Authority (PSiRA), was established, as a replacement for the Interim Security Officers' Board, which was considered ineffective by both PSC's and the state (Shearing & Berg, 2006:205). Since the institution of this legislation, there have been further attempts to regulate those PSC's operating outside of the country through the Prohibition of Mercenary Activities and the Regulation of Certain Activities in the Country of Armed Conflict Bill (2006:3). However, as of 2018 the Bill has still not received the necessary presidential proclamations to enforce it as a law (Bosch, 2018:6).

With its Head Office in Pretoria and regional offices in all the provinces of South Africa, the tasks entrusted to PSiRA are numerous, including promoting a legitimate PSI, ensuring that all service providers act in national and public interest, and promoting a stable, transparent, accountable and equitable industry (Gumedze, 2008:200). In an attempt to achieve these aims, two of PSiRA's most important responsibilities include monitoring the registration of companies and employees and the monitoring and enforcement of misconduct and training.

Registration, Monitoring and Enforcement

All private security companies and employees are required, by law, to register with PSiRA before providing security services (Penxa, 2009:13). This is employed as a mechanism of control to ensure that all companies and employees within the PSI meet the necessary requirements and allows PSiRA to monitor the industry. To meet the necessary requirements, applicants must be 18 years old; permanent residents or citizens, they must have completed the

required training; have no criminal record; and they cannot be currently employed in the SAPS, the SSA Foreign or Domestic Branch, the SANDF or the Department of Correctional Services (DCS) (Gumedze, 2008:201). Furthermore, PSC's registering with PSiRA need to ensure that all senior staff, managers, supervisors and directors, are registered as security providers (Gumedze, 2008:202). Certificates of registration and identification must be issued, by the Authority, to every security service provider (Gumedze, 2008:202),

The Authority is responsible for monitoring the conduct of PSC's and employees of the PSI and ensuring that they adhere to the requirements for registration (Berg, 2003:185). As such PSiRA keeps a list of the registered companies and security officers and registration is renewed regularly, subject to adherence to the previously mentioned requirements for registration (Gumedze, 2008:202). Furthermore, inspectors are responsible for monitoring the conduct of companies and their employees and may conduct random inspections of any PSC in terms of Section 33 (Gumedze, 2008:202). Improper conduct is dealt with through fines, penalties and possible suspension of registration. PSiRA may also pursue an interdict against non-complying companies to ensure that they discontinue their services (Berg, 2003:186). Inspectors also have power, under the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977, to arrest upon suspicion (Gumedze, 2008:204).

3.4 Training and standards

As the PSI has evolved into a fully regulated industry, it has become important to ensure that certain standards of training are maintained (Berg, 2003:182). The original training regulations came into effect in 1992 under section 32(1) of the Security Officers Act, 1987 (Penxa, 2009:132). The grade system was established with grades E representing the lowest level of training and A the highest (Berg, 2003:187). The different grades determined the type of service a security officer could provide, with grade E limited to 'low status' positions such as patrol officers and car guards, while grade A applies to managerial positions (Berg, 2003: 187). Further training was necessary for the more specialised services and electronic services (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). The industry is considered to have a low barrier of entry, because grade E training only takes a week to complete and only requires no criminal record as an entrance qualification (Sefalafala, 2012:83).

These training standards remained much the same when PSiRA was established in 2001. However, there was more emphasis placed on enforcing these standards in the legislation that accompanied PSiRA's establishment, the Private Security Industry Regulation Act 56 of 2001 (Berg, 2003: 184). Furthermore, this legislation included service providers that were previously excluded, including locksmiths, private investigators and training instructors (Berg, 2003: 185). The inclusion of training instructors under this regulation enabled PSiRA to establish minimum criteria for monitoring the quality of training and training instructors (Penxa, 2009:145).

Further changes have been made to the training standards for the PSI with the signing of the most recent memorandum of understanding (MoU) between PSiRA and the Safety and Security Sector Education and Training Authority (SASSETA) in April 2015 (PSiRA Annual Report, 2015:63). While all security officers are still required to comply with PSiRA's registration regulations, the MoU placed SASSETA in charge of accreditation and quality assurance of the training of all security officers in the PSI (Penxa, 2009:145). Since the signing of the MoU, PSiRA have developed new training standards that align PSiRA's grading system with the unit standards of the National Qualification Framework (NQF). In this way, PSiRA and SASSETA aim to develop NQF qualifications for all categories of security officers and security service providers (PSiRA annual report, 2015:63). PSiRA published draft training regulations in 2016, however, there are challenges, such as cost, material and time, that need to be overcome before the regulations can be finalised (PSiRA annual report: 2015:63).

3.4 Range of Services

The South African PSI offers a broad range of services. Under the regulation of the SOB, the PSI was divided into three sectors, including guarding, armed response and cash-in-transit (Shearing & Berg, 2006:203, Webster et al, 2011:26). However, such limited categorisations have since become inadequate at framing the services the industry provides (Shearing & Berg, 2006:203). The PSI has expanded exponentially and I would argue that the current diverse range of services couldn't be classified into a finite number of categories. While some services have been categorised, such as guarding, many have not, such as private investigation (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). As a result, there is some ambiguity in the literature, surrounding the PSI, as to the range of services it offers. In this section I hope to shed some light on some on

these services.

Guarding is one group of services that has been categorised within industry legislation. Some of the positions included in the category are patrol officers, access control officers, asset protection officers and security supervisors (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). Of these positions, patrol officers receive the least amount of training, as the only training requirement is grade E. The expectations of a patrol officer include organising and conducting patrols, operating security equipment such as batons and radios, firefighting and the prevention of fires on site, testifying in court, and basic first aid (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). All of these skills and expectations are taught and explained during the grade E training. Since it is necessary to obtain grade E before advancing to the higher grades. These are skills that all security officers must possess. Therefore, access control officers are expected to display these same competencies in addition to those taught in grade D, such as conducting access control, emergency identification, evacuation and conflict resolution (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). Asset protection officers require grade C, in addition to grades E and D. Therefore, they must be able to coach a team member to enhance performance, manage reactions to trauma and they must write reports and take statements (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). Finally, security supervisors are required to have achieved grade B and are expected to lead and instruct competently, train new employees, display good time management and they must possess a knowledge of labour legislation (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). These are some of the most common services offered by PSC's in South Africa with 7220 companies offering services that fall into the guarding category (SASSETA, 2016:7). The companies that offer these services cite trustworthiness, professionalism and effective strategic decision-making as some of the essential qualities for a being guard in this industry (TSU Protection Services, n.d.).

Specialist security services

The positions included within this category require grades E, D and C, as well as firearm training provided by a PSiRA accredited instructor (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). What distinguishes specialist security services from guarding is the use of firearms in the protection of individuals or assets. Reaction officers, for example, are expected to handle a handgun for security service purposes, provide response services, drive an official vehicle and display physical retraining techniques (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). Another popular service in

this category includes cash-in-transit officers and drivers (SASSETA, 2016:3). Close protection officers, on the other hand, provide individuals with maximum protection. They are expected to provide protection to individuals in transit or during a pedestrian escort, provide first aid, display defensive restraining techniques and handling a firearm (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). Finally, event security is utilised during large scale special events such as national and international sporting events and concerts (<https://www.papamanisecurity.co.za/event-security-guards/>). Event security officers are expected to display professional public relations, teamwork, access and egress control, emergency identification, evacuations and emergency drills (Training regulations, 2016:16-59).

Electronic security

This category encompasses those that supply, install or operate electronic security equipment. Alarm systems, bomb- and fire-detection systems, access control systems and closed-circuit televisions are some of the electronic security systems supplied by the PSI. Technicians must display knowledge and use of hand tools, safe working practices, ethics in the workplace, cable installation and knowledge of the system they are installing (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). Furthermore, control room and surveillance operators need to display competency in the control room environment, basic computer literacy, training and customer service (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). According to the Fidelity Security Group (<http://www.fidelitysecurity.co.za>), electronic security systems are an integral aspect of security provision in the PSI. Effective monitoring systems are important not only to ensure the safety of the client, but to ensure the safety of the guards on duty (<http://www.fidelitysecurity.co.za>).

Other services

While there are many other services provided by the PSI, many cannot be categorised. Some notable examples include managers, service dog handlers and private investigators. The minimum requirement for a general manager in the PSI is grade B. Furthermore, managers are expected to display leadership qualities and apply them in the workplace, apply the code of conduct, run meetings, set objectives and ensure they are met, manage the budget and problem solving (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). Service dog handlers, on the other hand, must complete a particular skills programme in order to work with service dogs. Handlers are expected to handle the dog in order to protect themselves and the site, to utilize the dog to search and apprehend a suspect, to detect substances and trace human scent with the aid of the

service dog and ensure the service dogs welfare (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). Finally, private investigators offer assistance in a number of circumstances such as criminal investigations, forensic analysis and fraud investigations (<https://sleuthjhb.co.za/>). Private security investigators must complete a specific skills programme to equip them with ethics in the work environment, the ability to conduct investigations, proper questioning techniques, the differentiation between statutory and common law crimes, an understanding of the criminal justice system, case file investigation and customer care (Training regulations, 2016:16-59). According to Irish (1999) the demand for private investigation has grown rapidly among individuals, companies and organisation.

Support Staff

Excluded from the breakdown of services, are all support staff, such as administrators and clerks. While they are employed in the industry, they do not appear in the sub-sector report and are the only employees within the industry that are not referred to as security officers. This is an important insight for two reasons. Firstly, administrative and supportive work is often considered to be ‘women’s work’ within the industry. Therefore, if women are largely employed in these supportive positions, this indicates that women are relegated to positions in the industry that have the lowest status. Secondly, the fact that administrative employees are not included in the sub-sector reports means that there could be more women employed within the PSI than is represented in the statistics. Current statistics suggest that men make up 80% of the active private security officers in South Africa (Private Security Sub-Sector Report, 2016:12). However, I have not been able to find statistics that break down the number of men and women who serve in each of the many roles provided by the companies. It is for this reason that I want to explore in which types of positions the women generally serve in this industry.

Finally, it is clear that some services are more prominent than others with 6847 companies offering guarding services between 2015 and 2016 and only 15 companies offering service dog training services. While most companies offer more than one service, the SASSETA (2016:24) report suggests that certain services are more scarce than others. While there seems to be an oversupply of security guards, there is a scarcity of security officers in certain roles including National Key Point security and K9 handling, owing to the levels of competency and training required for these services (SASSETA, 2016:24). Training varies in terms of the time required to complete the courses and the cost of the courses.

3.5 Conditions of Service

There are multiple challenges currently facing the PSI, many relating to non-compliance of PSC's (SASSETA, 2016:14). This is further often compounded by clients of security services, many of whom are either unaware or choose to ignore PSiRA's requirements and regulations (SASSETA, 2016:14). Private security services are classified as "non-core" work, along with other so-called support services such as "catering, cleaning [...] maintenance and gardening" (Bardill, 2008:2). Such services are often outsourced, which is the case at many universities and other large business (Bardill, 2008:2). One definition of outsourcing is the establishment and management of the contractual relationship between a client and an external supplier for a service that was once provided in house (Momme, 2001; 128; Agyemanh-Duah et al, 2014:27).

This triangular employment relationship contributes to the precarity of employment in the PSI and makes it difficult for employees to negotiate with and gain accountability from their employers (Theron, 2003:1250; International Labor Organization, 2011:3). This is especially relevant since the new amendment of the Labor Relations act, which holds both the service provider and the client company responsible for the working conditions of the outsourced employees (Republic of South Africa, 2017). This ambiguity is problematic for many reasons. It can result in the deployment of underpaid, un-trained and unregistered security guards, but it also has implications for the degree to which PSC's implement employment equity goals mandated by the Employment Equity Act (Bezuidenhout et al, 2008:5; Sefalafala, 2012:4).

As a result, the industry faces challenges regarding quality of work. There is a widespread disregard for workers' rights in the industry, both by employers and consumers, which has impacted upon working conditions within the industry (Webster and Sefalafala, 2012:78). Certain companies, such as G4S, have little regard for workers' rights or the laws of the company they operate in (Afrol News, 2010). However, it is not only employees of non-compliant PSC's that experience issues with regards to employment quality. Sefalafala (2012:85) found that many of the security officers he interviewed were dissatisfied with the quality of their work and complained about low pay and long hours. Therefore, while non-compliant companies do pose a threat to the quality of work in this industry, the PSI is characterised by low wages, poor working conditions and inequality. The International Labour

Organisation (ILO) aims to improve such working conditions through the decent work agenda (Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP), 2012: 1). There are several indicators of decent employment, created by the ILO, including employment opportunities, decent hours and social protection. I am going to discuss four indicators, including work security, decent hours, adequate earning and equal opportunities (Sefalafala, 2012:2).

In terms of work security, high turnover rates and high levels of outsourcing and short-term contract work, in the PSI, impact upon the quality of work in the industry (Berg and Howell, 201:8). Outsourced security officers experience higher levels of work insecurity than permanent employees within the sector (Sefalafala, 2012:102). Though the contracts offered to outsourced security officers are temporary, these temporary terms are often ignored by employers and consumers often violating security officer's rights (Webster and Sefalafala, 2012:82; SASSETA, 2016:14). G4S, a large international private security conglomerate, has been accused of violating human rights in their treatment of their security officers (Gumedze, 2008:198). Therefore, in terms of quality of work, work security in the PSI seems to be poor and companies seem to violate the contracts they have entered into with their employees.

Furthermore, work in the PSI is often characterised by long hours (Berg and Howell, 201:7). Legally, the maximum number of hours' employees can work per week ranges from between 45 and 48 depending on the service they are providing (Republic of South Africa, 2017). This is divided into 12-hour work shifts and excludes overtime, which is limited to 10 hours per month (Webster and Sefalafala, 2012:84). While shifts are regulated and standardised by PSiRA, studies have found that security personnel view the 12 hour shift as being extremely long and taxing on their bodies and personal lives (Pronk 2005:34). Furthermore, some companies expect their employees to work overtime, yet offer no compensation for the extra hours (Sefalafala, 2012:106). Some security personnel felt that the long hours impacted upon their ability to do their jobs properly, with some reporting impaired concentration or the tendency to fall asleep on their shifts (Webster and Sefalafala, 2012:84). Some reported experiencing pain from being on their feet for such long period of time, while others reported their struggle to meet their family responsibilities owing to the long hours (Hall 1999:1). Therefore, it seems that these long hours seriously impact upon the quality of work employment in this industry offers.

In terms of adequate earnings, while the low barrier of entry might be one of the reasons why

employment in the PSI is popular with individuals searching for employment, low remuneration is one of the reasons why many individuals only view the PSI as ‘step’ towards a better life (Webster and Sefalafala, 2013:83). Many individuals hope to further their education so that they might be eligible for better employment in the future. However, this is not necessarily the case. Minimum remuneration in the industry is set according to the grade, and other training an individual has received, as well as the service they are providing (Sihlangu, 2019). PSiRA’s regulation of these minimum wages is important because many companies attempt to pay less than required. Currently PSiRA (PSiRA Annual Report, 2017:38) is aware of 500 companies that are not following the minimum wage guidelines. Obviously in such situations the exploitation of employees is clear.

Another factor is the number of unknown and unregistered PSC’s operating in South Africa. These companies do not comply with the standards set out by the legislation, are not registered with PSiRA and therefore are not monitored in terms of their conduct and treatment of their employees (Gumedze, 2008:200). These companies often employ security officers who may or may not meet the legislated standards, in terms of training and registration, (Sefalafala, 2012:67). Employees of such companies often have little recourse when it comes to reporting unjust labour practices, because the companies are not regulated. This is problematic because unregistered companies often do not adhere to the minimum standards of employment set for the industry, such as minimum wages. One of the major consequences is that employees within the PSI often struggle to survive on the wages they earn, even when they do conform to the industry’s minimum wage guideline.

According to the International Labour Organisation (SWOP, 2012: vii) adequate income is based on minimum wages. Therefore, the wages proposed by PSiRA for services in the PSI, would be considered ‘adequate’ because they meet the minimum wage standard (SWOP, 2012: vii). Since September 2018 there has been an increase in the minimum wage, according to grade. In a statement by the Department of labour spokesperson, Teboho Thejane, Grade A security can expect to earn a minimum of between R5,209 and R4323 per month depending on the area they are required to work in (Africa, 2017). Likewise Grade B security officers can expect to earn between R4668 and R3934 per month (Africa, 2017). Finally, Grade C, D and E security officers can expect to earn between R4102 and R3414 per month (Africa, 2017). While South African Transport and Allied Workers Union (SATUWA) acknowledges that this new minimum wage is not a living wage, they believe it is a step in the right direction (Luxton

and Bezanson 2006: 3). Yet many security officers find that their wages do not cover the basic necessities for survival (Luxton and Bezanson 2006: 3). Many seek alternative accommodation, such as abandoned buildings, in order to save money for other necessities such as food and educating their children (Webster and Sefalafala, 2013:83). This status as 'the working poor' promotes feelings of hopelessness, as some feel that working is pointless (Rogan & Reynolds, 2015:5; Sefalafala and Webster, 2013:83).

A further challenge facing the PSI is inequality (Berg and Howell, 2017:8). Anecdotal evidence suggests that the industry is racially segregated with predominantly white owners, managers while the majority of employees are black (Penxa, 2009:16; Sefalafala, 2012:4; Taljaard, 2008:75). The racial segregation within the industry was supported by the findings of my 2017 study, where I spoke to exclusively white managers and exclusively black guards (Tennant, 2017:50). Furthermore, the fact that only 21% of the 498435 individuals registered as security officers, with PSiRA are women indicates that employment in the sector is male-dominated (PSiRA annual report, 2017:5). Additionally, women who are employed within the security industries are usually employed in supportive positions, at a lower rate of remuneration and with a lower chance of advancing into better positions (Eichler, 2016:161). Furthermore, while maternity and family leave is legally mandated under the Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997 (Government Gazette, 1998:14), many employers continue to discriminate against women in employment decisions based on the possibility that they might become pregnant and go on maternity leave, as was the case in my 2017 study (Honeyball, 2000:43; Tennant, 2017:33). Therefore, childbearing and women's domestic responsibilities have impacted upon their position in the PSI.

One implication of this male domination is the consequent sexual harassment, a current challenge within the PSI especially in conflict situations (ISS, 2007). According to Shaw et al (2018:3), women working in male-dominated workplaces are in the minority and are far more likely to experience sexual harassment. Furthermore, there is a higher risk of sexual harassment within low- wage jobs, because they are often less formalised and without a formal proper complaints system (Shaw et al, 2018:3). For example, in 2017, a private security patroller was arrested for sexually assaulting over 57 pupils at the school he was stationed at (Lindique, 2017). According to Gumedze (ISS, 2007), special measures need to be taken to protect women and children from sexual violence at the hands of private security officers. However, in 2019 it is not clear if any such measures have been taken.

While governments have come under pressure to employ more women in the public security sector, as a necessity and out of the need to transform gender inequity, this does not appear to have encouraged transformation in the private sector. This can be attributed, in part, to the role that class, race and gender continue to play in structuring labour market participation (Meiring et al, 2018:10). Statistics suggest that white people constitute 71%, and people of colour 16%, of managerial and professional categories within the South African economy (Moleke, 2005:15). This is partly because horizontal inequalities, between racial groups, still exist in South African society, especially when it comes to the distribution of wealth and employment (Meiring et al, 2018:6). Unfortunately, lower economic classes are still largely dominated by people of colour, while advantages of class have allowed white people to sustain privileged access to wealth and employment (Seekings & Natrass, 2005:6). Therefore, black men and women dominate employment in low-skilled and under-remunerated positions in the PSI because many lack the opportunities in education, employment and social mobility on the basis of their race and class (Meiring et al, 2018:10; Seekings & Natrass, 2005:34).

This is compounded by reports of serious racist misconduct and discrimination at the hands of supervisors employed by one of the largest PSC's in South Africa, G4S (Gumedze, 2008:198). There have been reports of supervisors who have called security guards derogatory names such as "kaffir" and "monkey" and denied black security officers access to company toilets (Gumedze, 2008:198). No action was taken against these supervisors, even after there was a petition, driven by (SATAWU), to remove them (Gumedze, 2008:198). Given that my participants are predominantly people of colour, it is important to acknowledge that black women are likely to experience intersecting forms of discrimination on the basis of their race and their gender. Furthermore, while black men might not experience the same level of gender-based discrimination, it is equally as likely that they may experience discrimination on the basis of their race.

These challenges represent some of the ways in which the regulation of the PSI still needs to improve. While Gumedze (2008:205) argues that the PSI is reasonably well regulated in comparison to other African countries, it is clear that there are still issues that need to be addressed. The Private Security Industry Regulation Act, of 2001 claims encouraging equal employment practices, and promoting the empowerment of previously disadvantaged groups to be part of PSiRA's mandate. Yet, men still dominate employment in the PSI and black individuals continue to experience discrimination in the industry (Gumedze, 2008:75; Penxa,

2009:16; Tennant, 2017). Furthermore, the extent to which PSiRA is monitoring and addressing gender inequality in the security sphere is unclear (Mobekk, 2010:278; PSiRA annual report, 2017:9).

In terms of workplace inequality, there are a number of ways in which employees of the PSI can address these issues including trade unions and the EEA of 1988 (Government Gazette, 1998). The origin of the legislation surrounding employment equality and unfair discrimination in the South African workplace can be traced to the inauguration of democracy in 1994 and the Freedom Charter, in which it was stated that “all national groups will have equal rights” (Karis et al, 1977: 190). However, while the EEA necessitates equal employment practices, it is often under-utilised (Bezuidenhout et al, 2008:17). All employers are required to design and implement an equity plan with the purpose of the elimination of workplace discrimination and to promote equal representation of employees from designated groups, including black individuals, women and disabled individuals (Israelstam, 2018). However, despite such legislation, thousands of employers, including employers within the PSI, evade compliance (Israelstam, 2018).

Furthermore, in terms of individuals addressing their experiences of inequality and discrimination in the workplace, there remain a number of barriers to the effective use of this legislation to address employment equity (Bezuidenhout et al, 2008:17). First, the applicant is obligated to attempt to resolve the dispute with their employer and prove that this attempt has been made (Bezuidenhout et al, 2008:17). This is challenging for outsourced workers, considering that there is often ambiguity in terms of the employer/client relationship (Theron, 2003:1250). Bureaucratic red tape poses a further barrier, since applicants must report the matter to the CCMA in the correct time period (Bezuidenhout et al, 2008:17; Daphne, 2003:40). Furthermore, issues of inequality and discrimination are often sensitive and complex and might be accompanied by feelings of fear, guilt and embarrassment (Daphne, 2003:40). Finally, should the matter be referred to the labour court, the complaint becomes an often intimidating legal matter necessitating further resources from the applicant, such as legal aid (Bezuidenhout et al, 2008:17). While the EEA remains the most comprehensive mechanism with which to address workplace discrimination, there are limits in terms of its success. While some claims certainly have been successful, such as *NUMSA v Chuma Security* (2016), it should be noted that in this case there were 27 complainants who could put collective pressure

on the company. However, as an individual the process to pursue an unfair discrimination claim is slow and often impossible to achieve (Bezuidenhout et al, 2008:18).

Since its inception, one of the main challenges facing the PSI in South Africa has been low union density and the lack of a bargaining council (Makgetla, 2007:25; Sefalafala, 2012:71). This impacted on the bargaining structure of the industry leaving it fluid and weak. Attempts to institute a bargaining council since 1986 have often failed owing to low union density (Sabela, 2018). Currently there are employer associations linked to the industry including South African National Security Employers' Association (SANSEA), Security Association of South Africa (SASA) and the Chamber of South African Private Security (COSAPS). Such a development within the PSI has been vital, given the problematic working conditions within the industry and the number of employers who routinely fail to comply with the Sectorial Determination thus exploiting and underpaying employees (Sabela, 2018). It is hoped that institutionalisation of a bargaining council will contribute to eradicating non-compliance, strengthening the "minimum capacity" of the Department of Labour and PSiRA (Ntshangase, 2018).

Chapter 4: Methodology

The aim of this study is to establish the barriers to the employment of women in the South African PSI. The epistemological basis of this study is feminist and constructivist. A feminist epistemology explores the link between gender and knowledge and presents gender as an “axis of social relations” rather than a characteristic of individuals (Grasswick, 2011: xiv). Therefore, my aim in utilising a feminist epistemology is to make visible the gendered power relations in society that shape discourse and practice within the context of the private security industry in South Africa. A constructivist approach aims to find out how people construct meaning through their experience and reflecting on those experiences (Mogashoa, 2014:51). A constructivist approach is relevant to this study because I wish to understand how my participants reflect on their experiences working in the PSI. This requires a qualitative research methodology which focuses on how individuals construct their realities and the meaning they attribute to their experiences (Merriam & Tisdell, 2009:5).

4.1 Research methodology and research design

The methodological aim of this study is to understand how women are perceived and how they experience employment in the PSI. Therefore, I believe that a qualitative methodology is the most appropriate approach. At its simplest form, a qualitative methodology is considered to be ‘non-numerical’ because it does not aim to produce data which is quantifiable (Neuman, 2014:16). According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:270) the purpose of qualitative research is to study human action from the perspective of the social actors themselves and to describe and understand rather than explain human behaviour. I believe that a qualitative approach is the most appropriate because it is largely participant-driven allowing them to indicate issues of significance, unlike quantitative research, which is researcher driven (Bryman, 2012:408). Furthermore, while quantitative research often focuses on the static relationship between variables, qualitative research is more attuned to events unfolding over time and the connection between the participant’s actions and perceptions and their social setting (Bryman, 2012:408).

Therefore, I have chosen to employ a qualitative methodology because it is best equipped to aid me in uncovering and understanding the opinions and perspectives of my participants. Furthermore, I would classify my study as a critical qualitative study because I am focusing on how social factors influence the construction of reality (Merriam, 2002:4). According to Willis et al (2007:82), critical research seeks to expose “oppressive relationship [and] power relations

between [...] groups of individuals, enabling the researcher [...] to critique commonly-held values and assumptions". A critical qualitative methodology links well to the feminist epistemological underpinning of this study, since critical research often draws heavily on feminist theory (Merriam, 2009:36). Critical feminism focuses on issues of power and oppression in terms of gender. An approach I believe will facilitate my critique of the gendered power relations, ideology and assumptions about gender that characterise much of the South African PSI (Merriam, 2009:36). Willis et al (2007:82) argues that critical research begins with identifying a group whose needs are not being met by the current system in a particular institution or organisation, in this case women in the PSI.

4.1.1 Research site

There are currently over 8692 private security companies registered with PSiRA (PSiRA, 2017:54). I sampled the majority of my participants from a two large companies which will henceforth be referred to as company A and B. Company A employs over 600 hundred staff and operates solely in Cape Town. I chose company A partly because they were the company most willing to participate in my research, but more importantly because they operate in a range of different locations, including universities, events and film sets, and they offer a range of different services, including guarding, access control and K9 security. Company B employs over 900 staff and operates in both Cape Town and Johannesburg. I chose company B because they offer a wider range of services, including armed response. I also interviewed managers from two smaller armed response companies, company's C and D, operating in Cape Town. Both of these companies employ just 50 staff and offer solely armed response services and alarm-monitoring and installation. I chose these companies because my previous interviews suggested that few women occupy these roles. I was interested in finding out if this was the case within other armed response companies.

Therefore, my research does not have a single 'site,' but is rather the result of my engagement with employees from a number of different sites and companies across the Western Cape. This allowed me to interview employees in a range of services including CCTV, alarms, access control, fire-detection and armed response.

4.2 Research methods and techniques

For the purpose of this study, I chose to employ semi-structured interviews, with thirty-one participants, as my main form of data collection. Furthermore, I employed a document analysis of several PSiRA annual reports ranging from 2012 to 2017. The data-collection instruments were supplemented with on-going observation of interactions and activities taking place at the various company head offices and sites where I interviewed my participants. Observation and participation have been employed by a number of researchers in the field of security (Diphoorn, 2015; Potgieter, 2012 and Westmarland, 2001:5). In my case, my participation and observation was limited to driving around the campus in a patrol car and sitting in the break room between my interviews, observing interactions and making casual conversation. My chosen data-collection techniques have thus been combined in the process of triangulation in order to ensure, to the best of my ability, the internal validity of my study (Merriam, 2009:215). According to Patton (1999: 1192), the value of using multiple methods in the process of triangulation, is the ability to check emerging findings against other sources of data (Merriam, 2009:229).

The following is a more detailed discussion of my chosen methods of data collection as well as my chosen method of data analysis.

4.2.1 Document analysis

For my first stage of data collection I conducted document analysis on five PSiRA annual reports, dating from 2012 to 2018, available to the public through the PSiRA website. The reports follow a similar structure for each publication with six main sections including “General Information,” “Overview of the Public Entity’s Performance,” “Governance,” “Human Resources,” “Performance Information Report,” and “Financial Information.” According to Merriam (2009:139) documents serve as a “ready-made source of data” because they are usually easily accessible and are not dependent on the cooperation of individuals who may cancel interviews. I found the analysis of the annual reports to be an unobtrusive and inexpensive addition to my data collection that served to deepen my study (Bryman, 2012:543).

My reason for choosing document analysis was threefold. Firstly, it enabled me to gain a deeper understanding of the sector in terms of the structure, the challenges and the regulation. This enabled me to prepare for the semi-structured interviews and to ask pertinent questions related

to the policies and protocols surrounding gender and equality. Finally, the aim was to assess the extent to which gender and equality featured in the PSiRA Annual Reports. Much to my surprise, gender does not feature in the Annual Reports of the last five years, beyond a breakdown of the number of women employed by PSiRA itself, indicating the need to include questions as to why gender equality is not more of a focus.

Like any method of data collection, there are limitations to document analysis. For example, a key concern regarding a documentary source is that sources may be biased in terms of authorship. According to Bryman (2012:551), those who are involved in writing official documents for organizations, such as PSiRA, are likely to convey a particular perspective that has been endorsed by the organization. Therefore, while it may be tempting to assume that documents might reveal a particular “underlying reality”, this might not necessarily be the case. Furthermore, another limitation of documentary sources is the fact that they are not produced for research purposes (Merriam, 2002:154). In my case, I was disappointed to discover that gender did not feature as a key issue in any of the Annual Reports I analyzed. However, this indicated that gender equality is not on PSiRA’s agenda which is an important insight for this research. Therefore, important insights were gained from the analysis of these documents.

4.2.2 Observation

According to Laurier (2010), observation as a research tool involves “participating and observing places, practices and people”. It was not initially my plan to conduct observation as a method of data collection, however, spending many hours at the various sites where my participants worked I observed a number of interactions between the employees. Most of my observation took place at a university, where a number of company A’s employees were stationed, in the break room and in a supervisor’s car en route to complete various tasks. In the break room I was privy to, and often included in, a number of conversations some casual and some pertaining to tasks associated with security work.

The nature of my observation was overt, since everybody in the spaces I observed was aware of my presence. I chose to employ overt observation because it is less ethically problematic than covert observation, which negates the process of informed consent (Bryman, 2012: 436). However, one of the disadvantages of overt observation is that participants might change their

behavior, consciously or unconsciously, because they know they are being observed (Bryman, 2012:433). I did feel that this was the case at times. While those that I observed often spoke to me and included me in their conversations, there were times when groups of people would walk into the break room in conversation and abruptly change the subject when they noticed me. Furthermore, the extent of my observation and participation was determined by time and permission. In terms of time, I was limited to observing and participating on the days that I had scheduled interviews with participants at a particular site. Furthermore, there were restrictions implemented by the participating companies. For example, I was not given permission to participate and observe on night shifts, nor was I permitted to observe armed personnel.

Despite these limitations, I do feel that my observations yielded interesting insights. Riding along with several supervisors, gave me interesting insights into the requirements and pressures of their role and the role of those they were supervising. Furthermore, sitting in the break room allowed me to interact with some of my participants outside of the interview format. Here they made additional comments about their experiences working in the sector. Furthermore, I feel that being in the break room allowed the participants that I had not yet interviewed to feel more comfortable with my presence.

4.2.3 The semi-structured interviews

Sampling

For the purposes of this study, I made use of both purposive and snowball sampling. Given that 80% of the active private security officers in South Africa are men, I was aware from the start that the majority of my sample would most likely be men (Private Security Sub-Sector Report, 2016:12). However, it was important to ensure that I would have both men and women participants in my sample. According to Bryman, purposive sampling is common in qualitative research because it allows the sampling of participants based on the aims of the research (Bryman, 2012:418). The limitation of purposive sampling is that it is not necessarily representative of the population (Merriam, 2002:77). However, given that this study focuses on gender equality, it was essential to ensure that I had women and men as participants. Therefore, purposive sampling was deemed the most appropriate method to ensure that both men and women were represented in my sample.

In total I interviewed 31 individuals employed in the PSI ranging from managers, middle-

managers, supervisors, guards, access control guards, control room operators, K9 handlers and armed response guards. Of the 31 participants, 8 were women and 23 were men. The majority of my participants were black or coloured. Two of the managers were white and one was Indian. The age of my participants ranged from 23 to 57.

In terms of the snowball sampling, the manager of company A put me in contact with employees on particular sites. He asked their permission before sharing their contact details with me and reassured them that I did not pose a threat to their employment and that their conversations with me would be anonymous. However, my participants facilitated the rest of my interviews with this company by recommending their friends and co-workers. The benefit of snowball sampling is this convenience (Bryman, 2012:425; Merriam, 2002:79). However, the biggest benefit I experienced was trust. According to Kirchnerr & Charles (2018:5), snowball sampling can help interviewers to overcome their participants mistrust and fear because interviews were established via trusted social networks. I definitely found this to be the case. While my first group of participants was initially wary of me and, they generally felt comfortable by the end of the interview. In contrast the participants who had been referred to me by previous participants were less wary of me. This was valuable because it allowed participants to feel more comfortable participating in my interviews. Furthermore, it helped to neutralise the initial bias caused by the employer's initial influence on the sample.

Furthermore, after completing my interviews with employees of company A, I employed purposive sampling again to select four managers of Cape Town-based PSC's offering armed response services. My reason for selecting these participants was based on my intention of representing a number of different services offered by the South African PSI. The literature suggests that women are less likely to be employed in security positions where there is more risk. Therefore, I wanted to explore how women are viewed by companies that require their employees to confront armed suspects. By purposively selecting managers of armed response companies I was able to gain this insight. One of the armed response managers I interviewed facilitated my sampling of two armed response guards and two women managers from the company. Unfortunately, I was not able to interview women armed response guards because none of the companies I contacted employed women in this role.

My final sample selection was an official from PSiRA. His perspective was useful as he has a holistic overview of the PSI and has published extensively in the field. Furthermore, it was necessary to question him, on the absence of policies and protocols surrounding gender equality

in the PSI.

Interview format

According to Bryman (2012:212) a semi-structured interview guide consists of a series of open-ended questions that an interviewer might ask in any sequence. Furthermore, there is flexibility, with this format for the interviewer to ask follow-up questions and probes should they deem this necessary (Bryman, 2012:212). The interview guides ensured that all my participants were asked similar questions. Therefore, it allowed me to engage with my participants in a conversational manner, but without losing sight of my topic,

I designed three interview guides (Appendixes 1, 2 & 3), one for managers and supervisors, another for security officers and a final guide for the representative of PSiRA that I interviewed (See appendixes 1,2 and 3). All three interview guides consisted of similar core questions, but some questions differed in order to be relevant for each group of participants. Gray (2004:220) cautions about the systematic error that can take place if an interviewer does not standardise the interview guide for all participants. Whilst I appreciate the reasoning behind this method, in my case it was important that I ask specific questions of participants, in certain employment positions, that would not have been relevant to other participants in different employment positions.

I conducted twenty-three interviews between 5 September 2018 and 12 September 2019. All of my interviews were conducted in English, my home language. I ensured that all of my participants were comfortable proceeding in English at the beginning of all my interviews. I did not encounter any language barriers, as all my participants were conversant in English. Most of my interviews were audio-recorded- with permission from my participants- for the purpose of transcription and authenticity (Hammersley, 2003: 33). Only one of my participants expressed discomfort with the presence of my recording device, which I respected. Detailed note-taking was employed instead to capture this interview.

4.2.4 Data analysis

The data collected from my interviews, document analysis and observation was processed and analysed using thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006:6) define thematic analysis as establishing, reporting and analysing patterns or themes within a data set. Themes can represent a phenomenon in the data set that emerges repeatedly to belie significance (Bryman, 2012:654). However, Braun and Clarke (2006:10) caution against relying on repetition to indicate a

theme's significance. Therefore, an insight that occurs in only a few transcripts might become a theme because it captures something relevant to the research question or topic. I found this to be the case when analysing my data, as some themes appeared in only a few transcripts but they offered important insight.

One of the benefits of the thematic approach is that it is a method rather than a methodology. Therefore, it is not linked to any epistemological or theoretical perspective (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017:3352). Furthermore, there are few 'rules' when it comes to conducting thematic analysis, apart from what constitutes a theme, or how to uncover a theme through coding (Bryman, 2012:578; Maguire & Delahunt, 2017:3352). However, this flexibility also constitutes a common critique of thematic analysis, in that it lacks a clearly specified procedure (Bryman, 2012:581). Therefore, there are concerns about the validity and the standardisation of the method. To counteract this criticism, I have employed Braun and Clarke's (2006:16) six phases of thematic analysis. These six phases include familiarising yourself with the data, generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing the themes, defining the themes and the write-up. Since I collected my own data, I was already familiar with many of the emerging themes before the coding process began. However, I made the effort to familiarise myself with the transcripts before coding.

I also used a three-stage process in identifying and coding my themes. Firstly, I utilized "open coding" in which I read through all of my transcripts and identified the main themes and assigned them a colour code on my computer. Given that the purpose of this research is to address particular research questions, my thematic analysis approach was informed by the literature (Maguire & Delahunt, 2017:3355). Therefore, my codes emerged according to themes which had been emphasized in my literature review. Secondly, "axial coding" was used to analyse the existing themes that clustered together. Here I realized that some of my themes were actually subcategories of another theme. Finally, I utilized selective coding, where I scanned my transcripts for specific quotes or explanations which successfully illustrated my main themes (Neuman, 2014:484).

4.3 Critical Reflections on the research process

In this section, I reflect on some of the challenges and limitations faced during the research process. Access is a common limitation researchers face. Initially I experienced few barriers

gaining access to interview employees of company A. After receiving ethical clearance from Stellenbosch University, my first point of contact was the senior manager who agreed to meet and discuss my research. During our first meeting he granted me access to interview some of his employees and he agreed to be interviewed himself. He put me in contact with two senior supervisors who facilitated interviews with some of the guards deployed on the campus.

However, after transcribing these interviews I decided that more interviews would be necessary, specifically with managers and guards operating in armed guarding and reaction response as the literature suggests that this is a division in the PSI where women are least likely to serve (SASSETA, 2016:7). However, after multiple unsuccessful attempts to contact him, I decided to find another company more willing to cooperate. I was unwilling to compromise the quality of my data by excluding the armed response sector, but it was frustrating to restart the process of institutional access after establishing a research relationship with company A. It also delayed the second stage of my data collection which put pressure on the time frame of the research in terms of write-up and analysis. However, I was able to gain interviews with five managers in armed response companies and two armed guards. This added necessary insights to my dataset.

4.3.1 Limitations

As is the case with most research, I experienced limitations in terms my methods of data collection. I had originally decided to conduct focus group interviews, as well as semi-structured interviews, because I believed that it would create a supportive environment in which the security guards would be surrounded by their co-workers and peers. I had hoped that this would counteract potential fear that it might impact their job security (Bryman, 2012:394). Unfortunately, I found group interviews impractical because I was interviewing guards who were on duty and they could not abandon their posts simultaneously to participate in an interview.

Therefore, semi-structured interviews proved to be the most practical method. Nevertheless, I still encountered a number of challenges in conducting my semi-structured interviews. Some common challenges associated with conducting interviews, particularly within security sectors, include cancellations and unwillingness to participate (Mouton, 2006:93; Potgieter, 2012:57). While I did experience short-notice cancellation of interviews, it was usually because a crisis

had arisen which my participants had to respond to. However, I did encounter a number of security officers, and PSC's, who were unwilling to participate in my interviews. According to Gray (2004:228), this is not only a limitation of conducting interviews, it is a limitation associated with conducting research within workplaces because of fears of job security. Consequently, participants might provide socially desirable responses rather than their own opinions (Gray, 2004:228).

I definitely experienced this limitation, even among the security officers who agreed to participate. This was compounded by my position as a white student, which was often met with suspicion. I was often asked why I wanted to know about their experiences working in the industry, why *they* had been chosen to participate and what the purpose of the research would be. However, I was aided by the information sheet (Appendix 4), provided to participants before each interview, and most participants felt more comfortable with my assurance that their details would remain anonymous. Furthermore, it should be mentioned that my use of snowball sampling had a positive impact on my ability to generate rapport and engender trust. While it is possible that my participants gave 'socially desirable' answers, I generally found that they spoke freely about employment inequality in the PSI and their experiences working in the industry. As the interviewer, I also endeavoured to remain neutral to those views which contradicted my own so as not to discourage the expression of their opinions.

There were also limitations posed by my research design. Owing to time constraints and the scope of my project, I was only able to conduct multiple interviews with two companies. Given the size and diversity of the PSI in South Africa, my findings are not generalizable. However, my study does provide some insight into this sector as well as adding to the body of knowledge on the PSI in South Africa, which remains under-researched.

4.3.2 Ethical considerations

Before beginning my data collection, I obtained ethical clearance from the Stellenbosch University Faculty Ethics Committee. Through this process a number of compulsory ethical procedures were highlighted. The first was the necessity of obtaining institutional permission from the six different companies I sampled my participants from. This process differed for each company, but none were particularly complex nor lengthy. In each case, I made contact with a manager from each company either telephonically or via email. Where I only

interviewed a manager, these companies were comfortable giving me institutional permission after my first email. With company A and B, the companies required that I meet with a representative, either a senior manager or director, to discuss my intentions and my research needs. From here I received institutional permission via email.

A further ethical principle was voluntary participation (Neuman, 2013: 151). It was not enough simply to ask permission, I needed to be clear about what participation involved. In order to ensure voluntary participation, I informed all my participants of their rights and emphasized that participation was a choice and not an obligation. Furthermore, I provided them with the informed consent form which they signed (Appendix 4). Many of my participants wanted to know what questions I would be asking before agreeing to participate, so I was often asked to read my interview guide before the interview. This seemed to put them at ease, as they were all comfortable to continue. I made sure to inform every participant of my intention to record their interview, both verbally and in the consent form. One of my participants asked not to be recorded, so I employed detailed note-taking throughout this interview. Confidentiality and anonymity were ensured through the use of numerical pseudonyms in the transcribed interviews and analysis, as well as pseudonyms for company names. Furthermore, all transcripts were numerically coded and stored on my password protected personal computer. Only I had access to these transcripts.

I encountered a number of ethical challenges throughout the research process. As was the case with Potgieter's (2012:60) research and my previous study (Tennant, 2017:27) the fact that the managers, of companies A and B, played a role in facilitating the security officer's participation in my study could be seen as limiting, as the participants might have felt coerced to participate. Neuman (2013:146) cautions that researchers should be aware of the power relations involved in research relationships. However, it was necessary that the managers be facilitators, so that my participants knew that my presence, and request for participation, had been endorsed by the company. Identifying this as a possible ethical issue, I made sure to emphasize before each interview that participation was voluntary before each interview. Furthermore, my use of snowball sampling neutralized this ethical concern, as many of my participants volunteered their participation based on recommendations by friends and co-workers. None of the participants who chose to participate seemed pressurized to do so, nor did they seem uncomfortable during the interview.

A second ethical dilemma I faced was that of my participant's expectation of my presence and the purpose of my research. Some of my participants viewed me as somebody who could advocate for them, to their superiors, regarding their concerns and issues in the workplace. I was transparent about the purpose of my research but many participants asked me if I could address their workplace grievances. I always responded by making it clear that it was not within my capacity to advocate on their behalf regarding their concerns, but that a copy of my research would be sent to PSiRA's head office. While I appreciated that these participants felt comfortable to share these issues with me, I also felt a level of pressure regarding their expectations and my inability to meet them.

A further ethical issue that arose relates to my participant's interest in my research. Three of my participants, two managers and one security guard, had expressed interest in receiving a copy of my completed thesis. This poses an ethical challenge owing to the gendered composition of employees at company A and B, namely that there are far fewer women employed than men. Therefore, the participants are easier to identify for managers of the companies, thus, possibly jeopardizing their anonymity. My solution has been to refrain from distinguishing between the employees of companies A, B, C and D when reporting and analyzing the data. I feel this will provide more anonymity to the women respondents.

Finally, I made it a priority to remain aware and reflexive about my position as a woman and a student throughout the research process. My position as a white student elicited a variety of reactions. Many of my participants viewed me as a potential whistle-blower of confidential information. Some asked me if I was a journalist writing an article for the newspaper. However, this was not always asked on the basis of suspicion, two of my participants expressed hope that I would publish their concerns to the public. Those who were suspicious at first, seemed to take my assurances that I was not a journalist at face value. I believe that their propensity to trust me and my word was aided by the manager's endorsement of my presence and purpose. Without this endorsement I feel that the participants would not have trusted me enough to participate.

Furthermore, conducting research on gender in a masculine space, I am aware that being a woman might have impacted how my participants responded and related to me. However, very rarely did I feel that my being a woman influenced my participant's tendency to speak truthfully about their opinions on gender in the PSI. A few did expressed embarrassment about making

derogatory remarks in my presence. They often stated, “I mean no disrespect miss, but...” followed by an often sexist remark about women’s capabilities. However, most of my participants had no qualms about sharing their views. In response I endeavored to remain non-judgmental of those views which contradicted my own.

Chapter 5: Discussion of findings

Security work has historically been perceived as a ‘male occupation’ and this perception remains dominant today (Eichler, 2015:56; Stiehm, 1982:374). As the previous chapters suggest, this is influenced by a number of factors including problematic perceptions of sex and gender, patriarchy, stereotypes and occupational culture. Such factors contribute to the employment inequality that is rife within a number of security institutions, including the PSI, and serve as barriers to women’s success and equal participation in security work.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the findings culminating from my observation, in-depth semi-structured interview and document analysis of the PSiRA annual reports. In the first section, I discuss the quality of employment in this industry and address the masculine organisational culture of the sector. In the second section the focus shifts to the gendered division of labour within PSI with reference to the nature of tasks within the sector, and the division of labour. In the third section, the factors that influence the inclusion and exclusion of women in the sector are deliberated. In the final section, the challenges that security companies face in employing women are assessed.

In the presentation of these findings, the following research objectives are addressed.

1. To outline the structure and gender profile of the private security sector.
2. The barriers to the employment of women in the private security sector.
3. The factors that facilitate the inclusion, exclusion and ability to shift gender norms.
4. The challenges that security companies face in achieving gender equity.

The presentation of my research findings are structured around these themes.

5.1 Nature of security work

5.4.4 The quality of security work

To understand the exclusion of women from the PSI, it is important to interrogate the quality of employment in the industry. Furthermore, it is important to consider the precarity of employment within this industry since the literature suggests that this could be a possible challenge in meeting equity targets (McCann, 2014:508). Regarding the ILO’s (SWOP, 2012:

I) indicators of “decent employment”, my participants only expressed concern about two, namely adequate earnings and equal opportunities and treatment.

The size and scope of the PSI means that the number of people employed within this industry is much higher than that of public institutions such as the police and the military (Berg and Howell, 2017:4). The industry is currently facing multiple challenges, most of which relate to non-compliance (PSiRA, 2017:40; SASSETA, 2016:14). The industry also has a poor reputation regarding the quality of employment it offers in terms of workers’ rights and working conditions (Simon, 2010; Webster and Sefalafala, 2012:78). Employment in the PSI is characterised by long hours, few benefits and dangerous working conditions. One of my participants stated:

It is difficult to work here. You are the face of the company. The first person people see. So when robbers come to rob the hostels, they come through, kill, hurt the security first. So what you earn is not what you are doing. You are doing much more but you earn such a little money. If they come here, they come to us first, so no, money is not enough ¹.

A number of my participants agreed that their remuneration matched the dangerous nature of their jobs and the long hours they worked (Berg & Howell, 2017:8; Sefalafala, 2012:85). Important to note is that wages are standardised within the industry, by the Sectoral Determination: Private Security Sector (SD6) which covers all active security officers (Sefalafala, 2013:70). Therefore, my participant’s complaints do not necessarily reflect on the policies of the particular companies, but rather on the industry as a whole. However, it is known that employers routinely fail to comply with the wage determination (Sabela, 2018). Furthermore, while the wages proposed by PSiRA are considered ‘adequate,’ the reality is that employees, particularly in the low-skilled guarding sector, struggle to survive on their wages (SWOP, 2012: vii). One of my participants stated:

If you look at the wage determination act, say grade C earns about R4200, now if I stay in a rural area, this is a lot of money. It’s fine. If I stay in a more upmarket area, where I’m paying R8000 for rent, I’m not going to make it².

Therefore, many security officers find that their wages do not cover the basic necessities for

¹ Man security guard, interview 3, Cape Town.

² Man security guard, interview 26, Cape Town.

survival (Webster & Sefalafala, 2013:83). SATUWA acknowledges that the new minimum wage since September 2018 is not a living wage yet they are satisfied that it is a positive step forward (Africa, 2017). However, based on my participant's experience of earnings within this industry, their feelings of disillusionment and despair have a negative impact on how they view their job, as reflected in the following quote:

These companies, these private companies, they are so heartless sometimes. It's all about the money [...]. Even with this little money, when you count it on your pay slip it is not enough. And when you ask what's going on you won't get answers. So we are not proud of this industry, but we have to work (M3)³.

Despite the fact that the wages within this industry is considered to be 'minimum wage,' they form part of what has been defined as "the working poor" (Rogan & Reynolds, 2015:5). However, they often have no choice but to accept employment in this sector owing to their lack of qualifications and alternative job opportunities (Sefalafala & Webster, 2013:84).

The fact that these jobs are poorly paid and are defined as 'low-skilled' means that the work does not command the respect which affects the security guard's self-worth. One of my participants stated:

You can go anywhere, but no-one is proud to be a security [...]. I think for me, why we don't get respected by the people is because of money. Because everyone knows that we earn peanuts. I just generally feel that we don't get respected because they know how little you get⁴.

There was a common distinction made, among a number of my participants, between 'qualified' and 'unqualified' work with security guards falling into the 'unqualified' category. As is suggested in the quote above, some of my participants suggested that their work is not respected because they are not viewed as being *qualified* and thus their job is viewed as being of low status. It is true that the PSI is considered to have a low barrier of entry. For example, grade E training, the minimum requirement for employment in this industry, only takes a week to complete (Sefalafala, 2012:83). Beblavy et al (2015:255), points out that low-skilled workers are disadvantaged within labour markets in which high-skilled work is privileged. However, according to my participants this low barrier of entry can also be an advantage for low-skilled

³ Man security guard, interview 3, Cape Town

⁴ Man Security guard, interview 4, Cape Town.

workers who have not completed their education or lack the funds to further their education. However, access to education remains an issue within South Africa. By the age of 17, fewer than 91% of the youth in SA are still attending school (Lehohla, 2019: 22). Common barriers include long journeys to and from school, lack of funds for school fees and the necessity of finding a job at a young age (Lehohla, 2019: 22).

A key finding is that security work is characterised by high levels of gender inequality. In terms of the gender profile of the industry, currently men dominate 70% of private security roles in SA. This statistic was reflected in my analysis of the annual reports produced by PSiRA. In fact, this was one of the only instances in which sex and gender were mentioned in these annual reports. This assertion was also supported by the majority of my participants. According to one of my participants “women got a 30% chance to be recognized in this industry” (M28)⁵. Furthermore, a manager stated:

Unfortunately, it [the PSI] is largely male dominated. [...] We deal with recruitment here on a daily basis. If you look at the ratio of males to females walking in this building, it’s like five to one⁶.

This finding is supported by much of the literature which suggests that security institutions, both public and private, are most often characterised by a male dominated workforce (Eichler, 2015:56; Heinecken, 2016, 2; Potgieter, 2012:36).

While gender inequality is the focus of this research, it is also important to note that the PSI is characterised by racial inequality as well as gender inequality. The industry is still divided along racial lines with the majority of owners and managers being white and the majority of the guards black (Gumedze, 2008:75). This was certainly reflected in the racial profile of my participants, as the majority of the managers I interviewed were white, while all of the security guards interviewed were black or coloured. Therefore, it is important to consider why it is predominately people of colour serving in the lower-skilled and waged roles in this industry (Meiring et al, 2018:10; Seekings & Nattrass, 2005:34). This can be attributed, in part, to the role that class, race and gender continue to play in structuring labour market participation (Meiring et al, 2018:10). Statistics suggest that white people constitute 71% and people of colour 16% of managerial and professional categories within the South African economy

⁵ Man armed response guard, interview 28, Cape Town.

⁶ Man manager, interview 1, Cape Town.

(Moleke, 2005:15). Hence, the PSI is not unique in terms of racial representation.

Beyond this racial divide, it appears that racial discrimination, as well as gender discrimination, is rife within this industry. Some of my participants made comments such as “even the black guards are good at their jobs” and “why is a black man supervising me?”⁷. According to Gumede (2008:198) such racist attitudes are common in the industry as are more serious forms of racial discrimination, such as the use of racial slurs by supervisors and seniors (Gumede, 2008:198). Accordingly, one has to consider how the intersectionality of race, gender and class influences workplace discrimination in the PSI (Crenshaw 1989:1242; hooks, 1984:2). According to intersectionality theory, racial and sexual discrimination rarely occur in isolation (Crenshaw 1989:1242). For example, one of my women participants stated,

Ummm, the fact that I am a woman and that I am black. Most of the companies, I don't think I am what they are looking for when they look for a senior. And it's even worse when you are black”⁸.

Therefore, in considering how women experience discrimination and exclusion in the South African PSI, it is important to consider how this discrimination intersects with discrimination they may experience based on their race, gender and class.

5.1.1 The gendered nature of employment

Another key finding, of this study, is that the PSI is not only male-dominated in terms of employment, it is also characterised by a masculine organisational culture. The PSI is imbued with a particular cultural meaning and significance that is heavily rooted in masculinity, thus producing a workforce which perpetuates gendered notions of security provision (Eichler, 2015:56). Several of my participants characterised the culture of the industry as “manly” or “masculine”, as reflected in the following quote:

Security work is supposed to be man's work not woman's work. To be honest, when this industry started it was just men everywhere. Always in government or private security you just used to see men. It's only now when women are coming in⁹

A number of my participants suggested that the industry is masculine because it was established

⁷ Man security guards, interviews 5 &7, Cape Town.

⁸ Woman security guard, interview 15, Cape Town.

⁹ Man armed response guard, interview 29, Cape Town.

by men. According to Alvesson and Due Billing (2009:119), workplaces created by and are dominated by men reflect norms, policies and systems that are masculine which often remains embedded in organisational culture of the industry (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005:834). One of my participants, in particular, directly referred to the role that masculinity had in structuring the PSI:

The industry was actually established by ex-military and ex-police personnel and all of those guys were males. So now when they started this industry, all that they could do was to engage males in the system because of where they were coming from¹⁰.

Therefore, it could be said that men are preferred for employment within this industry because hegemonic masculinity played an instrumental role in the structuring of the industry (Connell and Messerschmidts, 2005:834). While it is true that masculinity has played a role in structuring security institutions, the continuation of traditions and protocols that are deeply rooted in masculinity results in the devaluing of femininity.

While women are not equally represented in the PSI, they do still hold 20% of employment in the industry, yet many of the men participants spoke about the ‘good old days’ when “men were everywhere in security work”¹¹. While the exclusively ‘male’ establishment of the PSI explains why the industry remains characterised by a masculine organisational culture, it does not explain why many individuals in the PSI believe that one has to be a man in order work in security roles. In order to understand this, it is important to consider how sex and gender are perceived within this industry and the barriers this poses to women employed and seeking employment within this industry.

5.1.2 The barriers women face

Much of the literature surrounding gender in institutions, suggests that women struggle to find employment in industries that are male-dominated and characterised by a masculine organisational culture (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:49; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 832; Diphoom, 2015:304; Eichler, 2015: 57; Potgieter, 2012: 20). Many of my participants, suggested that it is more “difficult for women to find a job in this industry”¹². One of my women participants stated:

¹⁰ Man representative of PSiRA, interview 25, Johannesburg.

¹¹ Man armed response guard, interview 29, Cape Town.

¹² Woman security guard, interview 9, Cape Town.

It's not equal. Like when they are doing the employment, sometimes if they are looking for 50 people, you will find out it's 40 males and 10 females. Which means a lot of females, they don't get a job, they don't get the work¹³.

Therefore, one of the aims of this study was to establish what barriers women face in this sector, and if they are rooted in perceptions of sex and gender. The majority of my participants subscribe to a notion of gender as fixed and inherently linked to biological sex, rather than the fluid, unstable and performative notion described by Butler (1998:520). Women were characterised as being inherently soft, gentle and nurturing, while men were assumed to be strong, brave and aggressive. These characterisations are in line with the qualities that the literature suggests are typically associated with men and women (Erikson et al, 2000:296; Mobekk, 2010:28; Sion, 2009:477). This can be seen represented in one of my men participant's characterisation of women:

A woman has a very soft heart. Even me, when I talk to my wife and I can't even talk loud and she starts crying. So she's got a very soft heart, a mother's heart¹⁴.

According to Ndzwayiba and Steyn (2019:394), South Africans have deeply rooted conceptions of sex and gender (Lazar, 2005:30). Many of my participants continue to perceive men and women as being limited to the characteristics and capabilities associated with their sex. Therefore, men are perceived as being better suited to positions that require qualities stereotypically associated with masculinity, such as security provision. On the other hand, women are viewed as being less suitable for security work, based on the stereotype that they are inherently soft and gentle (Gerzema & D'Antonio, 2013:9; M28).

The assumption that women are a homogenous group with the same skills and capabilities perpetuates the assumption that *all* women are incapable of serving in security roles. Thus serving to normalise the exclusion of women from certain jobs such as many of the roles in the PSI (Johnson, 2005, 40). One of my participants expressed the opinion that men have the 'mentality' to protect that women do not have¹⁵. Therefore, the exclusion of women from this

¹³ Woman security guard, interview 8, Cape Town.

¹⁴ Man armed response guard, interview 28, Cape Town.

¹⁵ Man security guard, interview 7, Cape Town.

industry is based on the flawed stereotype that women cannot serve as protectors. Such a perception can be traced back to the concept of warfare, where it is a man's job to fight for the nation and protect the citizens (Stiehm, 1982:374). According to one of my participants:

Society tends to dictate that rather a man than a woman will protect. I recall um, I think it way back in WW2, where young men were losing their lives at a staggering rate. It was the Vietnam War. And people were asking the question, but why weren't the women soldiers being sent in. And the general consensus just was that the general society just wasn't ready to see a truck-load of body-bags filled with women's bodies coming back. So. And it's changed only a little bit since then¹⁶.

What this quote indicates is poignant in that the concept of men and women losing their lives is viewed differently in society, particularly when lives are lost during security provision (Millar, 2017: 552). Society is content to watch men lose their lives providing protection, but the concept of women as *protected* rather than *protectors* is so ingrained in the consciousness of society that the idea of women losing their lives as protectors is often viewed as being morally wrong (Eichler, 2015:57; Stiehm, 1982:375). Therefore, there remains a double standard in which societies seemingly condemn women endangering themselves as protectors, and celebrate men going to war or behaving violently. In fact, within western societal discourse, dying in combat or war is considered a *good* death for a man, while a woman's death is only tolerable if it is an accident (Millar, 2017: 552).

In terms of the PSI, a key finding of this study is that based on this dominant sexist rhetoric that women are considered inherently unsuitable for most forms of employment in this industry (Eichler, 2015: 57). Gender norms pose a number of serious barriers for women employed and seeking employment in this industry. One such barrier was highlighted by the majority of my women participants who expressed that they often feel undermined on the basis of their sex. One woman stated, "it's different because when you are a woman, nobody respects you, nobody thinks you can do anything but sit and stay"¹⁷. The majority of my participants suggested that the skills and qualities that are considered valuable in this industry, such as bravery and strength, are associated with men. One of my men participants, a patrol officer, stated:

If we are three ladies there is no man and sometimes we struggle a lot because, there by the gate is going to be women, here is going to be women, inside a woman. Then anything happens outside,

¹⁶ Man supervisor, interview 2, Cape Town.

¹⁷ Woman security guard, interview 4, Cape Town.

who is going to run there? A woman. No men, that's why there must be a man somewhere¹⁸.

Once again, these opinions prove that the assumptions and beliefs surrounding biological deterministic, fixed notions of gender identity are not benevolent. Rather, they reproduce and perpetuate gendered stereotypes that have consequences for the way men and women are encouraged to behave, treated and accepted in society (Heilman, 2012:115). It also has consequences for men and women's agencies to find employment in certain sectors of the economy. According to Heilman (2012:115) because gender stereotypes are widely shared and often unconscious, people can be advantaged or disadvantaged in how they are perceived, not based on what they have done, but because they are perceived as being a man or a woman. This can be seen in the way in which men are preferred for employment positions in the PSI. One of my participants stated, that "men have more opportunities than women in this industry, the companies all want men"¹⁹ representing one of the impacts of women being perceived as biologically and inherently less capable of security provision. One of my participants stated:

Being a woman, you always looked down at and sometimes when there is a post they say only for men because they feel like you, as a woman cannot do it²⁰.

What this represents is the hegemonic power relations at play within the PSI. According to Pilcher and Whelehan (2004:83) masculinities and femininities represent power relations within many contexts, with hegemonic masculinities mostly occupying a higher position in this 'gender hierarchy'. While this gender hierarchy would be specific to each company, the majority of my men and women participants expressed the view that men perceive themselves as being *above* women in this industry. Not only was this on the basis of the necessary skills that they, as men, believed they possess, but simply on the basis that they, as men, are better than women. This is reflected in one of my participant's statements:

I don't want a woman to take my place. That is how men think, I don't want a woman to take my place, I'm an alpha male and I don't have to take orders from a lady²¹.

Consequently, there are implications for how women are regarded in this industry and their success in occupying positions of power. One woman participant stated:

¹⁸ Man security guard, interview 5, Cape Town.

¹⁹ Woman security guard, interview 15, Cape Town.

²⁰ Woman security guard, interview 14, Cape Town.

²¹ Man armed response guard, interview 29, Cape Town.

I don't know how to put it, but it's like when a man is in charge, it's going to be more respected than a woman. And men don't like to listen to women when it comes to telling them what to do, because there is this culture that men dominate and will always have the more power and higher positions²².

Therefore, this hegemonic masculinity legitimises the subordination of women and authority of men in this industry, thus, sustaining men's position at the top of the gender hierarchy in the PSI (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005:832). It is important to note that it is not my intention to suggest that every man I interviewed enacted hegemonic masculinity. According to Connell & Messerschmidt (2005:832), very few individuals ever attain this. What I am suggesting is that hegemonic masculine ideals are supported by the PSI, thus normalising the subordination and exclusion of women within this industry, as expressed in the following quote:

To us as a guy or the males, it's not so difficult. You take your stuff, your CV and then you go and look for a job. It's not so difficult²³.

In contrast, most of my women participants expressed frustration in the fact that they feel undervalued on the basis of their sex. One of my women participants stated:

There are not jobs for us because they always want men. Men, men, men, men. Like men is better. So, but there must be a lady, so let's put a lady there. You must just stay there, when they need you they are going to call you but they always need men according to them²⁴.

While there is no formal law or legislation disallowing women from applying for positions in the PSI, my data suggests that men are generally not only preferred in this industry, but see women as a threat to this masculine space, as reflected in the comment made by a woman participant.

Men don't like to be equal. They don't like to be equal, they like to see women as a lower and struggling and coming to them for help²⁵.

In examining the reasons provided by some of my men participants, when explaining why they are valued more than women in this industry, an interesting justification included that women

²² Woman security guard, interview 14, Cape Town.

²³ Man security guard, interview 11, Cape Town.

²⁴ Woman security guard, interview 14, Cape Town.

²⁵ Woman security guard, interview 9, Cape Town.

seek positions in the PSI out of desperation. One of my participants stated:

As I said sometimes the men working the job, but the women are only doing the job because there is no other money. So men are valued more²⁶.

This opinion was shared by a number of my men participants. However, by this reasoning one would expect that employment in the PSI would be overwhelmingly pursued by men on the basis of passion. Yet, the majority of my participants, when asked why they chose employment in the PSI, cited desperation for money, difficulties in finding another job and a lack of education as reasons why they pursued employment in the PSI. This attitude is interesting nevertheless because it indicates a commonly held assumption that private security is a second choice for women and a first choice for men, when in reality, it is often a second choice for both men and women. What this indicates is that men are inherently associated with security work while it seems strange for women to pursue employment in such an industry (Eichler, 2015:60; Stiehm, 1982:375).

When asked what specifically about security work women are incapable of performing, the majority of my participants cited biological differences between men and women's physiology and psychology as the main reason why men are more suitable for security work. The majority of my men participants cited women's inability to withstand the long hours that characterise employment in the industry, increased vulnerability to danger and fear as key reasons why women are typically excluded. One participant stated:

You know, as a woman you can't walk there in the cold during the night, patrolling. You can go to the police. Police don't walk on the street; they are in the car. But women, you can find a security woman there patrolling all night like it's called. Or standing. A woman can't stand for 12 hours²⁷.

Such biologically deterministic arguments were mirrored by many of my participants as a justification as to why men are best suited to this industry. Such assumptions have such tangible implications for women working and seeking employment in this industry (Freedman, 2001:13). Not only did many men participants suggest that it is okay for women to be excluded because "it is for their own good," thus negating women's agency to make such decisions

²⁶ Man security guard, interview 21, Cape Town.

²⁷ Man security guard, interview 3, Cape Town.

themselves, they also suggested that including women would be “a waste of time” because they simply would not be able to or be prepared to stand for that long²⁸. One participant stated:

Because sometimes you stand for more than 12 hours. So that’s where the gender bias comes in. Because the guys feel offended now because they say, I’m doing the same thing but now this lady will run away. Not thinking about taking into consideration that this is a woman, she can’t stand as long. She don’t have the same strength as the men²⁹.

What this suggests is that women who are employed in such positions will complain and possibly fail to do the job that they are employed to do. While the historical perception of women as the ‘weaker sex’ has been used to justify their exclusion from certain positions considered too taxing or dangerous, Johnson (2005:40) argues that women’s physical endurance has proven to be equal to, if not greater than that of men (Barnett, 2004:668). This is interesting because while two of my women participants did indeed express that the long hours were a struggle, a number of the men mentioned this too, as reflected below:

They treat us like a slave now. If you see at main campus, the security they are standing the whole night. I was working there long time. Standing outside, the whole night³⁰.

While both men and women shared concerns about the long hours that characterize employment in the PSI, the long hours do not impact women alone, thus, casting doubt on the use of long hours as a justification for excluding women from employment in this industry.

Another frequently cited reason for their exclusion was women’s vulnerability to danger. Employment in this industry is characterized by danger and risk and it is, therefore, unsurprising that participants raised this as a concern (Berg & Howell, 2017:7; Sefalafala, 2013: 114). One my participants stated “women don’t have the power to defend themselves. Security work is for the men because the women can’t fight and sometimes they would be scared”³¹. This is linked to the gendered stereotype regarding women’s skills and capabilities, and that they are inherently more fearful and vulnerable than men. A number of my participants presented this stereotype as though it was a fact:

²⁸ Man security guard, interview 13, Cape Town.

²⁹ Man armed response guard, interview 29, Cape Town.

³⁰ Man security guard, interview 3, Cape Town.

³¹ Man security guard, interview 6, Cape Town.

For instance, they put the guard house outside, then the female security has to patrol all around the fence to find out if there is no hole in the fence. Where is the main guard? Inside the guard room, they are not walking together. One must be in the guard house; one must be patrolling. Then the lady must, it's her turn to do the patrol. Then someone might be raping the lady there. Where is the male guard? He's in the guard house³².

This quote reflects a concern that was shared by a number of my participants regarding women's vulnerability in situations where they have to patrol alone. Other participants suggested that women's presence was a hindrance because they felt responsible for protecting them both and the site:

I would say because of the danger, it's because of the danger. You are standing there with actually your life and to look over your shoulder and see a woman, uh, every few minutes or wherever you go. I don't think it's safe for a woman. If there is a woman working with a man on that specific shift, I have to look after her also. It's her life and my life" (M28)³³.

This further proves the dominance of the gendered protector/protected dichotomy when men security guards feel *responsible* for women in the same security provision role. Other common justifications included women's vulnerability to gender-based violence. Hence, women are excluded from certain 'dangerous' jobs where they could be at risk of physical and sexual violence. While nobody can deny that GBV is a huge issue in South Africa, concerns about women's safety run a fine line between stereotype and legitimate threat, especially when used as a justification for the exclusion of women from certain industries, or to undermine women's contributions in security roles. The reality is that the majority of my participants, particularly the men, held an extremely stereotypical perception of men and women's capabilities and vulnerabilities. For example, a number of my participants, particularly the managers, used their own wives and daughters as an example as to why women should not and cannot work in the PSI. For example, two managers stated:

You know from a married man's perspective women are not typically comfortable in these situations. If I think of my wife, she would never go out in the dark alone, never mind confront a criminal in the dark on her own. But there are safety reservations. You know, would they be safe?

³² Man security guard, interview 11, Cape Town

³³ Man armed response guard, interview 28, Cape Town.

Would they feel safe³⁴?

What this indicates is that men in this industry, who in most cases hold the majority of the authority when it comes to employment decisions and are in most cases why, base their views of women's capabilities and vulnerabilities on the women in their own lives. Yet *women* are not a homogenous category, therefore, different women have different qualities, capabilities, weaknesses and vulnerabilities (hooks, 1984:2) In this way, simply because these managers' women loved ones would feel too fearful or incapable of working in security positions, it does not mean that all women would feel this way. The same can be said that simply because some men choose to seek employment in security roles, it does not mean that all men would. Furthermore, according to theorists such as Butler (2002:33), women are equally capable of being brave and strong despite the fact that these qualities are most often associated with men.

The majority of my women participants acknowledged the risk associated with the industry, but most did not feel more vulnerable than the men. Indeed, if the crime statistics and recent glut of gender-based murders and rapes are any indication, women in SA live in far more dangerous conditions than those that characterise employment in the PSI (Presence, 2019). Given that women experience danger in most situations, including simply collecting a parcel at the post office, it seems illogical to claim that exclusion from security work will keep them safe (Ismail, 2019). Furthermore, most of the women I interviewed felt that they were just as capable of performing the same tasks as men.

We want to do what they do, but sometimes we can't. It's not like there is something difficult, it's just that we can't because we will be told, no, you can't do that as a woman. This a man must do. No, because they can stand by the door, we can stand by the door (W14)³⁵.

What this indicates is that women themselves do not necessarily feel that the risk associated with employment in the PSI constitutes a reason not to seek employment in the industry. In fact, that women seek employment in this industry suggests that they have considered the risk and have chosen to pursue the job anyway. Among my women participants, even those who felt there were certain positions that would not suit them, did not see this as a reason to preclude all women from employment in such positions. For example, one of my participants stated:

So if a woman feels like she can do it she can go for it, but there are some of us that just don't have

³⁴ Man manager, interview 24, Cape Town.

³⁵ Woman security guard, interview 14, Cape Town.

it. Like for me for instance, phew, I will faint if I see someone killing someone in front of me. But you just get these women that is rough and they know how to deal with it. [...] There is some of the women who would take the risk, give it to me. Some of them would say bring it on, so ja³⁶.

This is an important insight, as this is a key tenet of feminism, fighting for the right of women to be able to choose even if it is not something that you, as a woman, choose (Johnson, 2005:114). It is a matter of agency, since women should have the agency to decide for themselves whether employment in the PSI is worth the risk. Therefore, when women are often not successful in the pursuit of these jobs, it suggests that it is the companies themselves that choose not to employ women because of their *assumed* vulnerability. However, not all my women participants viewed all forms of security work as suitable for women. One of my participants stated:

I think a male is more suited for armed response. I think there is ugly things out there and we all know what's happening to our women. So that environment must be male dominated. When it comes to patrolling at night. That's also not for a woman. It's also more for males³⁷.

Ultimately this undermines other women's agency to make this decision for themselves. Furthermore, it indicates that patriarchal attitudes towards women, are not only perpetuated by men in this industry. Either way, those who justify the exclusion of women from this industry on the basis of their vulnerability supposedly do so for the 'good' of the women, however, they fail to see that presuming to decide for women without their consent, is driven by the same patriarchal structures which perpetuate GBV (Johnson, 2005:29; Walby,1990:128). Therefore, the concerns, primarily held by men security guards and managers, are typical of what has been referred to as benevolent sexism, which is paternalistic, ignores the agency of women and affects the career prospects and earning potential of women in the industry (Sarrasin *et al*, 2012: 6). Therefore, the threat of violence against women is used as a justification to exclude women and retain male privilege in certain jobs.

While it should not be necessary for women to *prove* their worth in this industry, it is often necessary, given the stereotypical assumptions about women's capabilities. It is for this reason that women working in 'male-dominated' workplaces often experience increased levels of performance pressure (King et al, 2012:438). Yet, if proof of their worth and capability in security roles is what companies and clients require, women are often not given the opportunity

³⁶ Woman security guard, interview 17, Cape Town.

³⁷ Woman manager, interview 30, Cape Town.

to prove themselves. According to another woman participant:

They think we can't do it; they think this because we are women we are not able. Maybe some think that women shouldn't be working the industry. Maybe some people think that security is for men only³⁸.

However, the perspective that women are incapable of succeeding in most security roles is not confined to the industry. In fact, a number of my participants emphasised that it is often clients who believe women should not be employed in these roles and demand men employees in the majority of positions for their contracts. Several of my participants suggested that this was the case with a number of clients.

Or the client doesn't trust the women to keep it safe. For example, a construction job- women will not be trusted to protect and prevent the robbers and skollies. They don't trust women to do this. I don't agree, I disagree a lot because as a woman I am doing more than those men³⁹.

The implication is that employer and clients conform to similar gender stereotypes which perpetuate the belief that men are inherently suited to security work. One of my participants stated:

Why is it a requirement of the client to have a male. I think this is the case, and I do not want to generalize, but it could be because of, I think, physical strength, or something like that, physique is one, general stature⁴⁰.

As was apparent in my previous study on gendered employment in the PSI, the preferences of the clients of the PSI have a large impact on the opportunities women are afforded in this industry (Tennant, 2017:42). Several of my participants pointed out that employment, in most sectors of the PSI, is highly influenced by the client's wants and needs.

But yet, I have to take us back to the fact that we are demand driven and um, at the end of the day what the client demands, the client gets. And we are a very competitive industry, so yeah. Generally, what the client ask for is what we have to provide and comply with⁴¹.

An obvious implication of this triangular employment relationship is that consumer demands can play a large role in determining who is employed in this industry and for how long, because

³⁸ Woman security guard, interview 17, Cape Town.

³⁹ Man security guard, interview 4, Cape Town.

⁴⁰ Man manager, interview 1, Cape Town.

⁴¹⁴¹ Man supervisor, interview 2, Cape Town.

the companies must hire employees that meet the client's needs to gain the contract (Bardill, 2008:55). This further hinders the possibility of equal employment opportunities for women in this industry, because even companies that may be open to including more women, won't pursue it because they may lose the business.

5.2 Gendered division of labour

One of my key findings is that the PSI is characterised by a gendered division of labour driven by the problematic perceptions of sex and gender. The perception that sex and gender are synonymous, perpetuates stereotypes about men and women's skills and abilities. A gendered division of labour is established by reducing notions about the work that is 'suitable' for men and women to stereotypical assumptions about men and women's capabilities (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009: 49). Within typically masculine institutions, such as the PSI, the gendered division of labour is especially prominent, making it difficult for women to transcend the gendered norms of employment. In terms of where men and women are most often employed, the representative of PSiRA I interviewed confirmed that two men employed within the PSI are concentrated within the guarding sector⁴². In fact, given that the guarding sector is the biggest within the industry, the majority of men *and* women within the industry are employed in guarding positions. However, there are few to no women employed within other sectors of the industry, such as armed response, close protection and cash in transit⁴³. While there are no concrete statistics, the majority of my participants, including a member of PSIRA, held this to be true. The managers I interviewed all said that women are mostly found in the control rooms or controlling boom gates, few are found in the sectors that require women to carry a weapon:

I challenge you to find a woman in armed response. The positions [...] females, primarily occupy is control room, front desk reception, and then um, maybe a few in guarding to do searches, doing the bags etcetera. It is sad and it's shocking because if one looks at the level of unemployment in the country, you know, it is one of the barriers. Gender⁴⁴.

While all employment in the PSI was once considered a 'man's job' certain jobs have now been re-segregated as women's jobs (Skuratowicz & Hunter, 2004:73). These roles become known as 'women's work' or as my participants call it, the "lady role" (Erikson et al, 294).

⁴² Representative of PSiRA, interview 25, Johannesburg.

⁴³ Representative of PSiRA, interview 25, Johannesburg.

⁴⁴ Man manager, interview 1, Cape Town.

Many of my men participants expressed the belief that women should not be employed in the industry as a whole. However, women entering the industry are assigned positions of employment that are considered to be most appropriate based on stereotypical assumptions about sex and gender (Erikson et al, 294; Tennant, 2017:49). Most of my men participants felt that women should be confined to positions including office and administrative work, and tasks that required organisational skills and attention to detail. Other studies also found that the control room in particular was cited as an appropriate role for women in the industry (Eichler, 2016:162). Therefore, while all employment in the PSI was once considered a ‘man’s job’ certain jobs, such as administrative work and control room operation, have now been reseggregated as women’s jobs (Skuratowicz & Hunter, 2004:73). According to one of the managers I interviewed, “you’ll always find a woman in administration rather than a man”⁴⁵. This manager elaborates:

You know women are very capable when it comes to administrative, systems and rules. Certainly I think that those this way inclined would be an asset to this industry because this industry is all about systems and rules. Those prone to do the work correctly they will do well. You know it’s common knowledge that women have a higher level of concentration and are able to multi-task more. Men, you know, [laughs] have a one track mind⁴⁶.

Therefore, administration, has been sex-typed as being a woman’s role. One of my participants even dubbed it the “lady role,” stating:

You can see, you are the one that is looking for those on the ground. You are looking at the cameras but you are not actually there. Access control is like, not so dangerous too.

Therefore, women’s perceived vulnerability not only determines if, but where they will be employed in the industry. In contrast, the majority of my participants believed that all positions in the industry are suited to men because it is “a man’s work”⁴⁷. In particular, those positions that require patrolling the streets alone at night, the handling of firearms and confronting suspects in one-on-one situations were considered as exclusively suited to men (Tennant, 2017:32). Even where women are employed as patrollers alongside men, there appears to be a gendered division of tasks. Two of my participants stated:

⁴⁵ Man manager, interview 26, Cape Town.

⁴⁶ Man manager, interview 24, Cape Town.

⁴⁷ Man security guard, interview 12, Cape Town.

Because I'm a man I will do the patrol and you [the woman] write in the book. If I say, there is an incidence, they will write it down and when I come back I won't have to write it down. Then this is how the people are doing it⁴⁸.

This indicates that without influence of the company some employees divide tasks according to sex with men taking on tasks that are considered 'taxing' or 'dangerous' while women take on tasks that are considered "safer and softer". Some of the men participants also felt that women's bodies were not designed to cope with certain tasks. A participant stated:

Some of these ladies, they don't want to put through the endurance of standing constantly on their feet. Because sometimes you stand for more than 12 hours. So that's where the gender bias comes in [...]. So my views are, I would prefer, if a lady is working as a security, they should rather do a position where she don't have to stand [...] But this sort of standing and going out when it's dark. That's not for women (M29)⁴⁹.

A number of the men participants shared this perspective, which is curious, since women have historically been employed in positions that involve long hours standing on their feet, including factory work, nursing and domestic work (Du Toit, 2012:27; Hancock, 2000:16). Therefore, this is used as a justification for women's exclusion, based on men's perceptions of women's mental and physical capabilities.

While some of my women participants felt that the gendered division of labour suited their employment choices, they wanted to have the right to decide where to work. One of my women participants stated:

Yes, if there are a lot of women on the site, like more women than men, then they might take advantage. Like in construction, robbers and skollies might think it's ok to come in because it's just women who they think are just weak. So that might be a problem that there might be more crime because robbers and skollies think men are more powerful. Sometimes they are, but women can also fight back⁵⁰.

Furthermore, some of my other women participants felt that women are completely capable of serving in all security roles. One stated:

When you've got more men maybe it's a respected company, or whatever. Even now today it's 4

⁴⁸ Man security guard, interview 10, Cape Town.

⁴⁹ Man armed response officer, interview 29, Cape Town.

⁵⁰ Woman security guard, interview 4, Cape Town.

ladies and 2 men. No one has come to complain that there are no ‘proper’ security⁵¹.

This proves, that sex-typing has consequences for women’s employment opportunities. Relegating women to support roles affects their status, prospects for career advancement and earning potential. Men are typically afforded the opportunity to work night shifts and overtime, but managers are reluctant to ask women to work additional hours owing to their household responsibilities. What this represents is a tangible example of the discrimination and disadvantages women in this sector experience based on stereotypical perceptions of sex and gender (Heilman, 2012:115).

Of note is the fact that a number of my participants suggested that employment in the SAPS would be more appropriate for women than most employment positions in the PSI. This is interesting since police work is also a dangerous profession as evidenced by the number of police officers killed in the line of duty (Evans, 2019; Seleka, 2019). Furthermore, while a number of my participants considered armed positions to be inappropriate for women, all police officers are armed. Yet, many of my participants believed police work to be more appropriate for women because police officers don’t patrol alone. Two of my participants stated:

You [women] can go to the police. Police don’t walk on the street; they are in the car. But women, you can find a security woman there patrolling all night alone. Or standing. A woman can’t stand for 12 hours⁵².

In comparison to the police, where patrolling is done in pairs, in the PSI patrollers and sometimes armed response officers are expected to patrol and respond to threats alone. One of my participants stated:

I’m an armed officer. I’m alone in the vehicle. So if something happens here at night, I rush out there and I am alone. [...] Third and fourth, there is no backup for you [...]. So that’s why it’s a bit difficult for ladies [...] if they put two it’s fine. But like I say, you work all alone so you must be mentally and physically fit to do your job⁵³.

Therefore, my participants suggested that it is easier for SAPS to include more women, because they are not expected to patrol or respond alone. Despite the assertion that women would be

⁵¹ Woman security guard, interview 14, Cape Town.

⁵² Man supervisor, interview 2, Cape Town.

⁵³ Man armed response guard, interview 29, Cape Town.

better suited to roles in the police, studies into women serving in the police and the military suggest that men in these security institutions view women as a “burden” in difficult and dangerous situations (Heinecken, 2015:246; Potgieter, 2012:80). Therefore, it appears that men serving in security roles often do not feel safe and supported patrolling or confronting suspects with a woman by their side. This attitude was reflected by a number of my participants. One stated:

You are standing there with actually your life and to look over your shoulder and see a woman, uh, every few minutes or wherever you go [...]. You feel more comfortable when it is another man [...]. a man can stand up to a man. When it comes safety also, a man can back you up but a woman, at certain times no. She will back you up, but at a certain time she will also retreat⁵⁴.

Heinecken (2015:59) encountered similar attitudes in her work with peacekeepers. A number of her men participants felt that the women’s presence made them more vulnerable when confronting rebels, as they would have to protect peacekeepers (Heinecken, 2015:59). These attitudes persist in the military, despite gender equality objectives that necessitate the inclusion of more women in their ranks. Thus it is clear that dominant masculine ideals and patriarchal assumptions perpetuate the subordination of women and gender inequality in the PSI and other security institutions.

Furthermore, the argument that women are too vulnerable to serve in most positions in the PSI does not explain why so few women appear to be employed in senior positions in the industry. In fact, a few of my participants even suggested management and supervisory positions as being suitable for women, if they have a strong personality and have the experience. One participant stated:

If you’ve got the qualification for that specific job, then you can do it. So everybody must be treated equal. Women can be supervisor on the road. A woman can be a supervisor for a site. A woman can be supervisor for control room. So that is except for armed response, women can fit in most of these roles⁵⁵.

Yet only two of the women I interviewed were managers and one woman in my study served in a supervisory capacity in the control room. One of the managers I spoke to stated:

We do have a few [women]. In senior management roles and operation. At management level we

⁵⁴ Man armed response guard, interview 28, Cape Town.

⁵⁵ Man armed response guard, interview 28, Cape Town.

currently have twenty. Out of that twenty we currently have five women ⁵⁶.

As the numbers suggest, five out of twenty managerial positions being held by women is far from equal. According to Alvesson & Due Billing (2009:4), women are commonly underrepresented in management positions. Of the two women managers I interviewed, one was administration manager and the other a control-room manager, both sectors of the industry where women commonly serve. Both of these women became managers by working their way from lower positions to management. While the one manager felt that she was supported by her men superiors, in her application for the position, the other felt that men managers are the norm preferred in the company. She stated:

When I go to the end of year functions people will ask what I do. They are surprised when I say that I am a manager because it is not a common role for a woman in this industry. [...] So there was some resistance to it when I became manager⁵⁷.

The above quote suggests that resistance to women managers is common. In fact, both the women managers I interviewed experienced resistance when they became managers. The other woman stated:

It was hard work, it's a male dominated industry. It's hard, with this type of people and culture normally men do not adhere to a woman that's in a management position. The culture. So it was hard to sometimes give instructions. There was difficulty and they looked at you and said why a woman?⁵⁸.

That this attitude was confirmed by a number of my men participants. In fact, this was the only justification provided, as to why women are not equally represented in senior positions in their companies. One man stated:

I don't want a woman to take my place. That is how men think, I don't want a woman to take my place [...] You know, mos, men always feel "I'm an alpha male and I don't have to take orders from a lady"⁵⁹.

This indicates that it is not necessarily the nature of security work that contributes to the discrimination of women in this industry, but gendered power relations rooted in patriarchy. In

⁵⁶ Man manager, interview 27, Cape Town.

⁵⁷ Woman manager, interview 30, Cape Town.

⁵⁸ Woman manager, interview 31, Cape Town.

⁵⁹ Man armed response guard, interview 29, Cape Town.

my 2017 study (Tennant, 2017:34) one of my participants stated:

Women cannot lead according to our society. Um again, we need to dispel that. Put the woman there and empower them. Unless and until women are empowered, we are not going to change that kind of perception.

Where women are confined to low status positions and in the minority and not represented in management with little power, men will continue to serve as gatekeepers to their employment and women's capability and suitability for employment within the industry will continue to be questioned.

5.3 Implications

As has been established, the PSI is characterized by a masculine organizational culture and a gendered division of labor. While women should not experience such discrimination in their efforts to find employment in any sector, this is a reality that many women face (Debusscher & Hulse, 2014:561; Government Gazette, 1998: 30; Mobekk, 2010:285). The majority of my women participants expressed frustration regarding the discrimination they experience. One of my women participants stated:

There are a lot of men and hardly no women. If a company come and says, we need 10 security guards, there will be maybe 7 men and 3 women. But why can't it be 5 men and 5 women. Why can't it be 50/50? [...] I wish it could be more equal⁶⁰.

Employment inequality has consequences for women as well as for the industry itself. These include the exclusion of women from work in a large sector, in a country with high unemployment (Stats SA, 2019). The other is that women are necessary in this industry both because of their ability to make a special contribution and because their position in society means that they often have a different perspective to offer (Kreft, 2017:135; Olson, 2000:10). Finally, the fact that women are excluded and remain in the minority, means that there is little opportunity for them to shift the stereotypes and norms that perpetuate their exclusion.

Women need jobs too:

The PSI is a high-scale employer in South Africa providing over 516287 jobs (PSiRA, 2018:15). Despite this, and given the masculine organizational culture and gendered division of labor, women struggle to find employment in this sector. My women participants repeatedly

⁶⁰ Woman security guard, interview 4, Cape Town.

bemoaned the fact that it is difficult to find employment in this industry as a woman. One woman stated:

Yoh, most of time you would go to, maybe, about ten to fifteen places and they will tell you we only want men. Only men. And ja, it's very difficult. For me to this company, I first came and worked in the events and then I worked there by the events about two years (W14)⁶¹.

This perspective was mirrored by a number of my women participants. Even some of the men agreed that it is much more difficult for a woman to find employment in this industry. One man stated:

Most of the companies that is employing is always looking for males. And you have to ask yourself the question why? Why always men? It's difficult for a woman. Especially when the company is established already. It's very difficult for somebody from outside. Especially somebody who has had training recently, to get into a position. Especially women⁶².

There are several implications associated with the discrimination against and exclusion of women from employment in this industry. Firstly, many of my women participants suggested that they need to work in order to provide for their families. One woman stated:

It's not only about the men's. [...] The women are also needing work, to make money, to support. It's not only the men [...] Like when they are doing the employment, sometimes if they are looking for 50 people, you will find out it's 40 males and 10 females. Which means a lot of females, the don't get a job, they don't get the work⁶³.

This perspective was mirrored by a number of the women I interviewed who suggested "the money is not enough for just the man to make it"⁶⁴. While a number of my men participants suggested that it would be better for women to seek employment elsewhere if they needed a job, Sefalafala (2012:21) found that a number of his participants felt that PSI was their only option. Many of my participants felt similarly as employment in the PSI was not their first choice but their only choice⁶⁵. However, it proved to be an opportunity to make money and the

⁶¹ Woman security guard, interview 14, Cape Town.

⁶² Man armed response guard, interview 28, Cape Town.

⁶³ Woman security guard, interview 8, Cape Town.

⁶⁴ Woman security guard, interview 4, Cape Town.

⁶⁵ Man security guard, interview 6, Cape Town.

low barrier of entry made it accessible (Sefalafala, 2012:85). It is important to note that many of my participants, in senior positions and armed response, started their careers in the guarding sector. Therefore, it is problematic that a number of these opportunities are being withheld from women who need employment just as much as men do.

This is even more problematic given the prevalence of single motherhood. Over 46% of children in South Africa live alone with their mothers alone (SATS SA, 2018:3). Furthermore, according to Nwosu and Ndinda (2018:2) women who head households are more likely to experience discrimination in accessing jobs. Despite the prevalence of single motherhood in SA, the majority of the men participants expressed very *nuclear* assumptions when it came to families. Therefore, some of my participants suggested that women could rely on their husbands rather than seeking employment, or that husbands would *disallow* them from seeking employment in the PSI. However, many of women participants were single mothers. One of my participants stated:

Coming to security is like, I also have a child by the way and then I said my child needs me to provide for him, so I must provide for him⁶⁶.

Furthermore, one of my participants highlighted the pressure men experience as sole breadwinners. He stated:

We don't have a choice; life is tough now. You have to eat and keep each other safe and everything. It's not fair that the men must only work. It makes you stressed also you can feel it [...]. So many people don't want the ladies to work but uh, uh. It's unfair. I don't believe in that⁶⁷.

This perspective was only raised by one of my men participants, but I felt that it was a really essential perspective to include given that gender equality objectives are often assumed to be for the benefit of women only. According to Carey (2001:62), it is commonly assumed that 'gender' is synonymous with 'women.' Therefore, it is often assumed that concerns about employment equality, and goals toward integration and equality, only concern and benefit women. This relates to the inaccurate notions that all ideologies which promote male domination and female subordination, such as patriarchy, benefit all men and subordinate all

⁶⁶ Woman security guard, interview 14, Cape Town.

⁶⁷ Man security guard, interview 5, Cape Town.

women equally. In reality men pay significantly in terms of health, stress and work pressure as has been emphasized above by this participant (Buscher, 2005:15). This is reflected by the deeply rooted notion that men can be placed in danger while women cannot (Farrell, 1993:282; Stiehm, 1982:374). One of my participants stated “coming to security, I also have a child by the way and then I said my child needs me to provide for him, so I must provide for him”⁶⁸.

Therefore, gender equality objectives do not only aim to benefit women, they aim to create a more equal society and workplace by “aiming to lessen the inequalities arising from hegemonic masculinities and patriarchy that affect the status, well-being and security of all” (Tennant, 2017:18).

The implications discussed thus far focus on the necessity of equal employment practices in the PSI because women *need* to work. Even the men participants who did not believe that women *belong* in the PSI, could appreciate that they “need jobs too”^{69 70}. However, another important finding is that a number of women participants suggested that they did not only seek employment out of necessity, this was part of some of their motivation, but they also hoped to gain some independence. One of my women participants stated “it the respect of working a job, of not being at home. It is the respect a man has to give you if you have job too”⁷¹. Therefore, their employment not only impacts upon their ability to provide for their families, it also relates to their self-esteem. According to Walby (1990:88) if women cannot find suitable jobs on the basis of their sex, they have little choice but to remain in the home and be materially dependent on men perpetuating patriarchal assumptions about sex and gender.

This rationale for the necessity of including more women is linked to the equal rights argument for equal inclusion in the workplace. It has been this rationale that has driven the SANDF to address and revise policy and employment practices that perpetuate discrimination against women (Heinecken, 2016:2). However, this approach alone is not sufficient because it does not broach the issue of women’s *capability* to work in the sector, which is a common justification for women’s exclusion. This is important, since the literature, and my findings suggests that women are not only capable of work in security institutions such as the PSI, they have a special contribution to make in the industry (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:171; Mobekk, 2010:281;

⁶⁸ Woman security guard, interview 14, Cape Town.

⁶⁹ Man K9 handler, interview 20, Cape Town.

⁷⁰ Man security guard, interview 5, Cape Town.

⁷¹ Woman security guard, interview 4, Cape Town.

Sion, 2009:477)

Women have a special contribution to make

On the topic of men and women's capabilities for employment in the PSI, the majority of my women participants believed that women are capable of anything a man is capable of in the industry. Two of my participants stated:

I wouldn't mind working with women only [...] because there's nothing we can't do [...] better than men. Just to prove a point that we can do what they do and just for them to give us opportunities to work. You see you say go there, check that and then when there's no man, the woman can go and check⁷².

It is for this reason that most of the women I interviewed expressed frustration that their capability is often undermined. While this argument relates to the equal rights position, authors such as Olsson (2007:8) and Kreft (2017:154), suggest that women are not only equally capable of security work, they also have a special contribution to make in security roles. While I do not accept the essentialist notion that men and women have different capabilities, in reality, men and women's capabilities are likely to align with those associated with masculinity and femininity because such socially constructed binaries are subject to social policing (Butler, 1988:10; Davies, 2003:5). For example, many academics argue that so-called feminine characteristics, such as empathy and gentleness, make women more likely to negotiate in conflict situations rather than responding with force and aggression, which is a reaction associated with men (Mobekk, 2010:281; Sion, 2009:477). Given that the South African PSI has a reputation for using unnecessary force in conflict situations, this is particularly important (Davis, 2019). One of my participants stated:

If I would have been accompanied by a female security officer, in certain instances I would have experienced the softer approach from my female colleague. Sometimes, it changed a situation where I might have antagonized the situation. You know, but her softer approach simply calmed the situation and availed the gentlemen, you know to mediate the situation. Just to talk it out. And then the, so in that regard I would say, my perception generally has changed in terms of that because normally we would say, if somebody has called you out for a brawl, I would like two butch guys with me because you don't know what is waiting for you. But there are certain instances like that where my opinion has changed in that regard⁷³.

⁷² Woman security guard, interview 14, Cape Town.

⁷³ Man supervisor, interview 2, Cape Town.

Many of my participants agreed that women are capable of making a special contribution. While the majority of my men participants, and one of my woman participants, viewed women as less capable and more vulnerable, many of my participants, both men and women, believed that women are necessary in the PSI. Some cited stereotypical contributions women could make such as multitasking, administrative work and control room operation⁷⁴. Unfortunately, these ‘special characteristics’ tend to reinforce the limitations women already experience working and finding employment in this industry, namely being relegated to certain positions. However, the following were also cited as contributions women can make.

Look, I can tell you that women are generally neater and tidier than the men. I find that they are also more loyal and committed. More punctual, um and they generally have a more professional approach to the job. So, as far as I am concerned, that is a plus⁷⁵.

Other participants cited similar contributions that women can make including honesty and openness to instruction and management. These were considered as positive reasons to employ women in the PSI. Furthermore, the representative of PSiRA I interviewed stated that women have a contribution to make in roles such as close protection.

In [...] close protection, women are important because people are not able to see them. [...] But the majority will be men [...]. Close protection is not about being stocky and being big. It’s all about using your mind in terms of where can you and how can you ensure that if there is a threat, that is imminent, you are able to protect your principal and get them as soon as possible, out of that situation

⁷⁶.

Therefore, one of the reasons women might have a ‘special contribution’ to make in this role is based on the fact that society does not expect women to work in such roles. Furthermore, clients might prefer women guards where women or children are the principles. Furthermore, in the guarding sector it is legally mandated that women perform body searches on other women. According to two of my participants,

Ja, men can’t search a woman. A woman must search another woman. So you have to have a woman to do that. It’s better for a woman to help a woman with a problem, if there are no women by that

⁷⁴ Man K9 handler, interview 27, Cape Town.

⁷⁵ Man manager, interview 1, Cape Town.

⁷⁶ Representative of PSiRA, interview 25, Johannesburg.

time the men can help, but it's better for a woman⁷⁷.

It is for this reason that one of my participants suggested that women are often more concentrated on sites such as hotels, casinos, shopping malls, schools and universities because it is on sites such as these that body searches are most often needed (M29)⁷⁸. However, despite this, women are still underrepresented, even on such sites.

According to both the literature and my participants, one of the most important contributions that women can make in the PSI is ensuring that women's security needs are met. According to Hudson (2005:157), in security studies it is important to consider the specific security needs of women because insecurity and security practices are often gendered. In a broader context, women suffer differently in times of war than do men. The use of rape as a tool of war disproportionately impacts women and results in implications such as psychological effects, sexually transmitted diseases and unwanted pregnancies (Chinkin & Kaldor, 2013:168; Meger, 2010:119). In the context of South Africa, 250 out of every 100000 women are victims of sexual offences which makes South Africa the "rape capital of the world" (Maluleke, 2018:8). Yet the majority of the first responders to such incidences are men. Diphorn (2013:210), in her study of armed response guards in Durban found that the women preferred to deal with her, as a woman, rather than the men armed response guards.

A number of my women participants, and a few of my men participants, expressed this as a reason why women are necessary in this industry. They stated,

If a woman needs help, there are some things that men can't fix and solve. If a man comes up to a woman with a problem, in a crisis, she might not want his help. She might want a woman. Men can't solve all of women's problems. Same as if a woman walks up to a man with a problem, he might not want her help. He might want a man⁷⁹.

Another issue that was raised, by both men and women, is that women are particularly necessary when responding to women victims of GBV. This is particularly pressing given the high levels of GBV violence in SA (Presence, 2019). According to Lopes (2011:16), women are often perceived as being more adept at dealing with the psychological impacts of trauma. One participant stated:

⁷⁷ Man security guard, interview 19, Cape Town.

⁷⁸ Man armed response guard, interview 29, Cape Town.

⁷⁹ Woman security guard, interview 4, Cape Town.

If something happens to a woman she will feel more comfortable stating what has happened to another woman because if she see another man the same way as the man who attacked you. So you won't actually tell a security officer what happened. She won't confidently give the full story because now she's going to look at the male security the same way. Because if you take a year, two back, the woman abuse that was happening on campus. So now if you have to be interviewed by a guy. There is no lady that can comfort you while you go through that. The guy can't touch you because you just been sexually abused. So you will feel more assaulted if he touches you⁸⁰.

Therefore, it is necessary to have women employed in security roles in order to better address the needs of women (Olsson, 2007:8). While both men and women can be rapists as well as victims of rape, statistics suggests that women are more often the victims of reported rape and men the perpetrators (Vetten, 2014). Therefore, while men and some women might perceive men to be more capable of providing protection, some women may feel more comfortable and safer dealing with other women in conflict and crisis situations (Diphoom, 2015:310). Therefore, including more women who might better understand the needs of women, and who women might feel more comfortable with, should be considered a necessity.

However, many participants, particularly the men, felt that these contributions warranted employing *some* women, rather than *more* women in the industry. In other words, a few 'token women' on every shift in case of "lady issues"⁸¹. One of my participants stated:

Ja, also if a female student needs help, that is why we always have, on each and every shift, a woman. Even this shift, there's a woman, tomorrows shift, there's a woman. If there is something like that, there is a woman⁸².

Therefore, even though women have a unique contribution to make, for many in the industry this does necessitate including more women. Yet, in my 2017 study on the PSI, my participants suggested that there are not always enough women employed in this industry to fulfil the roles outlined above (Tennant, 2017:38). Furthermore, since women are most often employed in positions such as admin and the control room, they are not always available at the scene to assist. This participant stated:

Because there's such a lot of things happening with women everywhere and then you don't get a lady that's on site you have to fetch someone [a lady] from another site to go and assist here. I just

⁸⁰ Man armed response guard, interview 29, Cape Town.

⁸¹ Man security guard, interview 13, Cape Town.

⁸² Man security guard, interview 11, Cape Town.

think they have to employ more females, they really need to⁸³.

Therefore, this suggests the inclusion of women on a token basis limits their ability to make a special contribution in the PSI.

Few women mean no change

There is an assumption that a women's presence in security institutions will serve to alter problematic cultures and conduct within the workplace (Mobekk, 2010:281). According to Waugh et al (1998:298), where women and men police officers are deployed together, the men are less likely use inappropriate levels of force. This is an important consideration especially in an industry such as the South African PSI, which has a reputation for violent misconduct (Mulaudzi, 2016). The way in which some security officers responded during some of the Fees Must Fall (FMF) protests of 2016, has been deemed unnecessary and the shooting of a Durban University student, by security officers, has caused an outcry (Bhengu, 2019; Nkosi, 2019). Therefore, if women's presence in the sector were able to transform such problematic conduct it would certainly be valuable. While the men participants suggested that the presence of women might "keep men on their toes," it does not seem as though the women frequently serve in roles typically performed by men.

One possible avenue through which women might enact change is by giving opportunities to other women. One of the women managers I interviewed spoke about appointing a woman as her successor when she leaves.

That's where we females actually come in to be managers because I told my client I am studying law and in the next few years I might leave but my overview is that I want Sandy to be the control-room manager. And he ask me but Liam is here also, why not one of the men and I told him I want Sandy to be the next control-room manager⁸⁴.

Therefore, it is conceivable to suggest that women in positions of authority may be able to shift male-dominated cultures by giving other women opportunities. Such arguments do have academic support, however, similarly there are arguments that token women might prefer to remain distinctive in the workplace and show bias towards other women (Byrne, 1971:203; De Groot, 2008:106; Duguid, 2011:104).

Either way, the ability of women to shift gender norms is not possible where they remain in

⁸³ Man K9 handler, interview 23, Cape Town.

⁸⁴ Woman manager, interview 31, Cape Town.

the minority. Rather, given that women in the PSI remain the vast minority, they are unlikely to have a significant impact. Besides this, they come under performance pressure both in terms of meeting the standards of the job, and assimilating the masculine culture of the organisation. This impacts upon their ability to change the masculine organisational culture that marginalises women and encourages aggression. According to one of my participants, women will only be able to make changes in the industry if they are employed in positions of power. He stated:

If a woman is your supervisor, first of all, for a time you will criticize but if she puts her foot down it will be sorted out quickly. There needs to be more women in certain positions. In powerful positions. In higher positions, supervisors, road supervisors, managers. Women in these positions, more women in these positions, will change the culture. Just put more women in higher ranks⁸⁵.

This relates to Kanter's (1977:956), theory of critical mass. If applied to the PSI, this theory suggests that more women need to be employed in the industry to reach critical mass in order to change existing stereotypes that contribute to their marginalization (Kanter, 1977:956). In reality, women remain in the minority which limits their ability to shift problematic norms and cultures and affords them *token status*. This can be seen to be demonstrated by the men participants who assured me that they always have at least one woman on shift to fulfil the 'lady role'⁸⁶. As tokens they serve a particular purpose within the PSC that employs them, be it to appease intercompany diversity objectives, BEE quotas or to fill the 'woman's role'. What this does not allow is for them to become fully integrated within PSC's which translates into a limited scope to enact change.

5.4 Challenges

5.4.1 Patriarchy

Based on my data the barriers to women's equal participation in the PSI suggests that there are patriarchal norms deeply rooted in the industry. This can be seen in the hegemonic masculine and feminine ideals which my participants suggest continue to play a role in shaping the expectation about the jobs men and women should be doing in these industries and assumptions about their capabilities (Walby, 1990:20). This is further emphasised by the fact that, despite the necessary contribution women can make in this industry, women are still largely underrepresented in most sectors of the industry. While not many of my participants spoke

⁸⁵ Man armed response guard, interview 28, Cape Town.

⁸⁶ Man security guard, interview 11, Cape Town.

about patriarchy directly, the representative of PSiRA I interviewed spoke about the impact of patriarchy on the PSI. He stated:

The patriarchal system that we have where we have actually directed specific roles to women and to men. It's also something that plays a role in this sector. [...] Whenever you are growing up, you are told that is what you can and cannot do. So much so that what someone now happens to be. Carrying a firearm and they are women, you know the society will actually frown upon that kind of thing. So it's embedded in the system and it's also embedded in the nature of the job and also in the culture of our society⁸⁷.

Hence, the patriarchal norms that characterise the PSI are not only rooted within the sector itself. Evidence of this end can be seen further emphasised by the ways in which clients of the PSI view women working in this sector. The private nature of the PSI means that the clients of the industry have the power to determine who is employed for their purpose. Given the triangular employment relationship within the industry, clients can demand that only men be employed on their site (Bardill, 2008:55). According to my participants, this is a common occurrence which has a direct impact on the number of women employed in the industry. However, the fact that it appears that clients often demand that only men be employed on their sites speaks to the patriarchal and stereotypical perceptions about men and women, their capabilities and the type of work they should be pursuing among the general public. Therefore, patriarchal perceptions about men and women, both within in the industry and at a societal level poses a challenge for women employed or seeking employment in this sector. This is not only because patriarchal perceptions influence the culture of the PSI, but because companies struggle to achieve employment equity, where they are obligated to follow their client's demands (Tennant, 2017:42).

Furthermore, another way in which patriarchy, impacts on women is their parenting and domestic duties. The household is one of Walby's (1990:60) six structures of patriarchy because it is often assumed to be "the centre of a woman's life". This patriarchal perception that women 'belong in the home', extends to an expectation that women are primarily responsible for reproductive labour (Johnson, 2005:145). One of my participants stated:

Usually our women are taking care of the kids [...] and where they have families it would be very,

⁸⁷ Representative of PSiRA, interview 25, Johannesburg.

very difficult. But with men it will be the other way around⁸⁸.

This indicates that men do not play a large role in the everyday care of their children, which is a reflection of the gendered division of labour at home and in the workplace. The implications of the perception of women being ‘inherently linked’ to the household is threefold (Johnson, 2005:145).

First, the very possibility that women might become mothers leaves them at a disadvantageous position. Walby (1990:66) suggests that women’s reproductive capacity serves as a motive for their exclusion, whether in relation to menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth or breast-feeding. Some of the managers and employees I interviewed viewed maternity leave as a challenge that is associated with employing women, despite the fact that men are also entitled to paternity leave. However, this is for a much shorter period. The Labour Amendment Act of 2018 legally entitles men to ten days of paternity leave following the birth of a child (Israelstrom, 2018). In contrast, pregnant women may take four months of maternity leave starting one month before their due date (Republic of South Africa, 1997:14). The fact that the length of women’s maternity leave poses a challenge for their employment in the industry is illegal. One of my women participants stated:

When it comes to women having kids and men we are also not the same. Because they will tell you in other places that they don’t want women because women will take maternity leave and then they will be left looking for someone else⁸⁹.

Furthermore, a number of the managers that I interviewed bemoaned the complication that maternity leave posed. Reflecting this attitude, one of the managers stated:

There might be a reluctance to take on a woman who is of childbearing age because then there are going to be children and maternity leave and this then becomes a complication. This an aspect I have taken into account when hiring employees. You know it’s 4 months’ maternity leave then we have to find somebody to replace the woman, but then, it takes 4 months to train the replacement. Then when the woman comes back from the leave, we have an extra person who we now don’t know what to do with⁹⁰.

⁸⁸ Representative of PSiRA, interview 25, Johannesburg.

⁸⁹ Woman security guard, interview 14, Cape Town.

⁹⁰ Man manager, interview 24, Cape Town.

Therefore, I would argue that, within the some of the companies, employers are not only discriminating against women on the basis of their perceived capabilities, but owing to pregnancy and maternity leave. According to the EEA of 1998, it is prohibited to discriminate directly or indirectly against an employee based on sex or pregnancy. Yet, despite this, it appears that the possibility of becoming pregnant poses a challenge to women's employment in the PSI.

Furthermore, the assumption that women will be solely responsible for childcare, even within families in which both parents are present, appears to impact upon women's ability to find employment in the PSI. One of my participants stated:

Um, there's a few negative perceptions from clients where women are, tend to remain not permanently on site because their domestic arrangements. You know like marriage or husbands or children⁹¹.

Furthermore, the discrimination that results from this perception is often couched in concern for the women's well-being and the well-being of their children. For example, one of the managers I interviewed stated,

It's complicated for women because they have children. This woman I was talking about has a 6-month old baby so she wants to be with the child. You know when women work night shift, then they get home and the child wants to be with mommy but they need to sleep. Then she doesn't sleep because she needs to be with the child, so she arrives at work for her next shift with no sleep. It is trickier for a woman with children than a man. So it's not really suited to women⁹².

This especially has implications for women's inclusion in more 'dangerous' jobs in the PSI such as armed response and close protection. One of my participants stated:

For example, when you are talking about close protection, you are talking about being away from your home for a good two or three weeks when you are looking after someone [...] I mean usually our women are taking care of the kids, um, and where they have families it would be very, very difficult⁹³.

Once again, this serves as a justification for confining women to 'safer' roles within the industry such as access control and control room operation. As has been discussed, this has implications

⁹¹ Man armed response guard, interview 28, Cape Town.

⁹² Man manager, interview 24, Cape Town.

⁹³ Representative of PSiRA, interview 25, Johannesburg.

for women's earning potential and status within the industry. Regarding women's inclusion in such roles, my participants expressed particular concern about the implications for a woman's children if she should be mortally wounded while on the job. One of my participants stated:

When it comes to armed response, she [a woman] will think about what is going to happen to her children. Not that I'm not thinking about it, but I know whenever something happens to me there is somebody, their mother will always be there. But if a woman, she must think twice who will I trust with my children. So that is another thing⁹⁴.

This is an interesting perspective given that one would assume that, unless a woman is a single parent, her children would be left in the care of their father. Yet my participants who spoke on this issue did not consider this. Rather, they assumed that women should avoid work that threatens their lives because there would be no one to care for their children should they die. It is important to note that, according to these participants, men do not have the same struggle because it is assumed that their mother will care for them. As my participant stated, it is assumed that "their mother will always be there"⁹⁵.

While women dominate other forms of employment that require overnight work, such as nursing, it becomes more of an issue in security work because there *is* a risk involved (Andrist et al, 2006:5; Letvak, 2001:675). It is the nature of the work and it seems, on a large scale, it is considered acceptable for a father to put his life at risk but not a mother (Farrell, 1993:282; Stiehm, 1982:374). Furthermore, this indicates the inequality that exists with society based on the patriarchal assumption that women are responsible for reproductive labour (Johnson. Therefore, women's reproductive labour, in the home, allows men to participate in security roles and to not worry about 'what will happen to my children if I die on duty'. The flip side is that this means that women often do not qualify for roles in security because they are doing their 'duty' at home. This poses a challenge for women working and seeking employment within the PSI.

The third implication, of the patriarchal assumption that women are inherently responsible for reproductive labour, is that this assumption often translates into reality for a number of women.

⁹⁴ Man armed response guard, interview 28, Cape Town.

⁹⁵ Man armed response guard, interview 28, Cape Town.

⁹⁵

While it is a common stereotype, it represents the roles that the majority of men and women still occupy in the home (Thomas et al, 2018:478). Most women don't have a partner at home looking after their children and indeed many women are single mothers (STATS SA, 2018:3). Furthermore, the work they do in the home is largely invisible because it is still largely considered to be a *woman's place*. It is considered to be the natural order of life that women remain at home and men work, even after women started entering and succeeding in the workforce on a larger scale (Hochschild & Machung, 2012:21; Stats SA, 2018:72). This is not based on an inherent, biological capability that only women pose, rather, it is driven by a patriarchal expectation that has become the norm in many societies. Where women are expected to take sole responsibility for this "second shift," women often struggle to juggle their reproductive and productive labour (Hochschild & Machung, 2012:21). Two of my women participants stated:

It's different because the men, sometimes the men is married you see. If his wife is home, then he mustn't worry but there is no one at home. You must care for your children and do your job. That is the challenge. It's harder for women⁹⁶.

This indicates the need for women, more so than men, to balance their productive and reproductive work roles in the workplace and at home.

Ah, no as a woman, I want to be there with those qualifications but you see I am here 12 hours a day and when I'm going back home I must do my work at home. Cook for my children and do things, so I don't think I will have enough time⁹⁷.

All but one of my women participants indicated that they struggle to juggle work and caring for their children and husbands. Women who did not struggle to juggle these roles indicated that her husband was very "supportive" and that they had more flexible gender roles and shared domestic duties. In contrast, when asked about their roles as parents, none of my men participants suggested that they struggled to juggle parenthood and their job. As was the case in my 2017 study, the common response was that their wives cared for their children (Tennant, 2017:45). This indicates that domestic responsibilities remain gendered in many contexts and deeply embedded in patriarchal ideologies (Walby, 1990:9).

⁹⁶ Woman security guard, interview 12, Cape Town.

⁹⁷ Woman security guard, interview 17, Cape Town.

Based on these findings, it seems that there is a direct link between the division of labour, within the PSI, and the patriarchal gender roles assigned to men and women in the domestic sphere. One of my participants suggested this to be the case stating:

The majority of families, usually the wife would take leave when the child is sick and then they lose, the women lose the position. So for things so change as well, men must become more responsible⁹⁸.

Therefore, for employment within the industry to become more equal, domestic duties need to be more equally shared between men and women. Otherwise women will remain relegated to certain 'suitable' roles in the PSI and largely responsible for reproductive labour in the home. Until men and women are valued more equally on a societal level, they will not be valued equally within workplaces such as the PSI.

5.4.2 Sexual Harassment and Assault within the workplace

One of the most disturbing findings that arose from my interviews with my participants has been the discovery that sexual harassment and sexual assault appear to be rife within this industry. While this in itself is disturbing, so is the fact that it does not appear to be an issue that is known about, or discussed outside the industry. It is certainly not an issue that PSiRA has addressed, or even mentioned, in their many annual reports and publications. Sexual harassment is common within a number of workplaces especially in traditionally male dominated industries such as security sectors. According to Weitz (2015:164) one third of military women are sexually assaulted while in service. Most of these assaults are committed by fellow soldiers. While there are several forms of sexual harassment ranging from subtler forms, such as normalising language which demeans or sexualises women, to more blatant forms, such sexual and physical assault, my participants only spoke about the more overt forms of sexual harassment, namely sexual assault (Alvesson & Due Billing, 2009:133). A few of my participants mentioned that some managers in the industry have been known to elicit sexual favours in exchange for employment. One of my participants

What happens, the security industry has changed a lot, so the only way to get a job in the companies is to sleep with the people. It's the only chance and if you don't do that, you don't get a job. And ever since I've seen like women [in the companies] this person is going to see that lady, flirt with her and sleep together and do whatever they do and then the new lady comes. [...] In the other companies they do that, and it's only the women that have to do that because only women have

⁹⁸ Man armed response guard, interview 28, Cape Town.

something to offer⁹⁹.

This quid pro quo is obviously exploitative and was described by my participants as being common in the industry. Furthermore, one of the managers I spoke to suggested that it is common for men on duty to sexually abuse or elicit sexual favours from the women on duty with them. He stated,

The [...] almost the abuse of the woman. Where if a woman works with me on a site, I'm a man and I'm working on a night shift, I can abuse her. [...] Other guards, that is quite rife in the industry. Sexually, yes. You know, eliciting sexual favours and things like that. That is something that is, um, we find quite often happening¹⁰⁰.

Therefore, it is clear that some women in this industry are victims of severe forms of sexual harassment. According to Weitz (2015:169) the prevalence of sexual assault and sexual harassment in security institutions can be linked to the masculine culture which endorses and encourages the performance of hypermasculine conduct such as aggression, control and the sexual objectification of women.

Of importance is that sexual harassment is endemic and impacts the lives and careers of many women in South Africa (Calitz, 2019:2). The #MeToo movement highlighted the prevalence of sexual violence and harassment in society, and encouraged victims to speak out and hold perpetrators accountable (Calitz, 2019:2). It has also highlighted the necessity of implementing measures to prevent sexual harassment. However, in response, companies are often reluctant to employ women for fear of sexual harassment complaints. Consequently, management view hiring men over women as a form of "risk management" to as a safeguard against sexual harassment (Ortiz, 2018). One of my participants stated:

Someone might be raping the lady [...] they don't want those things here. They want the business to be quiet and nice, working from 6-6 then you finish your shift. In most of the places these things are happening¹⁰¹.

Such an attitude was shared by a number of my participants, including a manager, who viewed sexual harassment as a challenge of employing women rather than men, despite the fact that

⁹⁹ Woman security guard, interview 9, Cape Town.

¹⁰⁰ Man manager, interview 1, Cape Town.

¹⁰¹ Man security guard, interview 11, Cape Town.

women are most often the victims and men the perpetrators (Diekmann et al, 2013:615; Johnson, 2016:23). Therefore, the focus is on excluding women, so that they don't experience harassment, rather than addressing the conduct of the harassers. Therefore, the impact of sexual harassment for women in this industry is twofold. First is the impact that sexual harassment has on the life and career of the victim and second is the impact it may have on their ability to find a job in certain sectors.

Yet, it seems as if companies accept this as commonplace in this industry and there was little indication that anything is being done to shift such damaging norms. In my interview with a representative of PSiRA, he stated:

Um, I wouldn't be surprised because of what I've also seen with security guards. Um, as a woman passing through, you will find that security guards are paying unnecessary attention and so wherever you are going to be passing through many male security guards, it would be likely that there are going to be comments made. The likelihood that there will be undressing with their eyes that will be made and, you know. So I wouldn't be surprised that that is happening with those women who are inside the industry [...]. But as it were, it is something that I cannot deny. It is something that I have seen.

The fact that a senior member of PSiRA admits that it is common for security guards to sexually harass, not only women security guards, but members of the general public, reinforces the view among advocates of gender equality why there needs to be more women in this sector. If security guards, who are paid to provide protection, are a threat to women what does this signify? It indicates that women might feel, and be, safer if there are women security guards than being surrounded by men who might be "undressing [them] with their eyes" as was suggested by the participant. PSiRA as the regulator to the PSI in South Africa, seems oblivious to this. The representative I interviewed explained:

From the perspective of PSiRA, unfortunately we don't have that kind of protocol. It's something that you, as the researcher, should also recommend. It's all left to the bosses of the security company

While some of my participants corroborated that perpetrators of such transgressions face disciplinary action from the company, this is not enough because, according to one of the managers I interviewed:

The problem is not solved because it's moved to another place again when somebody else hires the

employee I fired for misconduct¹⁰².

This is owing to the decentralized nature of the industry. An indication of this is that there is no mechanism to communicate the transgressions of employees who commit misconduct while employed within the industry to ensure that they are not employed by another company. They need support from PSiRA in this regard, yet PSiRA does not even include issues of sexual harassment and sexual assault in their code of conduct. According to the IOL (2010:20), in order to prevent sexual harassment in the workplace, there are necessary mechanisms that need to be put in place in order to prevent sexual harassment and to discipline transgressors. These include creating bylaws on the prevention of sexual harassment in PSC's and launching training and education campaigns on the prevention of sexual harassment. At the very least, PSiRA could include sexual harassment prevention in their code of conduct, given the prevalence of this issue in the industry.

5.4.3 Regulation

The above highlights another challenge facing women working, or seeking work in the PSI, namely the limited regulation offered by the industry's regulator, PSiRA. All of my participants, including a senior member of PSiRA, confirmed that the PSI is not held to any employment equity targets, compared with the SAPS and SANDF. While the industry is legally bound to the EEA, compliance appears to be low among PSC's who prioritise client demands (Israelstam, <https://www.labourguide.co.za/employment-equity/why-employers-cannot-ignore-equity-laws>). Mnzini & Mosenogi (2012:4) maintain that compliance with the EEA is generally low with incentives to comply with equity targets outweighed by the lack of consequences for non-compliance. Consequently, EEA legislation is not taken seriously and many companies evade compliance.

Added to this, there is ambiguity regarding PSiRA's role in enforcing equal employment practices. According to a representative of PSiRA,

We at PSiRA again, we are not, we don't get involved in who they hire and how they hire them. We only look at the law being complied with, once they are providing the security services. That is as far as we can go¹⁰³.

¹⁰² Man manager, interview 1, Cape Town.

¹⁰³ Representative of PSiRA, interview 25, Johannesburg.

Additionally, PSiRA does not monitor employment discrimination based on the EEA legislation. Yet it is clearly stated in their legislative mandate that PSiRA is responsible for encouraging equal opportunity employment practices in the PSI (PSiRA, 2014:6). This ambiguity needs be addressed and PSiRA's role in encouraging employment equality made clear.

Furthermore, while the client plays a large role in determining who renders a service, there is no policy specific to the PSI which legislates equal employment in this industry (Government Gazette, 1998). A number of my participants, particularly managers and supervisors, felt that regulation, regarding equal employment, would allow them to address unequal employment practices within their companies. One of the supervisors I interviewed stated,

In terms of enforcement, [...] I don't know of any. And, um, it's a really good question that you've got because if there could be some form of a ratio and maybe a possibility of changing the curriculum, you know to incorporate more of a um, some form of a self-defense or something like that, you know to better equip females (M3)¹⁰⁴.

Thus, a policy needs to be implemented in order to compel companies to adhere to equal employment practices. If PSiRA cannot be responsible for such a task, government, who instituted the Private Security Regulatory Act of 2001, needs to take responsibility. What the case of *NUMSA v Chuma Security Services* (2016:2) indicates is that employees can seek justice, but unfortunately, not all are in a position to resort to court action. Therefore, the monitoring and implementation of the EEA is inadequate and lacks a mechanism to enforce compliance (Mnzini & Mosenogi, 2012:4; Bezuidenhout et al, 2008:17). Until such a time as this is addressed, employment equality within the industry will be unlikely and women will remain underrepresented.

¹⁰⁴ Man security guard, interview 3, Cape Town.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

The purpose of this study has been to examine how issues of sex and gender influence employment and deployment practices in the private security industry in South Africa. Given that sex, gender and inequality are at the core of this study, I have employed a feminist theoretical perspective in order to interrogate gendered assumptions and power relations (Lazar, 2007:142). I have drawn on Butler (2004; 2002), Connell (1978) and Eichler (2015; 2016) among others, to inform my understanding of gender and security institutions.

In this regard, Eichler's (2015; 2016) work on gender in privatised security, provided crucial guidance for the analysis of gender in the South African PSI. So has Butler's (2002; 1998; 2004; 1999) work on gender and gender performativity been vital in informing the gender perspective of this study. Drawing heavily on Walby (1990) and Johnson (2005), I examined the effect of patriarchy on gender equality. Walby's (1990) structures of patriarchy have illustrated how gender inequality is produced and perpetuated within society. Furthermore, I engaged with the literature surrounding occupational segregation and occupational culture, drawing on Alvesson and Due Billing (2009), to illustrate how sex and gender influence access to jobs and inform workplace culture. Finally, I have drawn on the literature surrounding gender mainstreaming to illustrate why gender equality is necessary within security institutions (Heinecken, 2016; Kreft, 2017).

In this concluding chapter, the findings that emerged from this study are reflected upon. Section one addresses my key findings and resultant conclusions. In the second section recommendations for the industry are presented. In closure recommendations for additional research, necessary to deepen our understanding of the topic, are made.

6.1 Key findings and conclusions

Reflecting on my findings with a feminist lens, I can see that in terms of liberal feminism, women are not afforded equal rights in the South African PSI. The reality facing this industry is that it is dominated by men, with a number of barriers preventing women from equal participation and little apparent policy in place to address this. Despite the international drive to increase women's participation at all levels of security provision, necessitated by UN Resolution 1325, men constitute more than 79% of the workforce in this sector (PSiRA,

2016:50). The industry is characterized by questionable working conditions, such as low wages and inequality, including the aforementioned male domination (Webster and Sefalafala, 2013:77). Literature and my findings suggest that in terms of the racial profile of the industry, it is characterised by primarily white owners and managers while the majority of the employees are black (Gumedze, 2008:75). Therefore, from a Marxist feminist perspective, employment within this industry is classed, racialized and gendered (Johnson, 2005:126).

From a radical feminist perspective, it appears that problematic conceptions of gender, norms and stereotypes are at the core of women's exclusion from this industry. The industry has not reached a level of understanding of gender as performed, as proposed by Butler (2002; 2004), and thus the roles men and women play are largely sex-typed. Consequently, men are considered to be the 'natural' choice for security work. This can be attributed in part to the masculine organizational culture of the PSI, but also the common rhetoric surrounding sex, gender and gender roles that characterizes larger society. Such a perspective is reflected in the preference that clients appear to have for men in security roles. Therefore, the exclusion of women from the sector is a top-down effect of the gender norms and sexist ideals of society. It indicates that the triangular employment relationship, common within this industry, poses a barrier to women's inclusion. Therefore, even companies that might be open to employing more women might be deterred by the client's demands, as was the case of *Numsa v Chuma Security Services* (2016). As a result of these attitudes, the division of labor within this industry is highly gendered with men occupying high risk, high status and better paid roles. White men tend to dominate positions of power, such as management ownership of companies. Women, on the other hand, experience a glass ceiling as they are largely concentrated in low-risk, low-status and lower-paid positions (Hultin, 2003:31). According to intersectional theory, in terms of the racial profile of the industry, it appears that black women are experiencing disadvantage, in terms of employment, on the basis of their sex and race (Crenshaw 1989:1242).

In terms of attitudes towards women in this sector, it was more often "partly unconscious networks" of perceptions and meanings rather than crude notions that "women don't belong here" (Alvesson and Due Billing, 2009:400). The majority of my men participants did not think that security work was "a woman's job". This opinion was most often couched in benevolently sexist justifications such as concern for women's well-being, vulnerability to violent crimes such as rape and domestic pressures (Sarrasin *et al*, 2012:7). Yet, by not employing women because security work is 'too dangerous', or the hours too long, companies are denying women

their agency to decide whether *they* are prepared to face the danger and requirements of the job. Not all women, or men for that matter, are prepared to take the risk associated with security jobs, or indeed working the long hours. However, if they have applied for the position, they have decided to take the risk and denying them the job “for their own good” is paternalistic. Such paternalist attitudes are not benign as it is most often men who act as gatekeepers regarding employment and deployment.

The exclusion of women from employment within the industry, or employment from certain sectors in the industry, has serious implications. Firstly, employment discrimination is illegal, based on legislation such as the Employment Equity Act of 1998 (Government Gazette, 1998). Beyond this, the fact that women struggle to find employment within the industry is problematic since women participants and some men participants emphasized the necessity that women have jobs. This is supported by statistics regarding the high levels of unemployment among women in South Africa (Stats SA, 2019; Barnett, 2004:667). Despite the patriarchal assumption that men are natural breadwinners, it has become increasingly necessary for women to find employment not only to supplement household income, but because it is their right (Duxbury, 2007:480; Creighton, 1999:530). Furthermore, a number of households in South Africa are headed by women who are the main breadwinners (STATS SA, 2018:3; Nwosu & Ndinda, 2018:2). Given the above and that women suffer hugely from unemployment in South Africa, it is essential that women are afforded equal opportunities in all workplaces including the PSI (Stats SA, 2019; Barnett, 2004:667).

Beyond these important yet instrumentalist arguments that stem from radical and liberal feminism, from the standpoint feminist perspective, women’s inclusion is vital because women often find themselves in different situations in society with different experiences for a myriad of reasons ranging from gender based oppression to gender based violence (Hekman, 1987:344). As a result, women have different security needs, as well as different world views and have unique contributions to make in security situations (Hekman, 1987:344). Yet women are not equally involved in decision-making in this industry and their voices are not being heard as the world today is unjustifiably biased against women, and the PSI is no exception. In order for this to change, there needs to be a shift in the male dominated and masculine nature of the industry. A number of academics suggest that increasing women’s inclusion in the PSI can alter problematic cultures and conduct within the workplace (Mobekk, 2010:281). This is an

important consideration within the PSI given its reputation for violent misconduct and the unnecessary use of force (Mulaudzi, 2016).

However, gender inequality within this industry is a vicious cycle as women's minority status in the PSI impacts upon their ability to shift problematic cultures within the workplace. If more women were given the chance to be successful within this industry, through reaching a critical mass, they might play a role in shifting the masculine culture and sexism that appears to characterise the industry (Kanter, 1977:956). Furthermore, some academics suggest that it is important to have women equally represented in security provision, to ensure that women's security needs are met (Hudson, 2005:157; Diphorn, 2013:210). In South Africa where 250 out of every 100000 women are victims of sexual offences, the majority of first responders are men. A number of my participants believed this to be a reason why more women are necessary in the PSI, because women prefer to deal with women guards during traumatic situations, particularly when they have been violated by men (Diphorn, 2013:210; Olsson, 2007:8). While women are included on a token basis in order to fulfil this role, as long as they retain their token status, and men remain the gatekeepers to their inclusion and their integration and scope to enact, change will be limited (Kanter, 1977:956).

A particularly concerning finding of this study is that sexual harassment and sexual assault appears to be common within this industry. A number of participants suggested that women working in the industry, particularly in the guarding sector, are raped by fellow guards while on duty. Furthermore, it was suggested that managers of other companies are engaging in a quid pro quo with women seeking work in the industry by eliciting sexual favors from women in exchange for employment. None of my participants suggested that these were issues within their current PSC. However, a number of participants, including managers and a representative of PSiRA were aware of such behavior in the industry and believed it to be common. While this alone is highly problematic, even more so is the fact that a number of managers believed this be another reason to exclude women from the industry rather than addressing the culture within the industry that allows for such crimes and misconduct. Yet literature suggests that sexual harassment is often a result of workplaces dominated by men (Weitz, 2015:170). Consequently, this level of paternalism is rooted in the same patriarchal system that produces sexual harassment (Sarrasin *et al*, 2012:7). Therefore, this gendered culture and these power relations need to be addressed as a matter of urgency.

Two challenges, to the inclusion of women within the PSI, were identified in this study and include pervasive patriarchal assumptions and poor industry regulation. The patriarchal assumption that women are primarily responsible for reproductive labour, was viewed, by managers, as a challenge associated with employing women in PSC's. The concern was that women would struggle to juggle their reproductive and productive duties. Furthermore, some managers viewed maternity leave as a burden associated with employing women and admitted preference for men employees because they "don't fall pregnant". While a number of the women I interviewed attest to working the "double shift," and many have children, they did not feel that it impacted on their job performance (Hochschild & Muchung, 2012:23). Furthermore, choosing to employ men because women might choose to have children is a form of unconstitutional workplace discrimination. Therefore, women are being doubly impacted by this system in that they are expected to work, maintain responsibility for domestic duties *and* struggle to find employment because of their domestic responsibility.

In achieving a level of reform, regarding discriminatory workplace practices and cultures, it is essential that monitoring of equal employment practices within private sectors such as the PSI is essential. While the Equal Employment Act of 1998 did indeed take revolutionary steps to improving equal employment within South Africa, literature suggests that the monitoring and implementation of the EEA is inadequate and the current mechanisms of enforcing compliance are clearly not effective (Bezuidenhout et al, 2008:17; Mnzini & Mosenogi, 2012:4). This partially explains why the PSI remains dominated by men, twenty years after the enactment of the legislation. Therefore, the findings of this study, as well as my 2017 study, indicate that the regulation of equal employment practices within the industry is poor and companies are rarely held accountable for discriminatory employment practices (Tennant, 2017:45). This is not a benevolent oversight, as it has serious consequences for women working and seeking employment within this industry. Furthermore, this study proposes that a shift in perception and understanding of sex and gender is necessary to dispel harmful notions that contribute to the subordination of women. Rather, notions such as the performativity of gender, as proposed by Butler (2004:50), acknowledges that women and men can and do perform qualities and characteristics associated with both masculinity and femininity. Such a perspective could encourage a more gender-neutral perception of employment, in which men and women would be considered and valued on the basis of their qualifications and experience, rather than on the basis of assumptions and stereotypes associated with their sex.

In a nutshell this study has identified a number of consequences that arise from the current structure, employment practices and occupational culture of the South African PSI which largely remains gendered. In this, the PSI is not alone, as public security sectors remain gendered in terms of employment and structure, yet it remains a pervasive issue and is often trivialized and naturalized, as demonstrated by many of my participants. In the current climate within South Africa, with regards to unemployment, security and crime, it seems prudent to address such inequalities, particularly given the high levels of unemployment among young women and disturbing levels of sexual violence and femicide. Women suffer disproportionately with regards to these issues and, therefore, more needs to be done to ensure that women have equal access to employment opportunities and representation at all levels of security provision in this country including private security. Women's voices need to be heard in this sector because "equality between women and men is inextricably linked to peace and security" (UNW Global Study. 2015: 19).

6.2 Final comments, recommendations for the PSI and further research

Based on these findings this study has uncovered high levels of workplace discrimination within the PSI. Accordingly, it is recommended that the monitoring and enforcement of the EEA be changed and adapted to target the level of non-compliance that appears rife within this industry (Mnzini & Mosenogi, 2012:4). Perhaps larger incentives are needed to ensure compliance, along with more severe consequences for non-compliance. Furthermore, it is recommended that PSiRA's responsibility regarding monitoring and enforcing employment equity be made clear. Participants, including a representative of PSiRA, claim it is not within their capacity to monitor employment equity. Yet in their legislative mandate it is stated that PSiRA is responsible for "encouraging employment opportunities for previously disadvantaged groups" of which women are included (PSiRA Annual Report, 2014:6). Perhaps it would be beneficial to amend the PSiRA Act to include the monitoring and enforcing of equal employment practices. Of course, this alone is not enough as public security institutions face political pressure to improve employment equity, targets are not met and the industry yet remains dominated by men (Heinecken, 2016:8; Norville, 2011:2). Therefore, efforts to address the male dominated and masculine organizational culture of the industry need to be taken along with legislative change.

Perhaps a partnership with the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) might be beneficial in order to address inequality within this industry, since one of the key functions of the commission is to monitor practices of private businesses and institutions to promote gender equality (Government Gazette, 1996:13). Furthermore, the Commission is responsible for fostering understanding regarding gender equality, having recently launched a research program that focused on gender transformation in the mining sector (CGE Annual Report, 2018:14). Such a program could be valuable in order to highlight issues of inequality within the PSI and address exclusionary attitudes and workplace cultures. Until such a time that steps are taken to improve the current situation in the industry, employment equality within the industry is unlikely and women will remain-underrepresented.

Further, given that this study highlighted the issue of sexual harassment and sexual assault within the PSI and it is clear that this requires attention. At present PSiRA's code of conduct does not address sexual misconduct within the industry. Once again, a partnership with the CGE could be valuable since gender-based violence is one of the commission's focal areas (CGE Annual Report, 2018:10). Therefore, a partnership between PSiRA and the CGE could address disparities of sexual violence and sexual harassment in the industry and result in a code of conduct that speaks to sexual misconduct.

Further research is necessary to establish whether the findings of this study are evident in other regions of South Africa, given that this study only included employees of PSC's in Cape Town. Furthermore, further research needs to be conducted to target employees from all sectors of the PSI. As stated in chapter four, a limitation of this study is that it primarily focuses on the guarding sector, along with small samples from armed response and K9 handlers. Given the vastness of this industry, and the lack of literature regarding gender and employment equality in the industry, it is important to investigate the gender profile and level of employment equality within other sectors of the industry, such as assets in transit, private investigation and security equipment installation and repair. This is necessary to confirm whether the sex-typed barriers and challenges my findings indicate are an issue that permeates the entire industry.

Further research into how clients of the industry and public view women in security roles are necessary to establish the extent to which the gendered and sex-typed nature of employment within the PSI is influenced by societal perceptions of sex and gender roles. While this study found that clients have a large influence on employment and deployment decisions within the

industry, and are key in perpetuating existing stereotypes in this sector, these conclusions can only be drawn from my participants' experiences of client demands. Therefore, it would be useful to directly address the perceptions and influence of clients in this industry directly.

Finally, according to Walby (1990:11), "gender inequality does not take place in isolation from other forms of inequality". Therefore, a limitation of this study is that, owing to time and scope, I chose to focus on how perceptions of sex and gender influence employment, deployment and workplace culture within the PSI. According to Crenshaw (1989:139) "race and gender interact to shape the multiple dimensions of Black women's employment experiences". Given that statistics suggest that the majority of employees working in the PSI are black, I think it is necessary to interrogate how gender intersects with other socioeconomic factors, such as race, sexuality and class, in order to fully understand experiences of inequality, discrimination, power and powerlessness in this industry (Yuval-Davis, 2006:195).

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Appendixes:

Appendix 1

Interview guide 1 (For manager or supervisor)

1. What security services does this company provide?
2. In which positions are men and women most often employed? (*Prompt: why do you think that is*).
3. Could you estimate how many men and women you currently employ?
4. When you are hiring, how many applications do you receive from men and how many from women?
5. Are there equal opportunities for women and men in this industry? (*Prompt: can you explain why/why not?*)
6. What are your views about women in security positions?
7. Are women able to make any unique contributions to the security sector, where and how?
8. Is the private security industry held to any employment equity standards?
9. Are there any barriers preventing the employment of more women in this sector? (*Prompts: How do your clients feel about female security guards?*).
10. Do you see any benefits of having more women in the security sector?
11. How would you describe the culture of the private security industry? (*Prompt: Do you think it is accepting of men and women?*) (*Prompt: If no, do you think this impact upon women's ability to be successful in this industry?*)
12. Do you see any challenges that might arise from employing more women in the sector? (*Prompt: if so can you explain what they are and the impact they may have?*)

Appendix 2

Interview guide 2 (For employees)

1. How did you come to work in the security industry?
2. Did you experience any difficulties finding employment in this industry?
3. What role do you play in this company? (*Prompt: what does this role entail?*)?
4. What qualities do you think make a person a good ... (*Prompt: insert the role the*

participant plays)?

5. How did you come to be employed in this position?
6. Would you rather serve in a different position and if so, what are the barriers preventing you from serving in this position?
7. Do your co-workers and supervisors respect you? (*Prompt: If not, why do you think this is and what options are available to you to change this*).
8. Is it different working in the security environment if you are a man or a woman?
9. What are your views about female security guards?
10. Are there certain jobs that women and men are better at- explain?
11. Are there equal opportunities for women and men in this industry? (*Prompt: can you explain why/why not?*)
12. Are men and women's contributions valued equally?
13. Are there enough men and women employed in this industry? (*Prompt: If so/not why?*)
14. Are women able to make any unique contributions to the security sector, where and how?
15. Do you see any challenges that might arise from employing more women in the sector? (*Prompt: if so can you explain what they are and the impact they may have?*)

Appendix 3

Consent form



UNIVERSITEIT • STELLENBOSCH • UNIVERSITY
jou kennisvenoot • your knowledge partner

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

You are invited to take part in a study conducted by Jade Tennant, from the department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Stellenbosch University. You were approached as a possible participant because of your position as a manager or employee of a private security company.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study focuses on the recruitment and deployment of women in the private security sector and why so few women appear to be employed in this sector.

2. WHAT WILL BE ASKED OF ME?

If you agree to take part in this study, you will be asked to spend 30 to 60 minutes of your time answering my questions at your place of work

3. POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you agree to participate in this study, you are free to leave or not answer questions or partake in any discussion that may cause discomfort.

4. POSSIBLE BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS AND/OR TO THE SOCIETY

There are no direct benefits to you as a person in terms of your participation in this study.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

You will not be paid for your participation in this study.

6. PROTECTION OF YOUR INFORMATION, CONFIDENTIALITY AND IDENTITY

Any information you share with me during this study and that could possibly identify you as a participant will be protected. Information will be secured on my computer, to which only I have access. Your name, rank and place of employment will not be named in my final data set, nor will they be released to your employer. Pseudonyms will be used to protect your identity in my final dataset

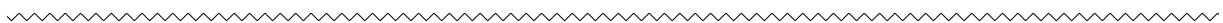
To facilitate transcription, the interviews are recorded, but are confidential and only available to the researcher. They will not be made available to any authority. However, you are free to participate in the interview and/or discussion without being recorded and/or to request that the recording device is switched off at any point.

Data that is collected from participants will only be used for the purposes of this study. The data will be kept in a secure manner. It will not be made available to third parties other than to my supervisor for the purposes of my study, unless the relevant participant has given permission for this to happen. Once the study is complete an electronic copy will be available through the library of the University of Stellenbosch.

If you have any questions or concerns about this study, please feel free to contact Jade Tennant at Tel 0817266148, Email: 18429033@sun.ac.za and/or the supervisor Prof. Lindy Heinecken at Tel: 021 808 2095, Email: Lindy@sun.ac.za.

If you have questions regarding your rights as a research participant, contact Ms. Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

Thank you for your time and attention.



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**DECLARATION OF CONSENT BY THE PARTICIPANT**

As the participant I confirm that:

- I have read the above information and it is written in a language that I am comfortable with.
- I have had a chance to ask questions and all my questions have been answered.
- All issues related to privacy, and the confidentiality and use of the information I provide, have been explained.

By signing below, I \_\_\_\_\_ agree to take part in this research study, as conducted by Jade Tennant.

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Signature of Participant**

\_\_\_\_\_  
**Date**

**DECLARATION BY THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR**

As the **principal investigator**, I hereby declare that the information contained in this document has been thoroughly explained to the participant. I also declare that the participant has been encouraged (and has been given ample time) to ask any questions. In addition, I would like to select the following option:

|  |                                                                                                       |
|--|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  | The conversation with the participant was conducted in a language in which the participant is fluent. |
|  |                                                                                                       |

|  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|--|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  | <p>The conversation with the participant was conducted with the assistance of a translator (who has signed a non-disclosure agreement), and this “Consent Form” is available to the participant in a language in which the participant is fluent.</p> |
|--|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

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**Signature of Principal Investigator**

**Date**